AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG DER RÖMISCHEN WELT

BAND II. 11.1

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE ROMAN WORLD

VOLUME II. 11.1

AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG DER RÖMISCHEN WELT (ANRW)

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE ROMAN WORLD

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON / EDITED BY

WOLFGANG HAASE

UND / AND

HILDEGARD TEMPORINI

TEIL II: PRINCIPAT

BAND 11.1

PART II: PRINCIPATE

VOLUME 11.1

WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK 1988

AUFSTIEG UND NIEDERGANG DER RÖMISCHEN WELT (ANRW)

GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR ROMS IM SPIEGEL DER NEUEREN FORSCHUNG

TEIL II: PRINCIPAT

BAND 11:
POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE (PROVINZEN UND RANDVÖLKER: SIZILIEN UND SARDINIEN; ITALIEN UND ROM; ALLGEMEINES)

1. TEILBAND:
SIZILIEN UND SARDINIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON
HILDEGARD TEMPORINI

WALTER DE GRUYTER · BERLIN · NEW YORK 1988

Gedruckt auf säurefreiem Papier
(alterungsbeständig – pH 7, neutral)

Printed on acid-free paper
(ageing resistant – pH 7, neutral)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt:
Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.

English, French, German, Italian and Spanish.
Later volumes have English parallel title: Rise and decline of the Roman world.
The volumes of Teil II have separate titles: Politische Geschichte, Künste, Recht, Religion, Sprache und Literatur, Philosophie, Wissenschaften, Technik.
Teil II edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase.
„Joseph Vogt zum 23. 6. 1970“ (28 p.) in pocket of vol. I, 1.

Includes bibliographies.
Contents: T. I. Von den Anfängen Roms bis zum Ausgang der Republik (5 v.) – T. II. Principat
1. Rome – Civilization – Collected works. I. Vogt, Joseph, 1895 – 1986. II. Temporini, Hildegard. III. Haase, Wolfgang. IV. Title: Rise and decline of the Roman world.
DG209.T36 937 72-83058
ISBN 3-11-001885-3 (I, 1)

CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek

Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt:
Geschichte u. Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung / hrsg. von Hildegard Temporini u. Wolfgang Haase. – Berlin, New York : de Gruyter.
NE: Temporini, Hildegard [Hrsg.]
2. Principat.
Bd. 11. Politische Geschichte / hrsg. von Hildegard Temporini.
1. Teilbd. 1. Aufl. – 1988.
ISBN 3-11-010365-6
NE: Haase, Wolfgang [Hrsg.]

© 1988 by Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 30
Alle Rechte, insbesondere das der Übersetzung in fremde Sprachen, vorbehalten. Ohne ausdrückliche Genehmigung des Verlages ist es auch nicht gestattet, dieses Buch oder Teile daraus auf photomechanischem Wege (Photokopie, Mikrokopie) zu vervielfältigen.
Printed in Germany
Satz und Druck: Arthur Collignon GmbH, Berlin 30
Einbandgestaltung und Schutzumschlag: Rudolf Hübler
Buchbinder: Lüderitz & Bauer, Berlin 61
Lithos: Terra-Klischee, Berlin

Vorwort

Mit Band II 11, dessen erster Teilband hier vorliegt, erreicht im II. Teil ('Principat') dieses Werkes die Rubrik 'Politische Geschichte' ihren förmlichen Abschluß. Diese Rubrik umfaßt die Bände II 1 – II 11, von denen II 1 (Berlin – New York 1974) allgemeinen Themen, II 2 (ebd. 1975) der Kaisergeschichte und II 3 – II 11 (ebd. 1975 ff.) den Provinzen und Randvölkern oder, anders ausgedrückt, einzelnen Regionen des römischen Reiches gewidmet sind. Band II 11 enthält, auf drei Teilbände verteilt, die Beiträge über 'Sizilien und Sardinien; Italien und Rom; Allgemeines', wobei Sizilien und Sardinien im ersten Teilband behandelt werden. Noch weniger klar als in den meisten anderen regionalgeschichtlichen Bänden, in denen die archäologischen Zeugnisse (nächst den epigraphischen) durchweg eine hervorragende Rolle spielen, konnte hier die Grenze dessen, was in diesem Rahmen vereinfachend 'Politische Geschichte' genannt worden ist, gegenüber den altertumswissenschaftlichen Nachbardisziplinen der Alten Geschichte im engeren Sinne eingehalten werden. Im vorliegenden Teilband kommt auch die kunstgeschichtliche Seite der Archäologie stark zur Geltung, jedoch stets in Verbindung mit wirtschaftsgeschichtlichen und anderen Aspekten der allgemeinen Geschichte. Der zweite Teilband wird Italien und die Stadt Rom regional- und lokalgeschichtlich behandeln. Der dritte Teilband wird mit räumlich wieder weiter ausgreifenden Beiträgen zu Themen des Anfangs von Bd. II 3 zurücklenken und damit einen Kreis um 'Provinzen und Randvölker' vorläufig schließen.

Tübingen, im Februar 1988 H. T.

Inhalt

Vorwort V

POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE (PROVINZEN UND RANDVÖLKER: SIZILIEN UND SARDINIEN; ITALIEN UND ROM; ALLGEMEINES)

Band II. 11.1:

Sizilien und Sardinien

MANGANARO, G. (Catania)
La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano 3–89

WILSON, R. J. A. (Dublin)
Towns of Sicily during the Roman Empire 90–206

WILSON, R. J. A. (Dublin)
Trade and Industry in Sicily during the Roman Empire . . 207–305

BONACASA, N. (Palermo)
Le arti figurative nella Sicilia romana imperiale 306–345

BELVEDERE, O. (Palermo)
Opere pubbliche ed edifici per lo spettacolo nella Sicilia di età imperiale 346–413

MANDRUZZATO, A. (Palermo)
La sigillata italica in Sicilia. Importazione, distribuzione, produzione locale 414–449

MELONI, P. (Cagliari)
La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I–III 451–490

MELONI, P. (Cagliari)
La Sardegna romana. I centri abitati e l'organizzazione municipale 491–551

SOTGIU, G. (Cagliari)
L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il C.I.L. X e l'E.E. VIII 552–739

ROWLAND JR., R. J. (College Park, Md.)
The Archaeology of Roman Sardinia: a Selected Typological Inventory . . . . 740 – 875

Band II. 11.2:

Italien und Rom

Band II. 11.3:

Allgemeines

POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE

(PROVINZEN UND RANDVÖLKER: SIZILIEN UND SARDINIEN; ITALIEN UND ROM; ALLGEMEINES)

SIZILIEN UND SARDINIEN

La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano

Giacomo Manganaro, Catania

Uxori dilectissimae

Sommario

Introduzione 3

I. Tra Sesto Pompeo e Ottaviano (43 – 31 a.C.) 11

II. Il nuovo assetto geopolitico 16

III. Produzione, redditi e finanza 22
  1. Proprietà terriere, imprese e distribuzione 22
  2. *Ager publicus* e *annona* 35
  3. Organizzazione fiscale e ordine pubblico 37

IV. Vita municipale e stratificazione sociale 41

V. Spettacoli, cultura, arte e medicina 54

VI. La Sicilia e gli Imperatori 65
  1. Da Tiberio agli Antonini 65
  2. Dai Severi a Traiano Decio 76
  3. Da Valeriano a Diocleziano 80
  4. Albo dei governatori di Sicilia da Augusto a Diocleziano 86
  5. Legati pro praetore provinciae Siciliae 88

Indice delle illustrazioni 89

Introduzione

La mia esitazione nel mantenere la promessa, fatta oltre un decennio fa alla amica H. Temporini, di preparare un profilo della Sicilia in epoca

Abbreviazioni:

AÉ	L'Année Épigraphique
AIIN	Ann. Ist. Ital. Numismatica
AJA	American Journal of Archeology
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt / Rise and Decline of the Roman World
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di Lettere e Filosofia
ASSO	Archivio Stor. Sicilia orientale

imperiale, a continuazione del mio primo saggio in ANRW I 1, 1972, 442–461, è stata accresciuta sia dallo smarrimento ingeneratomi dall'accumulo in appena qualche lustro di tanti contributi pertinenti, grevi di interpretazioni innovat-

BAR	British Archeological Reports
BASP	Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BM, CRE	British. Mus., Coins Rom. Empire
Bull. ep.	Bulletin épigraphique (in: Revue des Études Greques)
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CRAWFORD, RRC	M. H. CRAWFORD, Roman Republican Coinage, Cambridge 1974
CRAWFORD, RRCH	M. H. CRAWFORD, Roman Republican Coin Hoards, London 1969
Diz. Ep. Ant. Rom.	E. DE RUGGIERO, Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane
EE	Ephemeris epigraphica
GRANT, FITA	M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas. A Historical Study of Aes Coinage in the Roman Empire 49 B.C.–A.D. 14, Cambridge 1946 (Northampton 1969)
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
ILAlg	Inscriptions Latines de l'Algérie
ILLRP	Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, ed. A. DEGRASSI
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. H. DESSAU
JNG	Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte
Kok.	Kokalos
MAA Rome	Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome
MAL	Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali e storiche dell'Accademia dei Lincei
MEFRA	Mél. Écol. Franç. Rome, Antiquité
NAC	Numism. e Antich. Classiche
Not. Sc.	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
OGIS	Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, ed. W. DITTENBERGER
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum
RAG	Riv. Arch. Crist.
RE	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REG	Revue des Études Grecques
REL	Revue des Études Latines
RFCl	Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica
SDHI	Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae
Sicul. Gymn.	Siculorum Gymnasium
TLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

rici[1], sia dalla esigenza di uscire dall'orizzonte strettamente siciliano e di affrontare problematiche nuove, particolari alla storia dell'Impero romano. Sentivo il bisogno di ripercorrere tutta la documentazione epigrafica, sia greca che latina, di Sicilia riferibile all'epoca imperiale.

Una scuola 'marxista', piena di enfasi, anche se non priva di meriti[2], ha voluto staccare anche per la storia della Sicilia romana un lungo periodo, dal II sec. a.C. al III d.C., il quale sarebbe caratterizzato dal „modo di produzione schiavistico" (MPS), che avrebbe determinato „una nuova strutturazione dell'economia e della società siciliana" e in conclusione una „alterazione del rapporto città-campagna, tutto a favore della seconda". Anzi l'indagine archeologica offrirebbe testimonianza della „dinamica del MPS"[3].

Una siffatta periodizzazione ignora fondamentali momenti di storia politica e amministrativa della Sicilia antica. D'altra parte, un rapporto nuovo tra città e campagna – nuovo a confronto di quello che corre tra la *polis* della Sicilia ellenistica, che ha resistito fino agli anni della Rivolta di Euno-Antiochos, e la relativa *chora*, limitata e intensamente messa a frutto – fu caratterizzato, almeno dal I sec. a.C., dal netto predominio economico della 'città', che non è più lo stesso che la *polis*: anzitutto delle città dislocate sulla costa e fornite di porto, come Syracusae, Catina, Messana, Tyndaris, Thermae, Panhormus, Lilybaeum, Agrigentum, e anche di alcune dell'interno, come Henna. Ognuna di queste si è trovata a controllare un entroterra, di gran lunga più vasto di quello pertinente in epoca ellenistica, o un territorio che si attestava sui grandi nodi viarii o raggiungeva il mare in un 'caricatore'. Si era andata organizzando sul territorio di ogni 'città', che ormai poteva includere più di una antica *polis* greca, una catena di *praedia*, con fattorie e *villulae* raccordate, anche attraverso *mansiones* e *stationes*, con le grandi *viae*, che l''Itinerarium Antonini' dispiega nel loro complesso sviluppo, le quali sboccavano tutte, sia quelle interne sia quelle costiere, nelle grandi città portuali[4]. Uno „spostamento e una ristrutturazione dei centri e della vita urbana" (MAZZA) si verificò proprio in conseguenza del ruolo 'egemone' acquistato in modo più significativo dalle città portuali, non già in conseguenza del MPS, che non ebbe mai in Sicilia continuità e incidenza decisiva, dagli anni di Sesto Pompeo al III sec. d.C.[5], ma, al più, sporadiche applicazioni conclusesi nell'insuccesso o nel disastro (come nel caso delle due Rivolte servili). La trasformazione dell'assetto geopolitico della Sicilia fu determinata dalla istituzione provinciale di Roma, interessata ad una monocultura granaria, esercitata nei modi tradizionali dai proprietari sicelioti, tra i quali si erano andati infiltrando elementi italici o latini. Dopo la seconda Rivolta servile e la lotta tra Sesto Pompeo e Ottaviano la Sicilia, specie sud-orientale, assunse gli aspetti 'fotografati' da Strabone.

---

[1] F. COARELLI, La cultura figurativa in Sicilia. Dalla conquista romana a Bisanzio, in: Storia della Sicilia, II Soc. Editr. Storia di Napoli e della Sicilia, Napoli – Palermo 1979, 371 – 392; G. CLEMENTE, La Sicilia nell'età imperiale, ib., 463 – 480; LELLIA CRACCO RUGGINI, La Sicilia tra Roma e Bisanzio, in: Storia della Sicilia, III, Napoli – Palermo 1980, 3 – 96; G. CLEMENTE, Considerazioni sulla Sicilia nell'Impero romano (III sec. a.C – V sec. d.C.), Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 192 ss.; M. MAZZA, Economia e società nella Sicilia romana, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 292 – 358; R. J. A. WILSON, Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 219 ss.; AA. VV., Città e contado in Sicilia fra il III ed il IV sec. d.C., in: Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 315 ss.: G UGGERI, La viabilità romana in Sicilia con particolare riguardo al III e al IV secolo, 424 – 460; D. ASHERI, Le città della Sicilia fra il III e il IV sec. d.C., 461 – 476; L. CRACCO RUGGINI, Sicilia, III – IV sec. d.C.: il volto della non-città, 477 – 515; E. GABBA, La Sicilia nel III – IV sec. d.C., 516 ss.

[2] G. LURASCHI, Per una valutazione della società romana e dell'economia schiavistica, Opus, 1, 1982, 399 – 412.

[3] M. MAZZA, Econ., Kok., 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 342 s.

[4] UGGERI, Kok., 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 435 ss.

L'impiego di moderni concetti economici (MPS, marginalità, sub-coloniale, rapporto città-campagna) per intendere la storia della Sicilia romana è estremamente pericoloso e talora mistificante. Se mai, il MPS fu realizzato nello sfruttamento della terra secondo il 'modello catoniano' piuttosto in Campania e nell'Italia settentrionale (GABBA) nel II sec. a.C., episodicamente, e laddove si verificarono certe condizioni, come una maggiore disponibilità di buona terra, sia attinta all'*ager publicus*[6], sia derivata dall'acquisto di fondi ceduti da privati Italici, che sceglievano di emigrare nell'Oriente greco o in Sicilia, per darsi alla mercatura o per aggregarsi a compagnie di *publicani*. L'impiego del medesimo MPS in Sicilia condusse invece al disastro delle Rivolte servili. Non fu certamente il risultato del MPS, ma dello sfruttamento intensivo di medie o piccole proprietà agrarie realizzato anche mediante l'impiego di schiavi, tenuti sotto costante controllo, e grazie al personale impegno del *dominus* (o di *conductores*), se a Morgantina potè essere organizzata, continuando una tradizione viticola, attestata da una iscrizione incisa su una tavoletta di piombo, di epoca ellenistica (in corso di pubblicazione), la produzione di un tipo di vino da esportazione, il Murgentinum. Ciò deve essersi verificato appena qualche generazione dopo la concessione a Moericus e ai mercenari Hispani da parte del Senato romano del territorio della città espugnata, comunque prima della Rivolta di Euno-Antiochos. Il saggio Catone consigliava di piantare in terreni idonei persino vitigni del Murgentinum[7]. E' lecito pensare che il vino prodotto a Morgantina, commercializzato anche in Italia ad opera di mercanti italici, costituisse ai tempi di Catone una marca accreditata[8].

In verità il 'sistema catoniano', l'unico che può coprirsi con il concetto 'progressista' di MPS, se con esso si vuole designare „l'impiego di manodopera servile", giudicato per madornale ingenuità „a bassissimo costo", per dare risultati proficui doveva essere applicato con rigore e in ambiente agrario adatto, ciò che non può affermarsi per la Scilia intorno alla metà del II sec. a.C. Quest'ultima appariva un rifugio ideale per i servi 'fuggitivi', che l'anonimo (forse P. Popillius, console del 132 a.C.) della iscrizione di Polla si vanta, quale *praetor in Sicilia*, di aver ricercato e restituito in numero di 917 ai padroni Italici (ILLRP, 454). Nella stessa Sicilia già erano stati ammassati sconsideratamente schiavi greco-orientali, acquistati verosimilmente sui mercati di Delo e forse quale contropartita, quasi obbligata, delle spedizioni di grano, ora che l'importazione di vino rodio per la cresciuta produzione locale era cessata. Proprietari dell'area ennese ne avevano concentrati fin troppi nei loro fondi, senza aver provveduto a modificarne le strutture agrarie, sempre che vi sussistessero le condizioni primarie. Le culture semplicemente granarie non impegnano molti uomini, se non per brevi periodi, e l'allevamento sparso non più di un uomo per cento animali: bisognava perciò assicurare un equilibrio tra realtà agrarie e manodopera servile, anche per le campagne dell'ennese. Vi si verificò invece subito un pesante squilibrio tra popolazione servile, per cultura e lingua affine a quella siceliota libera, e strutture agrarie, non modificate al fine di tenere impegnata la medesima: ne seguì una rivolta, che la storiografia posidoniana, riecheggiata in Diodoro Siculo, ha presentato unicamente come rivolta di schiavi guidati da un esaltato sirio, che si proclamò *basileus* Antiochos (particolare confermato dalla documentazione numismatica). Essa, protrattasi per oltre un lustro, coinvolse in realtà la popolazione contadina di Henna e poi di altre città, come Katane e Tauromenion, coalizzate contro il governo romano. Tale rivolta si rivelò così virulenta e tenace in queste città di Sicilia – e non mai in altre regioni, come ad es. l'Italia meridionale, in cui erano concentrati pure grossi contingenti di schiavi – per precise realtà locali, anche politiche[9]. Al contrario un rigoroso impiego (non userei il termine sfruttamento) della popolazione servile nella estrazione della pomice e dell'allume e nelle saline deve essersi verificato a Lipara[10] nel I sec. a.C. e prima, come sembra lecito concludere dalle centinaia di iscrizioni funerarie, in prevalenza greche, che presentano una omogenea tipologia monumentale ed epigrafica, con una onomastica, che suggerisce trattarsi di schiavi.

---

[5] Come in MAZZA, op.cit., 338.

[6] GABBA, op.cit., 518 ss.

[7] Cato, De agric., 6,4: *qui locus crassus erit aut nebulosior, ibi Aminium maius aut Murgentinum, Apicium, Lucanum serito.*

[8] Tra il II e il I sec. a.C. vanno datati una iscrizione, in corso di pubblicazione, con dedica a un Pompeius Marcellus dal liberto – | *Alḅ*[––, e un bronzetto, che rappresenta un togato romano, in coll. priv., ambedue da Morgantina.

Ancora uno squilibrio tra popolazione servile, ammassata in fattorie e campagne soprattutto della Sicilia occidentale e nell'agrigentino – laddove compariranno senatori romani, naturalmente detentori di latifondi – e strutture agrarie, di tipo „arcaico e non catoniano", fece esplodere una generazione più tardi (103 – 100 a.C.) sempre in Sicilia una seconda rivolta servile, grave e devastante, conclusasi con enormi perdite di uomini e beni, la quale finì per riversarsi sulle zone sud-orientali[11]: ancora una volta va ritrovato alle radici un maldestro impiego del MPS!

---

[9] Cf il mio art.: Monete e ghiande inscritte degli schiavi ribelli in Sicilia, Chiron, 12, 1982, 238 ss.

[10] B. Pace, Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica, ²Milano 1958, 428 s. Le iscrizioni di Lipara sono in corso di pubblicazione.

[11] Manganaro, Ancora sulle rivolte 'servili' in Sicilia, Chiron, 13, 1983, 407 s.

Anche in conseguenza di questa seconda rivolta in vaste plaghe sudorientali si instaurò la *eremia* (Strabone) e i vigneti del Murgentinum debbono essere stati distrutti e non più rinnovati: qualche esemplare di anfora vinaria col bollo *Post(umi) Cur(tii)* rilevato a Syracusae, come a Taranto, testimonia l'importazione anche in Sicilia di vino campano con l'etichetta di C. Rabirio Postumo, assistito nel 54 a.C. da Cicerone[12]. A Lilybaeum, come anche a Syracusae, e a Taranto e Cartagine, sarebbero state rinvenute anse di anfore vinarie della Campania[13], che sembrano databili al II sec. a.C. Ben presto si affermeranno i (*vina*) *Mamertina*, ricordati da Strabone (VI 2,3) e da Plinio il Vecchio (n.h., XIV 66) – e fra essi quelli denominati *Potitiana*, certamente da un produttore *Potitius*, che deve aver organizzato una grande 'cantina', in una azienda di tipo 'catoniano' – i quali a partire da G. Cesare, che ne avrebbe parlato nelle sue lettere, ottennero il quarto posto nei pubblici banchetti[14]. Dopo la deduzione della colonia romana di Tauromenium nel 36 a.C. circa, forse anche per le cresciute richieste, nei banchetti pubblici vennero distribuiti in fiaschi (*lagoenis*) sotto la stessa etichetta di *Mamertina* anche (*vina*) *Tauromenitana*[15], certamente di sapore affine: indizio dell'incremento del commercio vinario in mano di Mamertini di Messana. In ogni modo, questi vini provenivano da vigneti, impiantati nei lotti già assegnati ai coloni dedotti da Ottaviano a Tauromenium o in proprietà di *cives* di Messana: tranne forse nel caso del *Potitius* sopra ricordato, i fondi vignati assai difficilmente erano di consistente estensione.

Altra buona produzione di vino, piuttosto per il consumo locale, doveva essersi incrementata in zona catanese-etnea (Strabo VI 2,3 C 269; Expos. totius mundi, 66, GGM p. 126, 8–9). *Praedia* estesi potevano essere coltivati proficuamente col ricorso a *conductores*, che certamente impiegavano anche schiavi, o attraverso un *vilicus*, che ne organizzava con altri schiavi le varie culture.

Comunque in un ambiente come la Sicilia, in cui la media e piccola proprietà, rinnovata anche attraverso le assegnazioni coloniarie di Augusto, doveva aver continuato a resistere dopo Verre (pochi, e presumibilmente appena una trentina i grandi proprietari, ai quali il propretore non risparmiò vessazioni)[16], al MPS non può riconoscersi una così lunga ed esclusiva applicazione, da caratterizzarne la storia dal II sec. a.C. al III d.C., quando si sarebbe verificato il trapasso al sistema coloniario.

---

[12] ILLRP, 1184; CL. NICOLET, L'ordre équestre à l'époque républ. (312–43 a.C.), I, Paris 1966, 307; L. CRISCUOLO, Bolli d'anfora greci e romani, Bologna 1982, 131 nr. 194.

[13] A. BRUGNONE, in: Lilibeo, Testimonianze archeol. dal IV sec. a.C. al V d.C. Regione sicil., Assess. Beni Cultur. ... Sicilia occ. Marsala, Palermo 1984, 130, nr. 163: *Tr. Loisio(s)* (un esemplare anche nel Museo di Licata).

[14] Plin., n.h., XIV, 66 (cf. M. ROSTOVZEV, Storia econ. e soc. dell'Impero romano, Firenze 1946, 75 n.26).

[15] Cf. a proposito di questi e altri vini siciliani, tra cui il Mesopotamium, PACE, op.cit., I 400–403.

[16] Cf. ora A. FRASCHETTI, Per una prosopografia dello sfruttamento: Romani e Italici in Sicilia (212–44 a.C.), 51 ss., in: Società romana e produzione schiavistica, I, L'Italia: insediamenti e forme economiche, Bari 1981, a cura di A. GIARDINA e A. SCHIAVONE.

Inoltre nelle recenti indagini sulla Sicilia imperiale sono stati rilevati, quali connotazioni negative, „un relativo isolamento ... e una marginalità, ... un ritardo rispetto ai processi generali della economia e della società imperiale", e ancora „scarsa mobilità sociale", anche in conseguenza dell'assenza di un esercito stanziale[17]. Anzi, sulla base di una analisi preconcetta della documentazione archeologica, oltremodo scarsa, si sono sottolineati indizi sparsi di povertà, sclerosi e decomposizione delle strutture comunitarie anche sul piano edilizio[18].

Tutto questo può essere vero in astratto, se si assume come metro di valutazione la storia di province come le Gallie o l'Africa, nelle quali, di gran lunga meno progredite della Sicilia e prive di tessuto urbano, il dominio romano determinò un salto di qualità e gettò le basi per uno straordinario sviluppo sociale ed economico. Non è lecito istituire confronti ossessivi con aspetti e condizioni della Sicilia greca[19] o dell'Italia romana in generale: al più dovrebbero essere limitati a singole regioni di quest'ultima.

Resta vero che la Sicilia con Augusto non dovette più destinare una cospicua parte della sua produzione granaria all'*annona urbana*, ma potè sviluppare un suo mercato granario, di grano di prima qualità, in piena autonomia (una corporazione di *fabri navales* di Catina aveva in comune con una di Ostia un *patronus*, C. Granius Maturus: CIL XIV 364), incrementare una viticultura per la esportazione e certe produzioni industriali (zolfo, allume, lana): essa anzi divenne un mercato acquisitivo, per prodotti artistici urbani (ritratti, sarcofagi) e potè richiamare maestranze africane. Visse in costante connessione con l'Italia (dalle cui città provenivano cospicui gruppi di *cives* ormai integrati in varie città siceliote), con la Grecia e con l'Egitto, oltre che con l'Africa, senza ridursi unicamente alla funzione di 'ponte' tra quest'ultima e l'Italia[20]. La Sicilia avrebbe potuto riassumere „un ruolo strategico e militare nel contesto dell'Impero", la cui assenza è stata lamentata per essa[21], quando nel 68 d.C. L. Clodius Macer pensò di opporsi a Galba. Il potere centrale non si disinteressò totalmente dell'isola: vanno richiamati gli interventi di restauro di Tiberio e Claudio a favore di Erice e poi di Adriano o di Marco Aurelio per Catina, per non dire di Augusto in città come Centuripae o Syracusae. Le non rare attestazioni di devozione per imperatori e membri della famiglia imperiale ne sono la spia. Come ha messo in evidenza acutamente D. ASHERI[22], le città della Sicilia imperiale, ben inteso quelle costiere, presentano chiari indizi di prosperità e una ristrutturazione corrispondente a quella delle città di altre provincie occidentali. Sotto i Severi la Sicilia non mancò di contribuire alle esigenze annonarie del governo (ricordo la iscrizione di Caucana e quella di Acrae, che illustrerò più avanti). Se nella sua compagine sociale emergono pochi, e tardivamente, fino alle soglie del Senato o entro le file degli alti funzionari[23], il fenomeno deve essere spiegato, senza affrettate conclusioni circa una Sicilia depressa, con scarsa mobilità sociale. In Sicilia si è verificata una resistenza delle classi medie e basse, fornite di modeste proprietà fondiarie, quelle che a me è piaciuto definire „borghesie cittadine“[24], mentre i detentori di grossi patrimoni terrieri, che erano senatori o cavalieri romani o italici, vivendo lontano dall'isola, vi esercitarono un ruolo modesto. E tuttavia le città siciliane si modellarono e organizzarono come tante altre dell'Italia; l'assenza di siciliani tra i legionari, rilevata in senso negativo per la società isolana[25], può essere conseguenza del *Jus Latii,* goduto dalla totalità delle città, a parte le cinque *coloniae*, il quale avrà annullato o ridotto l'interesse dei sicelioti per la carriera militare.

---

[17] Cf. CLEMENTE, Kok., 26–27, 1980–81, 210s., 212; Stor. Sic., II 470; MAZZA, Kok., 26–27, 1980–81, 340s.

[18] MAZZA, art.cit., 344 n. 208 che sembra riportare notazioni di F. COARELLI, in: Stor. Sic., II 380s.

[19] Così in CLEMENTE, Stor. Sic., II, 472 si legge di „un peristente regresso rispetto all'assetto ellenistico".

[20] MAZZA, art. cit., 296, con rimando a G. CH. PICARD, Rapports de la Sicile et de l'Afrique pendant l'Empire Romain, Kok., 18–19, 1972–73, 108 s.

[21] MAZZA, art.cit., 349.

[22] In Kok., 28–29, 1982–83, 463 ss.

Di fronte ad una immagine della Sicilia imperiale, come marginale, immobile socialmente, povera e priva di ripresa edilizia sul piano urbano – immagine corretta dall'ASHERI – la quale sembra riproporre in termini più moderni la prospettiva cara a IS. LA LUMIA, ma non certo a B. PACE[26], vorrei proporne un profilo sereno, scevro di giudizi definitivi e libero da schemi 'scolastici', convinto che ancora molta documentazione pertinente rimane preclusa e che sia da indagare meglio il materiale epigrafico emerso finora. La Sicilia va giudicata come una provincia, che ha ormai superato il processo di inserimento nel quadro dell'Impero di Roma, che della stessa aveva liquidato molte energie e necessariamente minato le antiche strutture, che avevano tenuto almeno formalmente fino al I sec. a.C. Non è una colpa, davanti al tribunale della storia, che la Sicilia imperiale sia stata diversa e meno ‘centrale’ di quella ellenistica: essa è diventata una provincia ‘suburbana’, in cinque città, tutte costiere, della quale furono sistemati coloni romani, e nella quale ai senatori romani fu concesso entrare senza autorizzazione imperiale[27] e almeno nel I – II sec. d.C. anche a qualche imperatore piacque sostare.

---

[23] Per i senatori, cf. il mio art.: I senatori di Sicilia e il problema del latifondio, Tituli, 5, 1982, 369 ss.; unico siciliano dell'ordine equestre l'anonimo della dedica di Thermae, CIL X 2,7351, per cui cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 374 n. 25. Vedi però più avanti, n. 259 s.

[24] Formulazione 'rostovzeviana', che è parsa inadeguata (MAZZA, art.cit., 330). Per F. COARELLI, Stor. Sic., II, 383 s., che insiste per il I e II sec. d.C. sulla marginalità culturale dell'isola, „l'assenza di classi medie municipali“ e la „predominanza assoluta del latifondo“ (quest'ultimo avrebbe bruciato le prime) sarebbero rivelate dalla „assenza di ville di lusso e di monumenti funerari di un certo livello“: in conclusione ambedue queste realtà sarebbero proprie delle classi medie (la mia borghesia!), cancellate dalla società siciliana per il I e II sec. d.C. Dall'altra parte i grandi proprietari dei latifondi – la cui esistenza in Sicilia nella forma di *praedia* è scontata, ma non totalizzante – erano sicuramente assenteisti: la Sicilia perciò era soltanto terra di schiavi relegati nei latifondi e le sue città, anche quelle costiere, erano abitate unicamente da proletari(?)?

[25] Cf. però MAZZA, art.cit., 340 s.

[26] Cf. MAZZA, 338 s. Tuttavia il PACE, al quale non può negarsi la buona volontà di aver tentato una storia della civiltà della Sicilia antica quasi di 'lunga durata', ha reagito al „mito di una Sicilia romana vessata e decadente“, obbedendo a certi principi della „unità nazionale dell'isola“ e della ulteriore affermazione della „latinità ... con S. Gregorio Magno“ (Arte e civ., cit., I,344). Cf. anche la prefazione alla sec. ediz. del vol. I, p. XIX.

In questa terra di *Siculi trilingues* (in essa molti parlavano greco e latino e qualche minoranza il punico, ancora nel II sec. d.C.) nelle città costiere e nel relativo entroterra fin dai primi secoli della diaspora si insediarono, proprio come a Roma, gruppi di Ebrei, e così con l'avvento di Costantino il Cristianesimo si rivelò presente e vivido.

I. Tra Sesto Pompeo e Ottaviano (43 – 31 a.C.)

Il conferimento alle città di Sicilia da parte di Cesare, poco avanti la sua eliminazione, del ‘Ius Latii’[28] accompagnato dalla sostituzione delle *decimae frumentariae*, che certamente avevano subito una flessione significativa, con uno *stipendium*, almeno riguardo alle città minori[29], ha costituito per la storia della Sicilia una svolta significativa.

Sicelioti, a giudizio di Cesare, apparivano maturi per la cittadinanza romana già nel 59 a.C.: tra i 500 Greci dedotti nella colonia di Novum Comum molti dovevano essere Sicelioti[30].

La *Latinitas*, anche per effetto del *jus adipiscendae civitatis per magistratum*, era la premessa per la *civitas*, che Antonio avrebbe voluto attribuire subito. Diodoro Siculo non manca di notare, anche se ambiguamente, la concessione ai Sicelioti della ‘Ρωμαίων πολιτεία (XIII 35,3). Anzi lo stesso parla di una ἀλλαγή (mutazione) costituzionale, che, avrebbe comportato la elargizione da parte dei Romani ai Sicelioti della *politeia*, con il connesso svilimento della amphipolia (tuttavia menzionata ancora in età di Tiberio in dediche di Buscemi), rimasta in vigore per oltre trecento anni dopo la istituzione timoleontea (343/2 a.c)[31].

---

[27] Dio Cass., LII 42,6; Tac., ann. XII 23.

[28] Cf. W. Langhammer, Die rechtliche u. soziale Stellung der Magistratus municipales u. der Decuriones in der Übergangsphase der Städte von sich selbstverwaltenden Gemeinden zu Vollzugsorganen des spätantiken Zwangsstaates (2. – 4. Jhdt. der röm. Kaiserzeit), Wiesbaden 1973, 15 s.; F. Sartori (cit. avanti a n. 53), 420 s.; E. Ferenczy, Rechtshistorische Bemerkungen zur Ausdehnung des römischen Bürgerrechts und zum *ius Italicum* unter dem Prinzipat, ANRW, II 14, ed. H. Temporini, Berlin – New York 1982, 1024 s.

[29] Cf. anche Gabba, Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, cit., 521, il quale rileva l'assenza della Sicilia tra le *provinciae frumentariae* in Varrone, per il 37 a.C., a conferma della istituzione cesariana dello *stipendium* (cf. già S. Calderone, Il problema delle città censorie e la storia agraria della Sicilia romana, Kokalos, 6, 1960, 22). P. A. Brunt, JRS, 71, 1981, 162 dubita circa l'abolizione delle *decimae* nella Sicilia imperiale.

[30] G. Luraschi, Foedus, Jus Latii, Civitas. Aspetti costituzionali della Romanizzazione in Transpadana, Padova 1979, 418 ss. Cf. anche H. Wolff, Caesars Neugründung von Comum ..., Chiron 9, 1979, 169 – 87.

Si è così riportati non già a Cesare (44 a.C.) – avremmo meno di trecento anni – ma agli anni di Sesto Pompeo (43–36 a.C.) – avremmo così per la data bassa 307 anni – se non addirittura dopo la vittoria di Ottaviano (36 a.C.), anzi dopo la deduzione della colonia romana a Tauromenium, alla quale allude lo stesso Diodoro in un capitolo dello stesso libro (XVI 7,1). Negli otto anni (dal 43 al 36 a.C.), in cui Sesto Pompeo controllò l'isola, le città ebbero una amministrazione del tipo dei municipi latini: Tauromenion, ad es. insediati i nuovi magistrati, δύο ἄνδρες (*duoviri*), ταμίαι (*quaestores*) e un collegio di λαυράρχαι (*vici magistri*), e accolto il calendario latino, ricostituì la sua gestione finanziaria delle entrate e delle uscite, pubblicandone un resoconto epigrafico[32].

Così Lipara firmò le sue monete di bronzo con il nome in greco dei δύο ἄνδρ(ες) Γ. Μάρκιος Λευ(κίου υἱός), Γ. Αὐσωνεύς, certamente prima che nel 37 a.C. Ottaviano ne deportasse la popolazione filopompeiana in Campania[33]. Henna emise una serie di quattro nominali: sul maggiore, che ponderalmente si allinea all'asse siciliano di Sesto Pompeo[34] e che al pari di quest'ultimo risulta dimezzato (onde ottenere semisses richiesti dalla circolazione), appose al R / la leggenda MVN(*icipium*) HENNAE e al D / i nomi dei duoviri L. Munatius, M. Cestius, che si ritrovano sugli altri tre nominali inferiori[35]. M. GRANT ha datato non solo queste emissioni di Henna, ma anche quelle con i nomi dei *duoviri* in latino di Tyndaris e Halaesa[36], Cephaloedium[37] e Assorus[38] nel periodo 44–43 a.C.: tuttavia le seconde vanno poste dopo il 36/5 a.C., se non dopo il 21 a.C.. Nel contempo, oltre ad emettere l'asse celebrativo del padre, ora ricordato, largamente diffuso nella Sicilia orientale e nel suolo di Morgantina (forse indizio sufficiente di una incidenza politica della stessa in questi anni), Sesto Pompeo quale *praef(ectus) clas(sis) et orae marit(imae) ex s.c.*, deve aver installato una zecca a Messana conquistata nel 42 a.C. (Cass. Dio, XLVIII 17,6; XLIX 11,2), come suggerisce la tipologia di una emissione di denari[39].

---

[31] Diod., XVI 70,6: καὶ ᾑρέθη (nel 343/2 a.C.) πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλεσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλαγῆς· τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας, ἡ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ἀρχὴ ἐταπεινώθη, διαμείνασα ἔτη πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων.

[32] Cronache di archeologia 3, 1964, 55 ss.

[33] M. GRANT, FITA, Cambridge 1946, 194–5 le connette con il municipio successivo al 36 a.C.; invece, è accettabile la ipotesi che varie emissioni a leggenda latina, ib., 52 s., siano da connettere con la presenza a Lipara della flotta di Ottaviano.

[34] M. CRAWFORD, RRC, Cambridge 1974, I, 487 nr. 479: l'attribuzione a zecca spagnola va rifiutata.

[35] E. GABRICI, La monetazione del bronzo nella Sicilia antica, Palermo 1927, 135 s.; A. DE AGOSTINO, Le monete di Henna, Boll. stor. catanese, 4, 1939, 80 ss. e tav. II, con la figurazione dell'*as*, *semis*, *quadrans* e *uncia*. Nel contesto pompeiano rientra a mio avviso la emissione *Hispanorum*, nota da esemplari numerosi dallo stesso conio di D /, caratterizzata da una testa maschile (Sesto Pompeo, forse) circondata dai nomi dei (*duoviri*) *L. Iuni*(*us*), *C.* (vel *L.*) *Sic*(*inius*?) – nome letto *Leg. Sic*(*iliae*) (M. GRANT, FITA, cit., 30, Tav. I 10): ultima testimonianza di questa comunità di Hispani, a vocazione pompeiana, che Ottaviano avrà eliminato radicalmente.

[36] GABRICI, 194 nr. 58 (GRANT, 189 s. ascrive la emissione non a Tyndaris, ma a Panhormus); 136 nr. 16 (GRANT, 191).

[37] GABRICI, 128 nr. 27 (GRANT, 192 s.): leggenda latina per il duoviro, greca per l'etnico, mentre è sempre in greco per Entella e Lilybaeum (ib., 129 nr. 10–11; 144 nr. 15) sulle emissioni col nome di Ἀτρατῖνος, che sono da connettere con l'omonimo comandante

Nonostante il risveglio economico in Sicilia per il breve periodo pompeiano, attestato anche dalle suddette emissioni monetali e dalle tavole finanziarie di Tauromenion, e l'adesione di nostalgici pompeiani, memori della δικαιοδοσία di Pompeo Magno, tra i quali verosimilmente lo storico Diodoro di Agyrion (Diod., XXXVIII 20; 40,4), numerose città siceliote non solidarizzarono con Sesto Pompeo. Così Centuripae, per la quale il conferimento del diritto latino, conservato ancora sotto Augusto, deve aver costituito il suggello della sua antica *cognatio* con Lanuvio, risalente al III–II a.C.[40], confermata concretamente dalla presenza di membri di *gentes* del Lazio e della stessa Lanuvio[41].

Essa costituì un caposaldo in appoggio di Ottaviano, come mette in rilievo Strabone[42]. Così un ripostiglio di denari, databile intorno al 50 a.C. – se non dopo il 44 a.C.[43] – va connesso certamente con le vicende delle guerre civili, se non proprio con un assedio della città.

---

di uno squadrone navale inviato da Antonio ad Ottaviano contro Sesto Pompeo (Grant, 392 s.). Vedi avanti a n. 46.

[38] Gabrici, 121 nr. 1–3: senza menzione dei duoviri.

[39] Crawford, RRC, I 520 nr. 511,2 a–4 a: il tipo dei Pii Fratres di Catina implica il controllo di quest'ultima. Questi denari frequenti in Sicilia (cf. Crawford, RRCH, nr. 435 e il ripostiglio del Museo di Messina, per cui Stor. Sic., II, 451 n. 220).

[40] G. Manganaro, Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion e il P. Oxy. 1241, Par. del Pass. 29, 1974, 395 ss.

[41] Dalle iscrizioni di Centuripe risultano rappresentanti della gens Roscia (tipica di Lanuvio!), e ancora delle gentes Aelia, Alfia, Aviania, Calpurnia, Clodia, Caelia, Cornelia, Maria, Pompeia, Publicia, Rustia, Scribonia. Dei rapporti tra Sicilia e Lazio nel II–I sec. a.C. sono indizio la serie di strigili di bronzo, con bolli certamente sicelioti, a Palestrina (F. Coarelli, in: Roma medio repubblicana. Aspetti culturali di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli IV e III a.C., Assessorato antichità, belle arti e problemi della cultura, Roma 1973, 282 ss., nr. 423; M. Guarducci, Epigr. greca, III 558 n. 1), il rinvenimento a Roma, nella casa di Livia, di una moneta bronzea di Kephaloidion (Not. Sc., 1953, 150; Arch. Class., 1965, 201 n. 83) e quello delle due tavolette di proxenia per Demetrio siracusano (IG XIV 952–953; Kokalos, 9, 1963, 211) e ancora iscrizioni come, ILLRP, 380; 387; 398.

[42] VI 2,4 C 272: ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν (Syracusae) ἀνέλαβεν ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὴν Κατάνην, ὡς δ' αὔτως Κεντόριπα, συμβαλομένην πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίου κατάλυσιν.

[43] Si tratta di un rip. ignoto al Crawford, ricordato da F. Ansaldi, Memorie storiche di Centuripe, Catania 1871, 187 (nella seconda edizione a cura di Prosp. Cacia, Catania 1981, 274–5, con le identificazioni da me suggerite degli esemplari Syd. 593; 906–907 = Crawford 320; 433,1–2 del 54 a.C). Esso potrebbe essere riportato all'epoca di Sesto Pompeo solo se il denario, descritto per primo dall'Ansaldi, „con Caesar

Nel 36 a.C. Ottaviano decise di attaccare in forze la Sicilia. Città, che avevano costituito i capisaldi di Sesto Pompeo, non resistettero: Lilybaeum, fortificata da L. Plinius Rufus, *legatus pro praetore*, nel 39 a.C. fu assediata da Lepido[44] e ancora Tyndaris e Mylae espugnate grazie alla perizia del fedelissimo Vipsanio Agrippa[45]. Se città importanti ebbero a soffrire per colpa di Sesto Pompeo, non furono minori i danni imputabili ad Ottaviano e alle sue legioni, che raggiunsero il numero di 45, e che dilagarono dalle zone intorno a Tauromenion fino al settore occidentale, verso Lilybaeum. Quest'ultima e anche Entella sarebbero state occupate da L. Sempronio Atratino, il quale avrebbe tentato di risollevarne le sorti economiche emettendo monete in bronzo, certamente assi, con il suo nome in greco e recuperando nel contempo vecchio numerario di Lilybaeum mediante l'apposizione della contromarca ĀR[46].

Messana, abbandonata da Pompeo e occupata da Plinio Rufo, fu saccheggiata dalle truppe di Lepido, alle quali si associarono quelle consegnategli da Plinio (App., b.civ. V 122).

Prima di far ritorno a Roma, dove giunse il 13 novembre del 36 a.C., Ottaviano, fatta cacciare la popolazione di Tauromenion, colpevole di accanita resistenza, vi dedusse una colonia di veterani (Diod., XVI 7,1), la quale vi prese radici: ciò è rivelato dalla scoperta di frammenti di calendario romano (il primo attestato fuori dall'Italia), e di fasti consolari e magistratuali[47]. Ottaviano inoltre impose alle città il pagamento di una indennità, probabilmente il corrispettivo delle rate di *stipendium* degli anni pompeiani, del valore di 1600 talenti (App., b.civ., V 129), corrispondenti a 4.600.000 denari, necessari per fronteggiare le richieste di soldo dei suoi soldati.

L'isola era ormai riconquistata: due fratelli, C. Papius Celsus e M. Papius Kanus, che certamente avevano militato agli ordini di Ottaviano, posero allo

---

sotto la testa, che vi era impressa" possa identificarsi piuttosto con quello della serie Crawford, 480 (del 44 a.C.). Cf. anche Stor. Sic., II, 460 n.213, per il rip. da S. Domenica Vittoria, che si chiudeva con Crawford, 501,1 e 537,2, e ancora Crawford, RRCH, London 1969, 410; 435.

[44] App., b. civ., V 98 dove il nome è Πλέννιος. Cf. ILLRP, 426.

[45] Cf. ora J.-M. Roddaz, Marcus Agrippa, Roma 1984, che naturalmente ignora S. C. Stone III, Sextus Pompey, Octavian and Sicily, AJA, 87, 1983, 11–22.

[46] Cf. indietro alla nota 37 e anche RE, II A 2 (1923) col. 1366ss. s.v. Sempronius nr. 26 [Münzer] Sulla emissione di Lilybaeum, un asse raccordabile con quello di Ottaviano, Crawford, 535, al D / compare la testa velata della personificazione della città entro il simbolo della Trinakia, al R / il tripode apollineo con i nomi dei duoviri 'Ατρατίνου e Πυθίων(ος). La città conserva il diritto latino. La contromarca va naturalmente sciolta in Ατρ(ατίνου). Per le emissioni di Atratino in Oriente, cf. ora M. Amandry, Rev. Suisse Num., 65, 1986, 73 ss.

[47] Stor. Sic., II 451 con n.221. A Tauromenium non spetta alcuna emissione monetale in questo periodo: quella proposta dal Grant, FITA, 236, riecheggiata da F. Sartori, Appunti di storia siceliota: la costituzione di Tauromenio, Athen., 32, 1954, 381, è stata eliminata dal medesimo nei Corrigenda, p. XV del Reprint del 1969.

stesso una dedica a Narona (Dalmazia), *Sicilia recepta* (ILLRP, 417). Il recupero della Sicilia era costato grandi sacrifici.

Augusto, vecchio, nelle Res Gestae 27,3, definirà la guerra contro Sesto Pompeo *bellum servile*, giacchè quest'ultimo, al fine di poter attuare con la sua flotta il blocco marittimo verso Roma e l'Italia, aveva arruolato masse di schiavi, certamente fuggiti dalle tenute dell'Italia e della stessa Sicilia. La crocifissione, secondo il costume osservato rigorosamente nell'ambiente romano, di ben seimila – particolare taciuto da Augusto[48] – dei trentamila schiavi catturati e consegnati ai padroni *ad supplicium sumendum* (RG 25,1), rinnovò lo spettacolo terribile, con cui si era conclusa, una generazione prima, la rivolta di Spartaco nel 71 a.C.

Appena pochi anni dopo, in vista della guerra contro Antonio, l'Isola, il cui settore etneo era stato sconvolto ancora una volta nel 32 a.C. da eruzioni vulcaniche[49], fu messa in stato di allarme: in Auximum nel Piceno, forse nella città di origine, le *ceivitates Siciliae* posero una dedica a C. Plautius Rufus, *legatus pro pr(aetore)*, per aver ben protetto l'isola (*provincia defensa*)[50]. Qualche violenza tuttavia deve essersi verificata nelle regioni occidentali dell'isola, dove forse si erano consolidate posizioni filoantoniane, come potrebbe far pensare un ripostiglio conservato a Palermo, che si chiude con denari di M. Antonio del 31 a.C.[51]: resta incerto quale ruolo possa aver giocato Sempronio Atratino, l'antico partigiano di Antonio, il quale comunque finì per legarsi ad Ottaviano. La dedica sopra ricordata a Plautius Rufus, a mio avviso, costituisce attestazione indiretta del *Commune Siciliae*, ricordato da Cicerone[52]: assai probabilmente le città di Sicilia ancora nel 36/35 a.C. erano state lasciate da Ottaviano nello stato di diritto latino e ne era stata ricostituita l'assemblea provinciale.

Dopo Azio, conquistato l'Egitto, tanto ricco di grano, Augusto potè affidare a partire dal 27 a.C. il governo della Sicilia ad un *proconsul*, scelto tra ex pretori. L'isola si presentava in condizioni tuttaltro che floride; l'antica *suburbana ac fidelis provincia, plena optimorum sociorum honestissimorumque civium*, celebrata da Cicerone[53], era cambiata parecchio sia in seguito alle recenti perdite di beni e uomini, anche di schiavi capaci, sia perchè le superfici coltivate dovevano essersi ulteriormente ridotte.

---

[48] Cf. Oros., adv. pag., VI 18,33: *triginta milia servorum dominis restituit, sex milia, quorum domini non extabant, in crucem egit.*

[49] Cf. App., b.civ., V 117; Dio Cass., L 8,3: ... καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης πλεῖστόν τε ἐρρύη καὶ πόλεσι καὶ χώραις ἐλυμήνατο.

[50] ILS, 926. Cf. RE, XXI 1 (1951) col. 25 s.v. Plautius nr. 36 [M. Hofmann].

[51] Crawford, RRCH, 477.

[52] In Verr., II 2, 114; 145; 154: cf. F. Sartori, Il commune Siciliae nel tardo impero, Klio, 63, 1981, 401 ss. All'illustre studioso, cui spetta il merito di aver analizzato questa istituzione per la Sicilia e di aver colto il senso della formula *civitates omnes*, era sfuggita questa iscrizione.

[53] Cf. F. Sartori, Suburbanitas Siciliae, in: Festschrift für R. Muth, hrsg. v. P. Händel u. W. Meid, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, 12, Innsbruck 1983, 416 ss.

II. Il nuovo assetto geopolitico

Strabone, scrivendo in epoca augustea, in un'ottica influenzata dalla tradizione posidoniana, col gusto della rapida notazione storica circa il passato delle singole città, e perciò tendendo alle generalizzazioni non sempre congruenti al proprio tempo[54], per larghe zone meridionali dell'isola, da Pachino a Lilybaeum, rileva uno stato di abbandono (VI 2,5: … ἐκλέλειπται) e appena traccie (ἴχνη) degli antichi insediamenti, „fra cui Kamerina". Ancora più chiaramente per Himera, Gela, Selinunte, oltre che per Naxos, Kallipolis, Euboia, Kamikos, e città ʻsiculeʼ nota uno stato di abbandono (VI 2,6: οὔτε … ἔτι συνοικουμένην ἴσμεν … καὶ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν δ'ἐξελείφθησαν πολλαί …), dopo aver premesso le considerazioni „e ogni altro insediamento e la maggior parte dell'interno sono diventati di pastori"[55]. Quindi, subito dopo l'elenco dei centri desolati, aggiunge: „i Romani, avendone notato l'abbandono (ἐρημίαν), acquistati i monti e gran parte delle pianure, li diedero ad allevatori di cavalli e a bovari e a pastori" (VI 2,6 C 273). Siffatte condizioni promossero, oltre a rivolte di schiavi, come quella di Euno in Henna, il brigantaggio riapparso ʻrecentementeʼ, precisa Strabone, nella figura di Selouros, detto „il figlio dell'Etna".

Recenti studiosi hanno insistito fin troppo, fino a dilatarne il significato[56], sul termine *ʻeremiaʼ*, al fine di sottolineare il degrado delle strutture agrarie della Sicilia ancora per l'epoca augustea, dimentichi che Strabone sviluppa una analisi geopolitica condizionata dal confronto con la Sicilia classica: in realtà *ʻeremiaʼ* designa piuttosto la decadenza ʻpoliticaʼ di centri abitati e la loro riduzione a livello di villaggi[57]. D'altronde il fenomeno registrato da Strabone, caratterizzato dalla formazione di tenute sfruttate per l'allevamento, deve risalire agli anni successivi alla prima e soprattutto alla seconda Rivolta servile, la quale apportò desolazione nelle campagne siceliote, cui si aggiunse il flagello delle cavallette, che provocò una tremenda carestia[58].

In conclusione il quadro offerto da Strabone è desunto da Posidonio, storico delle guerre servili. Tuttavia è innegabile che in queste zone, sulle quali si è soffermata la riflessione di Strabone, la scomparsa ʻpoliticaʼ dei centri ʻstoriciʼ e la loro riduzione a villaggi (*ʻeremiaʼ*) abbia creato uno squilibrio con il relativo territorio, ancora evidente in epoca augustea. In molte zone centro-meridionali si erano come vanificati gli antichi nuclei urbani, in prossimità dei quali si stendevano terre, che nonostante fossero aride e poco fertili erano state messe a cultura per le esigenze alimentari dei medesimi, che ne costituivano il mercato immediato per la produzione di orzo e fave. Alla '*eremia*' dei centri seguì l'abbandono al pascolo di quelle terre povere: al più vi si impiantarono fattorie gestite da un *vilicus* a capo di schiavi.

---

[54] A. J. Toynbee, Hannibal's Legacy, II, London 1965, 213, 294 n. 6.

[55] In Strabonis Geogr. II, Bonn 1972, 356 ed. W. Aly, il passo è così presentato: ἡ δ'ἄλλη κατοικία καὶ τῆς μεσογαίας ⟨καὶ τῆς παραλίας⟩ ποιμένων ἡ πλείστη γεγένηται. Per le varie sfumature che assume κατοικία in Strabone, cf. L. Robert, Documents d'Asie mineure, BCH, 109, 1985, 483 ss.

[56] M. Mazza, Kokalos, 26–27, 1980–81, 321 interpreta la ʻeremiaʼ come „porzione cospicua dell'ager publicus siciliano", sul quale si sarebbe verificato „l'insediamento dei possessores-speculatori romani".

[57] Cf. anche L. Robert, Études de Numismatique grecque, Paris 1951, 46; Stor. Sic., II, 452 (a proposito di Paus., V 23,6).

[58] Chiron, 13, 1983, 407 s.

Alla osservazione di M. Rostovzev[59], che i Romani in Sicilia „non fondarono neppure una città nuova nè fecero alcun tentativo per far risorgere le città greche decadute", si può rispondere che ormai, dopo lo sfruttamento operato con il sistema della *lex Hieronica* e l'infiltrazione di gruppi latino-italici nel tessuto delle varie città siceliote, un riacquisto di equilibrio tra città e campagna presupponeva una diminuzione del numero delle prime o meglio la riduzione di alcune di esse a villaggi e la conseguente espansione del territorio delle città dislocate sulla costa, che ne divennero gli sbocchi economici, risucchiando le risorse di tutta l'area.

La decrescenza demografica e un impoverimento delle 'borghesie' avranno comportato la svendita di terre a Italici e Latini, che disponevano di capitali, impiegati ora nella costituzione di patrimoni terrieri, destinati preferibilmente al pascolo e all'allevamento di vario bestiame.

Già in età tardo-repubblicana una *societas* di *publicani* aveva appaltato la riscossione della *scriptura* (e dei *portoria*) a Siracusa e all'inizio del I sec. a.C. l'allevamento di bestiame grosso e minuto era tanto consistente da poter rifornire gli eserciti romani, nel corso del *bellum sociale*, di *coria* e di tuniche (Cic., in Verr. II 2,5)[60].

In realtà per ragioni geomorfologiche e climatiche, tranne che limitatamente alle zone alte dell'Etna e forse degli Erei, l'allevamento in Sicilia non fu transumante, ma semi-nomadico e come ancora in tempi recenti succedaneo alle coltivazioni granarie. In ogni caso, esso può essere puntualizzato per alcune zone sulla base di varie indicazioni. Così per l'area panormitana, come si può dedurre da Cicerone, allorchè a proposito di Apollonio Gemino riferisce l'accusa mossagli da Verre riguardo ad un servo, supposto *magister pecoris* (Cic., in Verr. V 7,17; 8,20); per l'area catanese-etnea, ricordando quanto scrive Strabone (XVI 2,3 C 269) circa le grasse greggi dell'Etna; ancora per la zona centuripina, se è vero che per Pompeius Grosphus, certamente un discendente del Grosphus Centuripinus[61], l'amico Orazio (carm. II 16,33 ss.) rievoca come a lui intorno *greges centum Siculaeque circum mugiunt vaccae.* E ancora in zona di Ramacca, come risulta dalla iscrizione funeraria di Abdalas, *Domitiae Domitiani* (*servus*), *magister magnus ovium*, brillantemente illustrata da G. Salmeri[62].

---

[59] In Storia econ. e soc. dell'Impero rom., Firenze 1946, 243.

[60] Così in E. Gabba – M. Pasquinucci, Strutture agrarie e allevamento transumante nell'Italia romana (III – I sec. a.C.), Pisa 1980, 146 – 7.

[61] Cic., in Verr. III 23,56: cf. ora O. Masson, Noms et Surnoms de Grecs de Sicile, Sileno, 7, 1981 (1983), 9.

[62] ASNP, 14, 1984, 13 ss., 20 con la documentazione relativa sopra richiamata.

La produzione di cuoio e di lana doveva essere rilevante, da costituire articoli di esportazione. Non pare accettabile una esclusiva connessione dei c.d. ‘piombi mercantili’ con la produzione laniera[63]. In alcuni casi questi debbono avere avuto funzione di ‘etichette’ legate all’atto della sdoganatura a balle di merce, non necessariamente contenenti lana, pervenute in Sicilia dall’estero; in altri casi saranno stati ‘contromarche’ doganali, talora con tipi corrispondenti a quelli di emissioni monetali in bronzo, che accompagnavano merce ammessa all’agorà cittadina, per indicare che ne era stato pagato il dovuto *portorium*[64].

In ogni caso, la capacità produttiva, specie di grano, dell’isola sarà peggiorata, subendo un tracollo durante gli anni della lotta tra Sesto Pompeo e Ottaviano. È verosimile che proprio in queste zone centro-meridionali, interessate dalla ‘*eremia*’ straboniana, si sia costituito un primo nucleo del latifondo imperiale, con terre confiscate ai partigiani di Pompeo. Una quota fu donata a Vipsanio Agrippa, il quale intorno al 20 a.C. vi destinò come amministratore Iccius (Horat., ep. I 12)[65].

Quando Augusto verosimilmente nel 21 a.C., durante il suo soggiorno in Sicilia, prima di partire per l’Oriente, anche per lasciarsi le spalle al sicuro, in seguito alla deduzione di veterani dichiarò Syracusae, Catina e Thermae (più tardi fece lo stesso per Tyndaris) *coloniae romanae*[66] da municipi latini che erano, egli dovette attingere per le assegnazioni coloniarie all’*ager* demaniale delle stesse città. Già nel 36 a.C., verosimilmente, una lottizzazione coloniaria aveva interessato il territorio di Tauromenion, la cui popolazione era stata cacciata via (Diod., XVI 7,1).

Fondamentale, per quanto ambigua, la lista, che presenta Plinio (n.h., III 8,88 – 93) delle città siceliote. Iniziando dalle coste, egli menziona per prima Messana *oppidum ... civium Romanorum* (cioè *municipium Romanum*)[67], e quindi, a parte le cinque *coloniae*, ricordate in seguenza geografica, Tauromenium, Catina, Syracusae, Thermae e Tyndaris, definisce *oppida* ben 12 centri di diverso livello demografico ed economico: *Leontini* (dopo *flumina Symaethum, Terias. Intus Lestrygoni campi*), *Megaris, Camarina, Acragas, Lilybaeum, Panhormus, Solous, Himera cum fluvio, Cephaloedis, Haluntium, Agathyrnum, Mylae*. Più avanti (III 93) si legge: *Lipara cum civium R. oppido*. Questa definizione si può confrontare con la espressione di Strabone (VI 2,5) Πάνορμος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἔχει κατοικίαν[68]. Come a Panhormus c'era un quartiere residenziale di *cives Romani*, pur essendo municipio latino, così a Lipara doveva risiedere un nucleo di cittadini romani, impegnati in attività imprenditoriali, forse anche da Messana, e doveva sorgervi una *statio* del *portorium*: in tal modo spiegherei la definizione di *oppidum* in Plinio. D'altra parte Lipara, municipio latino sotto Sesto Pompeo, era stata ristabilita in tale condizione sotto Augusto: la dedica al procuratore di Tiberio, Masuetus, infatti, è posta *ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)* (CIL X, 2,7489). Anche Panhormus è un municipio latino, pur essendo definita *oppidum* da Plinio, se è vero che essa ha emesso monete di bronzo con testa di Augusto e leggenda in greco[69]. Haluntium, che in Plinio è *oppidum*, si definisce in una dedica per Gn. Pollieno τὸ μουνικίπιον τῶν Ἀλοντίνων (IG XIV 367).

---

[63] Salmeri, art.cit., 23 con rimando anche a Pace, op.cit., I^2, 417 s.

[64] Cf. Stor. Sic., II 457 n. 86. Per i piombi delle dogane imperiali nelle Gallie, cf. S J. De Laet, Portorium. Étude sur l’organisation douanière chez les Romains ..., Brugge 1949, 165 s. Vedi avanti alle n. 191 – 194.

[65] O. Hirschfeld, Der Grundbesitz der römischen Kaiser in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten, Klio, 2, 1902, 309 ss.; Salmeri, art. cit., 18 s.

[66] Dio Cass., LIV 7,1: ὁ δὲ Αὔγουστος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ διοικήσας (i suoi latifondi!) καὶ τὰς Συρακούσας ἑτέρας τέ τινας πόλεις ... ἀποίκους Ῥωμαίων ἀποδείξας. Cf. M. A. Goldsberry, Sicily and its Cities ..., Diss., Chapel Hill 1973, 499 ss.

[67] Cf. G. Dipersia, Oppidum Messana c. R., qui Mamertini vocantur, Rend. dell’Ist. Lomb., Cl. Lett., 106, 1972, 389 ss.

Acragas e Lilybaeum, *oppida* per Plinio e in realtà municipi latini, che hanno emesso monete con testa di Augusto e leggenda latina[70], avevano un territorio vastissimo, cui esse offrivano uno sbocco sul mare (Emporion per Acragas, Mazara per Lilybaeum) e comuni confini, per la cui definizione potevano sorgere contese. Tanto, secondo una convincente proposta di G. Salmeri, lascierebbe dedurre la dedica (CIL X 7192 = ILS, 6767) *Concordiae Agrigentinorum* da parte della *respublica Lilybitanorum*, posta probabilmente a conclusione di una contesa sui confini, transatta dal *proconsul* M. Haterius Candidus e dal *quaestor propraetore* L. Cornelius Marcellus (tav. I, 1). Lilybaeum restò municipio latino[71], caratterizzato da un ordinamento di tipo greco, con dodici tribù, fino a Settimio Severo, che la dichiarò colonia Helvia (CIL X 7205; 7228)[72]. Comunque, ad Agrigentum e a Panhormus fin dal I sec. a.C. risiedevano operosi gruppi di Romani e di Italici (ILLRP, 380; 387), come può ammettersi anche per Lilybaeum, sede del questore romano, appoggiato da un congruo presidio militare.

Se la interpretazione di *oppidum* quale sinonimo di *municipium* (*latinae condicionis*) regge per questi centri, altrettanto è escluso per Camarina (di cui Strabone ricorda appena ἴχνη), Himera (che Strabone dichiara scomparsa, al pari di Gela e Selinunte) e ancora per Leontini (per Strabone κεκάκωται) e Megaris, scomparse archeologicamente in età imperiale. Questi antichi centri, ciascuno ora con statuto di *vicus*, dovevano essere stati inglobati nel territorio delle *coloniae*, sulle quali convergevano, cioè di Syracusae (Megaris e Camarina), Catina (Leontini), Thermae (Cephaloedis e Himera, se vi era sorto un

---

[68] Essa non significa che P. ha una 'colonia di Romani', come credono molti (cf. A. Pinzone, RFCl, 105, 1977, 326 n. 3), bensì „un quartiere residenziale di Romani", una realtà attestata ad es. nella dedica a Terracina (ILLRP, 37 = ILS, 8962: *M'. Sabidio M'.f. leg. cives Romani in Sicilia Panhormi qui negotiantur*).

[69] Gabrici, op.cit., 162 nnr. 333 s. Vedi avanti, alla nota 83.

[70] Vedi alla nota 83.

[71] IG XIV 277 (οἱ δεκορίωνες per l'evergetes M. Οὐαλέριος Χόρτων); 273. A Mazara il *koinon* dei Κίνακες (forse di antica origine punica) pose una dedica a M. Ἰούνιος Φῆλιξ βουλευτ(ὴς) Λιλυ[βα]ειτῶν (Bull. ép., 1971, 767).

[72] R. Marino, Su alcune iscrizioni latine del Palazzo Municipale di Marsala, Kokalos 24, 1978, 95 ss.; C. A. Di Stefano, Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 355 ss.

vicus), Tyndaris (cui saranno stati agganciati Agathyrnum e Abacaenum, non ricordata da Plinio)[73], o anche di Messana (Mylae).

Plinio, sulla base della mappa di Agrippa[74], poteva qualificare questi centri come *oppida*, e pertanto distinguerli da altri centri 'stipendiari', in quanto vi erano stabilite *stationes* dell'organizzazione doganale (*portorium*)[75] e soprattutto in quanto essi persistevano nella condizione di città con *ager decumanus* (Cic., in Verr. III 6,14). Già per l'epoca di Verre risultano uffici del *portorium* a Syracusae, Acragas, Panhormus, Thermae, Halaesa, Catina, Phintias e Messana[76]; per l'epoca imperiale a Lilybaeum (CIL X 7225)[77].

In ogni caso gli *oppida* di Plinio non potevano essere esenti da un carico fiscale: essi dovevano versare le tradizionali *decumae frumentariae* – tanto più che nel plesso degli stessi dovevano rientrare i sei blocchi di *ager publicus* – distinguendosi così da quegli altri centri, elencati appresso con gli etnici (III 91): *Intus autem Latinae condicionis Centuripini, Netini, Segestani, stipendiarii Assorini* (e altri 44 etnici). Compaiono tra questi ultimi *Acrenses, Erycini, Hennenses, Ippanenses* (da escludere *Ichanenses*!), *Her(acl)ienses* (e non *Herbulenses*, come nella tradizione manoscritta), *Murgentini*, e ancora, anche se ormai ridotti a livello di vici, *Naxii, Selinuntini* e infine *Zanclaei Messeniorum in Siculo freto*. Questi ultimi tre centri „storici" dislocati sul mare, al pari dei Gelani e Drepanitani[78].

Per alcuni di questi centri *stipendiarii* lo stato di municipio latino, cioè di comunità che conserva calendario, culti, lingua e cultura della base greca, ma si va trasformando nei suoi componenti – giacchè quanti hanno coperto magistrature locali anzitutto, acquistano la piena *civitas* e perciò recano onomastica latina – è deducibile da testimonianze epigrafiche. Così risulta per Acre dalle dediche in greco, rilevate in un antro sacro a Buscemi, rivolte ad Anna e alle Paides, di cui una è datata con i consoli del 35 d.C.: ebbene i sacerdoti e i devoti recano nomi latini[79] (tav. I, 2; II, 3). Similmente i *decuriones* menzionati in frammenti epigrafici della villa di Piazza Armerina riportano ad un municipio, che non potrà che essere di diritto latino, da ritrovare in Assorus o in Henna[80].

---

[73] Interessante una iscrizione di Tripi (Abakainon) relativa ad un orefice Νεμέρις Γρανῶνις Νυμφόδωρος (IG XIV 382b, p. 687; Coll. sur l'esclavage, 1973, 392), che ripete il gentilizio di un soldato di Pompeo Magno, da Luceria, morto in Atene (ILS, 2224; RE, VII 2 [1912] col. 1827, s.v. Granonius [MÜNZER]). Questo libertino ha operato ed è morto certamente nel territorio di Tyndaris, la quale sorta a spese di Abakainon aveva finito per assorbirne tutta l'area.

[74] A. H. M. JONES, The cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces^2, Oxford 1971, 504–508.

[75] Esse comportavano anche la presenza di presidii militari (cf. DE LAET, op.cit., 473 s.).

[76] DE LAET, 67.

[77] Vedi più avanti a n. 187.

[78] Drepana tuttavia è stata già nominata da Plinio. Il MOMMSEN (CIL X 2, pp. 746–7) dubitava che Drepanitani ed Erycini potessero costituire comunità autonome: tuttavia Cicerone e la contromarca ΕΡΥΞ su Aes augusteo confermano Plinio.

[79] G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, Sul culto delle Paides e di Anna in Acre, Par. del Pass. 6, 1951, 9 ss.; vedi a p. 71 n. 5; 69 n. 2.

[80] Palast u. Hütte. Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen in der Antike, Tagungsbeiträge eines

Una interpretazione del testo pliniano (III 91), fin troppo conciso, come la seguente: „Nell'interno invece (in contrapposizione alle coste) di diritto latino (sono) Centuripini, Netini, Segestani, con l'obbligo dello *stipendium* (*stipendiarii*) gli Assorini (e quanti seguono)", comporta la estensione della *latina condicio* anche ai centri definiti *stipendiarii*. Da questi si distinguevano le tre città dei Centuripini, Netini e Segestani[81], non per il *jus Latii*, ma solo perchè esenti dallo *stipendium*.

Quest'ultima condizione di privilegio non è certamente pensabile per i 12 *oppida*, alcuni dei quali non avevano speciali meriti e altri (come Panhormus, Acragas e Lilybaeum) coprivano territori di grande estensione e notevole reddito. In tal caso il peso dello *stipendium* avrebbe gravato solo su 45 centri, in gran parte di scarsa rilevanza economica. Gli *oppida*[82] necessariamente, non essendo *stipendiarii*, erano città con *ager decumanus*.

In conclusione, nella carta geopolitica di Plinio si rileva una contradizione di base, con l'impiego degli etnici in ordine alfabetico nella lista delle città 'interne', di contro all'ordine geografico per i centri 'costieri', indicati col toponimo e con dettagli sulle condizioni: conseguenza della sovrapposizione sulla mappa di Agrippa del quadro offerto dalla lista ufficiale del *conventus* o del *commune Siciliae*, di cui può ritrovarsi eco nella dedica già ricordata posta a C. Plautius Rufus dalle *ceivitates Siciliae* (ILS 926)?

A me pare indubbio che Ottaviano dopo Nauloco abbia riconfermato per le città siceliote il *jus Latii*, che Diodoro Siculo intorno al 35 a.C. definisce *politeia* (XVI 70,6), che non escludeva lo *stipendium* o la *decuma*: privilegiate restavano solo Centuripae, Netum e Segesta. Per i Sicelioti dell'età augustea si potrebbe ripetere quanto Strabone (III 2, 15, 151) rileva per la Betica: Λατῖνοί τε οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγόνασι καὶ ἐποίκους εἰλήφασι Ῥωμαίους.

L'antico plesso politico-territoriale dell'isola, che ragioni storiche ed economiche operanti da tempo e l'immigrazione di Italici avevano finito per disarticolare, sotto Augusto soggiacque a ulteriori modifiche, senza ricomporsi in un quadro chiaro davanti agli occhi di Plinio, al quale non riuscì di definire senza equivoci lo stato giuridico delle varie città siceliote. Anzitutto si era verificato uno straordinario allargamento territoriale per alcune di esse, poste sulla costa, dichiarate *coloniae*: ad esse, come si è messo in evidenza, furono agganciate, diremmo *adtributa*, centri colpiti dalla '*eremia*', una parte di quelli definiti *oppida* in Plino, come Camarina da legare a Syracusae al pari di Helorus, nota e Plinio solo come *castellum, non procul Syracusis* (n.h. XXXII,16).

Tuttavia, le più vigorose città della costa, rimaste a diritto latino, raggiunsero un certo equilibrio politico ed economico, da coniare moneta. Poco dopo

---

Symposiums d. Alex. von Humboldt-Stiftung 1979, ed. D. PAPENFUSS, V. M. STOCKA, Mainz am Rhein 1982, 505 ss.

[81] Per Segesta va ricordata la base inscritta, *C. Iulio C. f. Lon*[*go*?] / *duumviro* / *Municipium h*(*onoris*) [*c*(*ausa*) *p*(*osuit*)](A. FERRUA, Epigraph., 3, 1941, 264 nr. 29 = AÉ, 1945, 64): il gentilizio è forse da riportare a G. Cesare.

[82] Per la varia e mai univoca accezione di *oppidum* in Plinio, cf. RE, XVIII 1 (1939) coll. 719–721 s.v. Oppidum [E. KORNEMANN].

il 2 a.C., quando Augusto fu nominato *pater patriae*, si registrano emissioni in bronzo, caratterizzate dalla testa di Augusto, per quattrò città, che non possono non essere *municipia latina*, anche se in Plinio tre (Agrigentum, Lilybaeum, Panhormus) figurano tra gli *oppida* e la quarta, Tyndaris, è colonia. Ciò deve significare che quest'ultima non lo era ancora, quando fu coniata la moneta col nome del proconsole Mussidio, giacchè in Sicilia per nessuna colonia augustea è nota monetazione del genere. Tyndaris divenne colonia in anni precedenti a Vespasiano.

Le emissioni in questione, tutte a leggenda latina e con testa di Augusto, appartengono ad Agrigentum (con il nome del proconsul L. Clodius Rufus e dei *duoviri* Sex. Rufus II, Salassus Comitialis in ablativo al R/), Lilybaeum (col solo nome in ablativo del *proconsul* Q. Terentius Culleo), Tyndaris (col nome del *proconsul* L. Mussidius), probabilmente Panhormus (senza etnico, e col nome del *proconsul* Sisenna entro una corona). La testa di Augusto è assente per i due quadrantes, anch'essi attribuibili a Panhormus, che presentano da un lato la triskeles e il nome dei *duoviri* abbreviato, mentre dall'altro lato l'uno è segnato da *L. Seius proco(n)sul*, il secondo da *P(ublius?) F(lavius?) Silva pr(o) pr(aetore)*, forse degli ultimi anni di Augusto[83].

La testa di quest'ultimo caratterizza ancora una emissione di Segesta, che sul R/ presenta la figura di Enea col padre sulle spalle, e una di Panhormus, ambedue con l'etnico in greco[84]. La testa appare radiata, e perciò riferibile al Divus Augustus, su una emissione tiberiana di Panhormus, mentre su due altre ancora a leggenda latina figura ora la testa ora il busto di Livia[85]. Queste due città sono indubbiamente municipi latini, la prima esente da qualsiasi tributo, la seconda soggetta ancora alla *decuma*.

III. Produzione, redditi e finanza

1. Proprietà terriere, imprese e distribuzione

Alla morte del glorioso ammiraglio Agrippa nel 12 a.C., le terre donategli in Sicilia certamente ritornarono ad Augusto[86], il quale aveva organizzato con saggezza, come era nel suo stile, la gestione del suo latifondo siciliano, certamente frantumato, nominando suoi *procuratores* uomini come il maestro Areios il Didimo, forse nel 22/21 a.C., succeduto ad Athenodoros (Theodoros in Plutarco) di Tarso detto il Phalakros, che si era rivelato poco onesto[87]. Prendeva così inizio il latifondo imperiale, che ebbe a registrare una crescita continua, costituendo una componente economica dell'isola, gestita da *procuratores* di grado centenario.

---

[83] Cf. GABRICI, op.cit., 119 nr. 158; 144 nr. 19; 194 nrr. 63–64; 162 nr. 337; 156 nr. 123 e 121. Per L. Seius (cf. ancora PINZONE, art.cit., 325 n. 3) va richiamata la iscrizione di Erice, CIL X 7259, purtroppo perduta, la cui lettura, se rettificabile come segue: *L. Seius L. f. Aem(ilia) Fir[mus] / p(ro)c(onsul) [Sic(iliae) ?] inpen[sis suis] / [Veneri Erucinae ?]*, mentre ne confermerebbe la connessione con il proconsole Seius della emissione monetale (MOMMSEN) – ne dubita FLUSS, RE, II A 1 (1921) 1121, 27 s. s.v. Seius nr. 2 –, escluderebbe la identificazione con Seius Tubero, console del 18 d.C. (BORGHESI). Inoltre identificherei il proconsole Silva, proprio per via del raro *signum*, con un antenato di L. Flavius Silva, console nello 81 d.C. (ILS, 5033). Per la emissione relativa, cf. M. GRANT, Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius, ANS, NNM 116, New York 1950, 4 nr. 10.

[84] GABRICI, 167 nr. 93; 161 nr. 322.

[85] GRANT, op.cit., 5 nrr. 11–13.

[86] Cf. indietro alla nota 65.

Se ne conoscono almeno altri otto: due italiani, Lucilius per il 63/64 d.C. e Prifernius Paetus Apollinaris, del 102 d.C.; il greco C. Iulius Demosthenes, negli stessi anni, e poi due africani, M. Vettius Latro del 117 d.C. circa, e Flavius Macer del 122 d.C.; C. Iulius Super di incerta origine sotto M. Aurelius e poi, in età severiana, due altri italiani, Cominius Salutaris e Gabinius Barbarus[88].

Un altro procuratore imperiale, forse col nome Sil[ius?], risulta da una iscrizione di Catania (CIL X 2,7024), nella quale è riportata una epistola inviata da Iulius Paternus, *curator operis* (e non *c. rei publicae*, come avevo proposto)[89] a due imperatori Armeniaci, verosimilmente M. Aurelio e L. Vero e perciò nel 164 d.C. Al procuratore che aveva dichiarato di approntare le somme dovute dai decurioni catanesi, per la costruzione di una *porticus*, dietro garanzia di una '*scribtura*' e la '*cura*' verosimilmente dell'*ager* della città, la curia rispose con il rifiuto (*Cum erga procuratorem vestrum inreverens ... ageretur*) decidendo *agrorum facere mancipium* (l. 10). Paterno dovette intervenire ed adoperarsi per una soluzione. Sulla base del frammento minore, edito dal MOMMSEN assieme a quello maggiore (CIL X 2,7024), e da me stranamente escluso, anche se vi avevo riconosciuto l'impiego di formule epistolari e il riferimento a „beni fondiari, erogazioni in danaro del personaggio che scrive per qualche costruzione cittadina"[90], si può concludere che Paterno portò a termine l'opera, dando in vendita con il consenso dei decurioni le terre abbandonate[91] e facendo deliberare l'affitto a *conductores*(?) di terre demaniali, anzi forse sottraendole al pascolo. Così Paterno avrebbe reperito una parte delle somme necessarie per i lavori, mentre altre, 250.000 sesterzi circa, sarebbero state approntate proprio dal procuratore. Inoltre, per non interrompere i lavori della *porticus*, lo stesso Paterno avrebbe elargito quanto mancava dei 300.000(?) sesterzi, richiesti per il compimento dell'opera[92].

---

[87] RE, Suppl. V (1931) col. 49, s.v. Athenodorus [HOSIUS]. Credo debba escludersi una procuratela siciliana, come avevo ammesso in Stor. Sic., II 452 per suggestione di G. W. BOWERSOCK, Augustus and the Greek World, Oxford 1965, 39, a proposito di Cn. (M.) Pompeo Macro, forse figlio del pompeiano Teofane di Mitilene (cf. RE, XXI, 2 [1952] col. 2277, s.v. Cn. Pompeius Macer [HANSLIK]).

[88] Cf. H. G. PFLAUM, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres, III, Paris 1961, 1044; M. PAVIS D'ESCURAC, La préfecture de l'annone, service administratif impérial d'Auguste à Constantin, Rome 1976, 107s., 399 per Vettius Latro; 125, 427 s. per T. Flavius Macer. Il *praefectus praediorum Siculorum*, Aurelius Hilarus, cit. in A. HOLM, Storia della Sicilia nell'antichità, trad. G. KIRNER, Torino 1906, III 641 nr. 213, va eliminato in seguito alla retta lettura della iscr. di Genova (CIL V 2,7751).

[89] Kokalos, 5, 1959, 145 ss. (AÉ, 1960, 202) e la precisazione di W. ECK, Die staatliche Organisation Italiens in der hohen Kaiserzeit, Vestigia. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, 28, München 1979, 217. Cf. per il *c. operis*, LANGHAMMER, op. cit., 178 s. Va appena citata l'assurda integrazione a l. 1 di CIL, X 7024, *sintoniaci* riferita in V. M. SCRAMUZZA, Roman Sicily, in: T. FRANK, An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, III, Baltimore 1937 (²1959), 361.

[90] Kokalos, 5, 1959, cit. 15.

Un altro procuratore imperiale di Sicilia dovrebbe ritrovarsi nel *P.* (non *D.*) *Cornelius* [–], il cui nome si legge in una iscrizione rinvenuta nella villa di Piazza Armerina[93] (tav. III, 4a; b), nella quale si parla di una concessione dell'*itus templi*, e dei meriti acquistati in tale occasione dal medesimo. Il *municipium*, verosimilmente di Henna, aveva emesso a favore del benemerito un decreto inciso su tavola di bronzo, certamente di patronato. Questo *templum*, del cui *itus* si discute, era connesso con l'*emporium* – di cui si ritrova menzione in un altro frammento rinvenuto nella stessa villa[94] – nel quale, come in un *vicus* romano, dovevano svolgersi periodicamente fiere e mercato: illuminante il confronto con una iscrizione dell'Algeria[95]. Un certo Phosphorus ha costruito e dedicato alla Dea Caelestis Aeterna Augusta una *aedis* e anzi *item vicum, qui subiacet huic templo*. Nel *vicus*, che si denominava da Phosphorus, si svolgevano *nundinae*: il *templum* era certamente connesso col culto imperiale, come sembra lecito pensare anche a proposito del *templum* della iscrizione di Piazza Armerina. In questa per ben due volte in un contesto simile si menziona una corona, quale elemento essenziale per la concessione dello *itus*: ... *deber*]*etur et templi itus* [*et maceries per / fundum*] *ṣuum hoc nomin*[*e quoad Hennenses*(?) *dicare*]*ṇt eandem corona*[*m* nel primo frammento, nell'altro *deberetur itus*] *templi et ma*[*ceries quoad dicar*]*etur sub no*/ [*mine Hennensium ... aurea co*]*rona*[96].

---

[91] Cioè [*praedia recip*]*erata*, o verosimilmente *subsiciva*, terre concesse a titolo di risarcimento alla città, nel cui territorio erano stati tagliati i lotti per i coloni dedottivi (cf., per il fenomeno, U. LAFFI, Adtributio e Contributio ..., Pisa 1966, 104 ss.; A. GIARDINA, in: Società romana e prod. schiav., cit., I 93 ss. Cf. CIL IX 3915; X 3805).

[92] Il testo relativo al frammento minore, già da me trascurato, andrebbe integrato all'incirca come segue: *Catinenses mihi concesserunt ut praedia recip*]*erata, ulvi*[*s*] *o*[*nusta et saxis – mancipi*]*o darem et decrever*[*unt de melioribus agris u*]*t inarentur utq*(*ue*) *ev*[*eherentur oves* (cf. Quint., inst., VII 8,4; Plin., ep. VII 30,3), *inventis idoneis conductoribus, qui HS -- m.n. exsolverent. --*] *Nec sola haec erogata s*[*unt, sed -- a procurator*]*e HS CCL m*(*ilia*) *n*(*ummum*) *summi*[*nistrata. – Ne opera incohata*] *impedirentur, ego de m*[*eo supplevi quantu*]*m trecentoru*[*m quingentorum* (?) *m*(*ilium*) *n*(*ummum*) *ad perficiendum aug*]*usteum opus* [*defueret* (cf. CIL X 7238). --- *consensum omnium decurionu*]*m expugna*[*vi – ut a conductoribus* ---] *HS CM quae*[*rerem* – (cf. III fram. con margine inferiore, disegnato in CIL X 2,7024).

[93] Palast und Hütte, cit., 504 s.

[94] Ib., 502 s. Considerazioni non convincenti in contrario in L. CRACCO RUGGINI, Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 499 n. 32. Per una larga definizione dell'*emporium*, bibliografia in L. TABORELLI, Vasi di vetro con bollo monetale. Note sulla produzione, la tassazione e il commercio degli unguenti aromatici nella prima età imperiale, Opus, 1, 1982, 336 n. 24. Cf. anche Bull. ép., 1979, 548 e avanti a n. 154.

[95] ILAlg II 2,6225: essenziale il commento in J. NOLLÉ, Nundinas instituere et habere. Epigraphische Zeugnisse z. Einrichtung und Gestaltung von ländlichen Märkten in Afrika u. in der Prov. Asia, Subsidia Epigraph., 9, 1982, 136 ss.

Questo particolare a mio avviso si spiega solo in riferimento al culto imperiale.

Non corre dubbio che la villa di Piazza Armerina abbia costituito l'epicentro anche amministrativo di un vasto latifondo.

Ville fastose nel IV sec. d.C. potevano appartenere, oltre che a senatori romani, all'imperatore. La larga 'committenza senatoria' di residenze fastose nel IV sec. d.C. non può escludere che proprio la villa di Piazza Armerina, che ha avuto una fase almeno neroniana, come documenta la dedica alla diva Poppea e Nerone rinvenutavi[97], facesse parte del patrimonio imperiale: basta valutare adeguatamente, piuttosto che abbandonarsi a scorribande prosopografiche impertinenti[98], disposizioni del C. Th. come X 2,1 (378 d.C.); X 10,16 (382 d.C.); XV 1,35 (396 d.C.), donde risulta che simili residenze potevano servire per il governatore provinciale[99].

D'altra parte rientravano nella economia dei *praedia* anche le industrie estrattive, alla gestione delle quali, almeno di quante appartenevano all'imperatore, stavano procuratori speciali. Così ad es. a Lipara (penserei al riguardo all'allume e alla pomice), fu posta dal municipio latino una dedica *Cornelio Masu*(*e*)*to procurat*(*ori*) *Ti. Caesar*(*is*) *Aug. et Iuliae August*(*ae*), *ex d. d. p*(*ecunia*) *p*(*ublica*)[100].

Similmente a Tauromenium l'estrazione di blocchi di pietra marmorea (breccia) da cave, forse pervenute con il patrimonio di Gerone II nell'*ager publicus* e poi nel patrimonio imperiale, avveniva nel 108 d.C. *sub cura* di un *Pater*(*nus*) *proc*(*urator*)[101].

---

[96] Così modificherei il testo proposto in Palast und Hütte, cit. 506. Cf. ILS, 5080 ... *amplius nomine suo coronam aureaṁ adiunxit.* A Piazza Armerina è emerso anche un frammento con una iscrizione del genere: *Aed*[*em --*]*us* [-- *praef*(*ectus*) *co*]*h*(*ortis*) *V Gallo*[*rum --*], che fa pensare ad un cursus equestre (Palast und Hütte, cit., 501–2).

[97] Palast und Hütte, cit., 500 s.

[98] Nella ricerca del possibile *dominus* senatorio. Nulla autorizza per la villa di Piazza Armerina a fare il nome di L. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonius, *consularis Siciliae*, come ha ribadito L. CRACCO RUGGINI, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 483 n. 36 e n. 52, e tanto meno a ritrovare quest'ultimo nel Balerius comes del sarcofago di Adelfia (CIL X 2,7123): l'iscrizione, con lo scambio di *V* con *B*, inconcepibile per un colto senatore come Populonius, deve essere stata apposta nella tabella ansata, in occasione di un reimpiego del sarcofago, piuttosto nel VI sec. d.C. quando risulta il *comes civitatis Syracusanae* (Cassiod., var. VI 22; IX 11 e 14) (cf. RE IV 1 [1901] col. 642, s.v. comes civitatis [SEECK]).

[99] Cf. R. MACMULLEN, Two notes on imperial properties, Athen., 54, 1976, 26 s., 31 s. con nota 34. Per un complesso, che a mio avviso prefigura quello che dovrebbe emergere da uno scavo allargato intorno alla villa di Piazza Armerina, con *praetorium* (*villa*), *mansio, horreum, arena* ed edificio termale a Chassenan, in Gallia, cf. REA, 39, 1937, 241 ss.

[100] CIL X 2,7489. In HOLM, op.cit. III 641 nr. 214 detto Masuvius. Cf. anche S. CALDERONE, Diz. Epigr. DE RUGGERO, IV (1962) 4 s.v. Lipara.

[101] CIL X 6996, sfuggita anche a WILSON, Kokalos, 26–27, 1980–81, cit., 240 n. 90. Per il *Tauromenites lithos*, cf. Athen., V 207 f.

Queste attività estrattive venivano realizzate tramite il sistema delle *conductiones*, cioè attraverso l'affitto delle cave e della produzione a *conductores*, di cui è sinonimo *mancipes*[102].

Esplicito riferimento ad essi si incontra in Sicilia, a parte il *frumentum mancipale,* di cui più avanti, soltanto nelle formule su *tegulae sulphuris* della zona agrigentina[103].

Le miniere di zolfo durante il I° Impero, a mio avviso, risultano ancora proprietà di privati, in particolare della gens Annia, di rango senatorio, cui appartiene l'imperatore M. Aurelio. Grazie a quest'ultimo le miniere con i *praedia,* in cui si trovavano, passarono nel patrimonio imperiale. Nelle tegole suddette figurano singoli individui, verosimilmente liberti, nella quasi totalità con il gentilizio Annius espresso al genitivo: a parte *C. Honesti, (A.) Anni Donati, A. Anni Erotis,* in molti esempi con l'indicazione collegiale *Anniorum*[104] (tav. IV, 5; 6). Successivamente appare menzione di *conductores/ mancipes,* indicati egualmente con il genitivo, *cond(uctoris) Trigoni, cond(uctoris) Eustocii*[105], *Aur(eliani) manc(ipis), Iusti [manci]pis, manc(ipum) Georgi, Iusti, Titini(?), Aureliani,* ovvero in forma generica *C C (conductorum)*[106], *manc(ipum) sulforis [prov.] Siciliae.*

In molti esempi è aggiunta la indicazione della *of(ficina) Porciana* (tav. V, 7), *Cassiana, Porcianensis, Ra[mnensis?], Cattianensis, ex of. Gellii Pelori* (tav. V, 8), *ex of. Fanii M[ai?]*[107] associata col *cond. Eustocius,* che appare anche con la *officina Porciana* e con la *Cassiana.* La indicazione dell'imperatore, a parte la formula *ex praediis M. Aureli Commodiani*[108] (tav. VI, 9), resta piuttosto generica – *Antonini Aug., Domini n., D. n. Antonini* (?) *Aug., Imp. Domini Antonini, Imp. Aug. n., Imp. Augg. n., Augustorum nn.* – in qualche caso è aggiunta la menzione della *officina* – *Porciana, Cassiana, Porcianensis, Ra* – talora quella del *conductor*, *Eustocius / Trigonius*, o nella forma abbreviata CC, ovvero del *manceps*, *Iustus / Aur(elianus)*.

---

[102] RE, Suppl. XII (1970) col. 161, s.v. conductores [Urögdi]; TLL, IV, col. 163, s.v. conductor; TLL, VIII, col. 251 s., s.v. manceps. Per il regime di miniere e cave, cf. Taborelli, Opus, 1, 1982, 336 n. 48.

[103] CIL X 2,8044; ILS 8712. Cf. E. De Miro, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–3, 322 s.: a mio avviso, però, è errato distinguere tra il *manceps,* come colui che assume „per appalto l'intera amministrazione" (delle miniere imperiali) e il *conductor,* „impresario del prodotto ai fini della commercializzazione".

[104] La lettura *[Fort]unati* della tegula, Salinas, Not. Sc., 1901, 37 fig. 7 forse da correggere in *[Anni D]ọnati.* Il gentilizio 'Annius' figura su emissioni siceliote in latino del I sec. a.C. (Grant, FITA, cit., 26; 52–54) e in una dedica inedita di Agrigentum (cf. n. 231).

[105] La lettura *Ystoci* è errata: in Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, tav. XLIV fig. 2, prima tegula a d., ultima lin., è ben perspicuo il nesso *EU.* Comunque, cf. Ypsichius per Eupsichius, in: I. Kajanto, Onomastic Studies in the Early Christ. Inscr. of Rome and Carthage, Helsinki 1963, 42,1. In CIL X 8044,8 va letto *Eust[ocii],* come anche nella bella tegola edita da P. Griffo, Kokalos, 9, 1963, 165 s., tav. LIII fig. 1, con l'errata lettura *cond(uctoris) So(ci)di* (?), ripetuta in L. Bivona, I Mestieri, Atti II° Congr. Studi antropologici siciliani, Palermo 1980, 7 con n. 31.

[106] Cf. ILS, 9019, in cui C = *conductor.*

[107] La lettura in Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–3, cit., tav. XLIII fig. 3, 4, 6 *Fani Im[peratoris]* resta inaccettabile. Per Fanius, cf. ILS, 1991.

[108] La tegula, riprodotta in Pace, op.cit., I, 421 fig. 421, con la esatta lettura, come in ILS, 8712, in cui in nota si corregge la lettura *Commodi Ant(onini)* del Salinas, ripetuta dal De Miro, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 321.

In alcune tegole più tarde appare la indicazione consolare in ablativo – [*D. n.*] *Fl(avio) Valerio* | [*Con*]*stantino* | [*Max*]*imo p(io) f(elice) invicto* [*Aug. cos.*] | II, *Iusti* [*manci*]*pis*[109].

Lo sfruttamento delle miniere di zolfo, al quale vanno riferiti, come risulta dalla formula *mancipum sulforis prov. Siciliae* (ILS, 8712), tutti questi documenti, rinvenuti in area agrigentina, si realizzava dietro il pagamento di un *pretium* al fisco imperiale, e in particolare al *procurator*, sulla base di una *professio*. Solo successivamente si poteva procedere legalmente alla fusione o al trasporto del minerale in una *officina*: questo sistema, attestato per i *metalla* spagnoli[110], doveva valere anche in Sicilia.

Le miniere erano aperte in *praedia* privati, come quelli degli Annii, che poi attraverso l'avvento al potere di M. Aurelio, della gens Annia, passarono nel patrimonio imperiale: in analogia con la formula *ex praediis M. Aureli Commodiani*, riferibile a Commodo, sopra citata, che ripete quella di bolli su mattoni delle figlinae imperiali[111], davanti alle indicazioni dell'imperatore, anche generiche, va sempre sottinteso *ex praediis*.

Il fisco imperiale affittava direttamente ai *conductores / mancipes* tutto il ciclo della produzione, che confluiva in una *officina*: il nome dei medesimi era stampigliato, grazie all'impiego delle *tegulae*, sul prodotto confezionato in grandi quadrilateri (in dialetto siciliano, balate) per permetterne il controllo fiscale. Quindi lo zolfo, impiegato variamente[112], veniva esportato: alcune partite, anzi, furono destinate ai mercati dell'Urbe, come risulta dalle *tegulae* stampigliate *Romae. A. Annio Eroti, (ex. of.) Cattianensi*[113] (tav. VII, 11).

---

[109] Così, secondo CIL X 2,8044,4; ILS, 8712 e, a parte la indicazione consolare, mai rilevata, va corretta la lettura riportata dal DE MIRO, art.cit., tav. XLI 6 a (con trascrizione e foto, da cui risulta chiara la cifra II), il quale a p. 324 n. 20 per le lin. 4 – 5, piuttosto che [*Sexti*]|*li Iusti*, propone [*Aure*]|*li Iusti*, nome del *manceps* „di discendenza egregia e ricca". L'altra tegula con formulario simile (CIL X 2,8044,5), non controllabile per la pessima riproduzione, ib., tav. XLI, fig. 6 b, resta enigmatica, a meno non vi si possa ritrovare il nome del *cond.* | *Fl. A*]*ugustus* | [? *Euseb*]*ius v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*. Inutilizzabile anche la riproduzione a tav. XLIV, fig. 1, tegula a d. = tav. XL fig. 5, per un necessario controllo della lettura in CIL X 2,8044,9, da presentare come appresso: *Augustorum* | *n(ostrorum), off(icina) Porcia*|*nensis cu(m) s(i)m*|*m(u)l ilico⟨s⟩ Cass(iana) Porc(iana), manc(ipum) Geor*[*gi*] | *Iusti, Tit*[*iani?*] |, *Aurel*[*iani*] (tav. VI, 10).

[110] Cf. FIRA, I. Leges, ^{2}ed. RICCOBONO, 499 nr. 104 (*lex metallis dicta*), a. 117 – 138 d. C.: *Qui ... convictus erit prius coxisse venam quam pretium ... solvisse ... ante colonum venam coxisse quam pretium partis dimidiae ad fiscum pertinentis numerasse ...* (4), lin. 23 s. *Qui vendere suam partem quive emere volet, aput proc(uratorem), qui metallis praeerit, professionem dato.* (5) *Venas ... in officinas vehere debebunt.* Per un commento, cf. D. FLACH, Die Bergwerksordnungen von Vipasca, Chiron, 9, 1979, 403 ss.

[111] Cf. ad es. ILS, 8663 (CIL XV 761 ss.); anche per domini romani, ad es. ILS, 8658 d, 8661 ss.

[112] Cf. SCRAMUZZA, op.cit., 353; RE, II A,1 (1921) 796 – 801, s.v. Schwefel [BLÜMNER].

[113] Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, tav. XXXVIII fig. 6: a p. 325 resta imprecisa l'affermazione „a una esportazione in Italia ...".

Lo sfruttamento delle miniere, incrementato nel II – III sec. d.C., forse dopo una crisi, dovette riprendere sotto Costantino, come attesta la tegula con la indicazione consolare del 312 d.C., già ricordata, finchè la introduzione di un nuovo sistema fiscale, che colpiva il prodotto soltanto sul mercato di consumo al momento della vendita[114], avrebbe reso inutile il tradizionale controllo della produzione.

Tra i prodotti dell'industria estrattiva, in qualche zona e solo occasionalmente, dovette figurare anche il piombo[115]: tuttavia, le *massae* marcate *L. Plani L. f.* (CIL X 2,8073,3), rinvenute in zona agrigentina, risultano importate dalla Spagna[116]. Una iscrizione funeraria del 452 d.C. relativa ad una Περεγρῖνα ἀπὸ βολιμαρίων, rinvenuta a Siracusa[117], sembra attestare un collegio di *plumbarii*, dedito alla lavorazione del piombo.

Il senso negativo del latifondo, come realtà agraria priva di incentivazione produttiva e tendente al degrado socio-economico, non può adottarsi per la Sicilia nel III sec. d.C., se è vero che il suo entroterra appare costellato da numerosi insediamenti, oltre che da emporia e fattorie, in cui risiedevano e operavano affittuari, sia *conductores / mancipes*, sia di grado inferiore, come i *coloni*. Già all'epoca di Verre si praticava in Sicilia l'affitto di terreno da parte del proprietario (*arator*) ad un *colonus*, che doveva eseguire la *professio iugerum* e perciò sopportare *decumanorum iniurias*, cioè pagare le *decimae* e quanto connesso[118].

In epoca imperiale deve essere invalso in Sicilia, come risulta per l'Africa riguardo ai fundi imperiali, ad es. del *saltus Burunitanus*[119], anche da parte di privati il grosso affitto a *conductores*, i quali, versata la somma pattuita, provvedevano alla messa a cultura dei *praedia*, sia mediante contratti a partecipazione con *coloni*, sia ricorrendo all'impiego di schiavi guidati dal *vilicus*[120]. Grandi proprietà terriere erano giunte in mano di membri della nobiltà senatoria romana e della classe equestre, ormai in gran parte diversi da quelli dell'età repubblicana. Tuttavia, Sextus Pompeius, console del 14 d.C., discendente da un fratello del padre di Pompeo Magno, dovette possedere vaste tenute in Sicilia (Ovidio lo apostrofa in Pont., IV15,15 *rex Trinacriae*), che verosimilmente furono confiscate da Caligola[121]. Io credo che questa politica di confisca di terre, specie di quelle abbandonate, appartenenti a grandi proprietari assenteisti, puntualizzabile da Nerone ai Flavi riguardo all'Egitto e all'Africa[122], sia stata applicata anche in Sicilia: in tal modo si potrebbero spiegare la formazione del 'blocco ennese' del latifondo imperiale, del quale può costituire testimonianza indiretta la dedica alla diva Poppea e a Nerone rinvenuta tra il materiale reimpiegato nella villa di Piazza Armerina[123], e una larga disponibilità di terre, che il fisco imperiale può aver venduto nel triangolo Lilybaeum-Panhormus-Thermae. In questa prospettiva, infatti, si spiega agevolmente la deduzione di veterani, con assegnazione di lotti, nel territorio di Panhormus e di Segesta da parte di Vespasiano (Lib. Col. I, Gromat. vet. ed. C. LACHMAN, p. 211). D'altra parte nel suddetto triangolo geografico debbono essersi formati latifondi capaci di garantire l'ascesa di membri delle élites municipali, o dell'ordine equestre, siciliani (anche se in ultima analisi di origine italica) fino al Senato di Roma. È significativo, infatti, che il primo senatore siciliano si registri a Thermae sotto i Flavi nella persona di L. Acilius Rufus, console designato sotto Traiano nel 106 d.C., e poi a Lilybaeum, all'epoca di Commodo, un altro nella persona di M. Marcius Bietis[124].

---

[114] Per quanto oscura la questione è posta in DE LAET, op.cit., 464 s.

[115] A piombo siciliano allude Dioscoride: cf. PACE, op.cit., I, 428. WILSON, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1981 – 82, 240 con nota 87 afferma per la Sicilia che il piombo sia „*virtually absent*".

[116] WILSON, 240 n. 88. Rilevo in Sicilia, dall'entroterra gelese, un quadrilatero in piombo, che ricorda un signaculum, di gr. 385, sul quale si legge, a belle lettere al negativo, *Chryses / Silani.*

[117] Cf. C. WESSEL, Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae veteres Occidentis, Dissert. Halensis 1936, 22 nr. 127, dove in nota si cita Etym. Magn. βολιμος· ἔστι μόλιβος· καὶ κατὰ ἐναλλαγὴν βόλιμος παρὰ Συρακουσίοις, e si interpreta οἱ βολιμάριοι = *plumbariorum collegium.*

[118] Cf. il caso di Xenon di Menaeum in Cic., in Verr. III,22,55: ... *fundus erat colono locatus*, con le osservazioni di S. MAZZARINO, Atti I Congr. Intern. Studi Ciceroniani, Centro di Studi Ciceroniani ed., Roma 1959, II, 1961, 100 s. Cf. anche M. ROSTOWZEW, Studien ... röm. Kolonates, Leipzig 1910, 238.

[119] Palast und Hütte, op.cit., 510 n. 9.

[120] Cf. RE, Suppl. XII (1970) coll. 161 ss., s.v. conductor [ÜRÖGDI]; IV 1, 1901, 486 ss., s.v. colonatus [SEECK]. Per il *vilicus* (gr. πραγματευτής) addetto a proprietà di membri delle alte classi, bibliografia ora in W. GÜNTHER, Istanb. Mitt., 35, 1985, 190 (vedi anche Bull. ép., 1980, 412).

Domizia Longina, sopravvissuta a lungo al marito, l'imperatore Domiziano, possedette terre in zona di Ramacca, nelle quali si praticava l'allevamento di greggi[125], e forse anche in zona di Tauromenium, se tanto è lecito dedurre da una dedica alla stessa quale imperatrice[126]. In realtà poteva trattarsi, per quelli di Ramacca, di *praedia* già appartenuti al padre Cn. Domizio Corbulone, legato di Siria, regione donde proveniva verosimilmente Abdalas *magister magnus ovium*[127].

Nel territorio catanese rientrava anche il *vicus* di Akis, col quale era connesso un qualche grande frutteto, come lascia pensare un epigramma in greco, seguito da un distico latino, che presenta una variazione della poesia priapea[128]. Comunque, sempre in area catanese deve essersi formato anche qualche notevole latifondo, come quello curato da *Gallicanus fidelissimus, qui fuit vilicus Afinianis* (CIL X 7041) (tav. VII,12): questi (*praedia*) *Afiniana* riportano al gentilizio Afinius, recato dalla moglie dell'imperatore Vibius Gallus Trebonianus, oriundo da Perugia, il cui figliolo si chiamò pertanto C. Vibius Afinius Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus (ILS, 526–7). Questo latifondo poteva appartenere, fin dal I–II sec. d.C., quando riportano i caratteri epigrafici della citata iscrizione, alla famiglia della madre di quest'ultimo, Afinia Gemina Baebiana.

---

[121] R. SYME, History in Ovid, Oxford 1978, 156 s., cit. in SALMERI, art.cit., 19.

[122] PAVIS D'ESCURAC, op.cit., 182 s.

[123] Ricostruita in Palast und Hütte, cit., 500, come segue: [*Divae*] *Augus*[*tae*] [*Popp*]*aeae* / [*Neroni Cl*]*aud*[*io*] / [*Caesari A*]*ugu*[*sto*] / [*Germ*]*anic*[*o*] / [*p.m. tr. pot.–imp.*] *cos.* [*p.p.*] / [–– *H*]*onora*[*tus*] / [? *sacerdos Augusti*] *a po*[*pulo*] | [–, *qui dedic*]*atio*[*ne epu* / *lum sing. decurioni*]*bus* [–– –].

[124] Tituli, 5, 1982, 373 – 4.

[125] SALMERI, art.cit., 13 s.

[126] Cron. di archeol., 3, 1964, 41 s. (G. BARBIERI, Kokalos, 14 – 15, 1968 – 69, 193): [*D*]*omit*[*iae Aug.*] / *Imp. Do*[*mitiani*] | *Cae*[*s. Aug.*].

[127] SALMERI, art.cit., 14.

[128] SEG, IV 59, ripreso in: Il tempio greco in Sicilia, Architettura e Culti, Atti Ia riunione scient. Scuola archeol. class. Università Catania, 1979 (1985), 162 – 3. Cfr. anche a n. 134.

Un cippo lavico, rinvenuto alla periferia nord-occidentale di Catania, con l'iscrizione *Fines V(i)b(i) Sever(i)*, segnava i confini della proprietà di un Vibius, gentilizio diffuso in Sicilia[129] (tav. VIII, 13; 14).

La predilezione con cui Marziale (II 46; XIII 105) in epoca flavia, al di là del topos letterario, allude al miele ibleo e a Hybla – certamente la Hybla Meizon, che Pausania (V 23,6) nel II sec. d.C. definisce *'eremos'* e compresa „nel territorio catanese", e che è da ritrovare in zona tra Ragusa e Vizzini[130] – oltre a far pensare ad una diffusione del miele ibleo nel mercato dell'Urbe, presuppone l'esistenza in tale zona iblea di tenute a coltivazioni arboree, che permettessero l'apicoltura su larga scala, e la familiarità del paesaggio 'ibleo' ai nobili romani, ai quali il poeta si rivolge[131].

Persino qualche senatore di area greca possedette terre in Sicilia, in zona trapanese, come si deduce da due dediche in greco poste a [῾Ρο]ῦφος Νεικόμαχος Ἰουλιανός, l'una (IG XIV 284) da Εὐτυχίων ἐπίτροπος al padrone ancora solo ὕπατος, l'altra (IG XIV 283) da Ἀσίννιος Ἀμίαντος ἐπίτροπος allo stesso, che è designato anche come ἀνθύπατος Ἀσίας δικαι(ό)τατος[132].

D'altra parte, riguardo alla Sicilia, come alla Gallia Narbonese, con l'evidente scopo di incentivarvi gli acquisti di terra, „e per la prossimità e per esserne gli abitanti disarmati e pacifici, fu concesso a quanti (senatori) vi avessero acquistato beni fondiari, di entrarvi anche senza permesso (imperiale) tutte le volte che lo volessero"[133].

Entro le singole unità agrarie (*praedia*), laddove si trovavano cave di buona argilla, si organizzarono *officinae*, la cui produzione laterizia poteva soddisfare la richiesta del mercato relativamente prossimo. Diversamente che per il settore dello zolfo, in cui si verifica l'assorbimento della proprietà privata da parte del patrimonio imperiale, che si avvale di affittuari, l'industria laterizia è rimasta sempre in mano di privati. Anche se soltanto affittuari della cava di argilla, diversi privati in epoca imperiale organizzarono la produzione in *figlinae* proprie, perpetuando un sistema, di cui si rilevano esempi già dal III al I sec. a.C. Allora si solevano bollare mattoni piatti e tegole alquanto ricurve non solo con determinativi 'politici' (ad es. col nome anche abbreviato della città e dell'edificio pubblico, come teatro o santuario, o della divinità)[134] – al fine di vietare un impiego privato dei prodotti e di affermarne implicitamente un regime di privilegio fiscale – ma anche col nome del produttore al genitivo, talora abbreviato, responsabile fiscalmente[135].

---

[129] CIL X 2, 7022; Sicul. Gymn., 16, 1964, 192–4.

[130] Stor. Sic., II, 453.

[131] Tuttavia esagera lo Scramuzza, op.cit., 366.

[132] Accolta la lettura [῾Ρο]ῦφον alla lin. 1, rilevata da A. Brugnone, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 388 s., poichè il cippo sulla base superiore appare integro, va escluso che si potesse leggere in una linea precedente Ἀσίννιον. Pertanto il personaggio non è un Asinnius, ma un Rufus, per noi oscuro, anche se non va esclusa una connessione con un parente o un antenato del console [– –]*s Allia*[*nus*] *Rufus Iulianus*, di incerta cronologia (A. Degrassi, I Fasti consolari dell'Impero romano, Roma 1952, 135), se non del proconsole di Asia Iulianus della fine del IV sec. d.C. (C. Iust. VII 45,12).

[133] Dio Cass., LII 42,6–7; Tac., ann. XII, 23.

In epoca imperiale, il controllo doganale esercitato dal fisco sulla produzione delle *figlinae* private dovette crescere: queste erano gestite da *officinatores*, i quali furono obbligati a bollare col proprio nome il prodotto, siano stati essi stessi proprietari dei fondi con le cave o semplici *conductores*.

In ogni caso dai bolli latini[136] non emergono connessioni col patrimonio imperiale e al più figura qualche liberto di famiglia senatoria: si leggono, limitandoci ai casi meno incerti, *nomina* ovvero *cognomina* al genitivo (*Albii*; *Cl. Marci*; *Clari Postumi*; *Iuniani*; *Filippiani*), al nominativo (*Notius Piso*), talora a coppia come *Solemnis* et *Natalis C(a)ssior(um) (servi)*[137], *B. Abietis N.* | Σεκόνδου; *C(ai) A(uli) Crispi*, due fratelli, ovvero *tria nomina*, per liberti, come *M. Aemil(ius) Corion, M. Furi(us) Princeps, C. Sexti Eutychetis*[138].

---

[134] A parte quanto osserva E. GABBA, anche a proposito delle κεραμῖδες πολιτικαί, in: Hellenismus in Mittelitalien. Kolloq. in Göttingen 1974, hrsg. v. PAUL ZANKER (Abhandl. Ak. Wiss. Gött. Phil.-hist. Kl., III, 97, 1976), 321 con nota 9, a Iaiton ellenistica prodotti di fabbriche cittadine, destinati a edifici sacri, presentano anche il bollo con l'eponimo (ad es. ἱεραί, ἐπὶ Ταμμάρου) o con la sigla della città (= 'Ιαίτου, ἱεραί) ovvero col solo nome dell'eponimo (ad es. ἐπὶ Τίτου, nome già attestato per Eracleoti di Lucania a Delos: Bull. ép., 1968, 601) (cf. P. MÜLLER, Gestempelte Ziegel, in: Studia Ietina, I, Zürich 1976, 58 nr. 10; 56 nr. 6; 61 nr. 20). A proposito va ribadito che 'Ιαίτου, impresso su tegole da M. Iato, dacchè costituisce la leggenda di una emissione della città, riporta alla forma "Ιαιτον / "Ιαιτος, non 'Ιαίτας (cf. Kokalos, 25, 1979, 353). Per altri bolli 'politici', come δαμόσιος / δαμόσια, o che recano il nome della divinità ovvero la indicazione dell'uso sacrale o pubblico ('delle mura'), cf. R. J. A. WILSON, Brick and Tiles in Roman Sicily, BAR, 68, 1979, 18 con n. 33; 23; 33 n. 16; 37 n. 57: il bollo "Ακιος (Not. Sc., 1903, 442, Acireale) può riferirsi sia al nome del *vicus* (vedi indietro a n. 128), che a quello del dio eponimo, se per la costruzione di un edificio consacrato allo stesso il mattone fu destinato. Il bollo sul mattone di Caronia (IG XIV 2395,7; Kokalos, 17, 1971, 22 s.; Bull. ép., 1976, 41; WILSON, 36 n. 56) può essere sciolto δά(μου) Καλακτ(ίνων), ἱερός (sc. κέραμος).

[135] Ad es. Δίων(ος), Διονυσίου, 'Ονάσου (cf. WILSON, note 16; 33–34; 52; 61).

[136] Ricca rassegna di L. BIVONA, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 368 ss., la quale conclude, p. 385, che i bolli „siano da attribuirsi prevalentemente a imprenditori, che svolgevano in proprio una attività commerciale, piuttosto che a grandi proprietari terrieri".

[137] CIL X 2,8045,22, correggendo la lettura *Cossior*: si tratterebbe quindi di due servi della gens Cassia, attestata da piombi mercantili a Lipara (Stor. Sic., II, 457 n. 86) (vedi, altresì, avanti a n. 196), se non proprio della più oscura Cossia.

[138] Cf. WILSON, art. cit. BAR, 68, 1979, note 35 e 52: Abietis è trascrizione latina del greco 'Αβιήτης (per cui, D. FORABOSCHI, Onomast. alt. papyrol., s.v.); BIVONA, art.cit., 376; 373.

L'importazione di laterizi dall'Italia o da Roma, ad es. col bollo *Q. Oppi Iusti*[139], in età adrianea, come anche dall'Africa (ad es. CIL X 8045,12), doveva integrare la produzione locale, la quale tuttavia sembra abbia ripreso intensa con i Severi. Bolli con *nomina* o *cognomina* sovente abbreviati, da svolgere al genitivo, si rilevano su un abbondante materiale, distribuito variamente: *Petil(i)* in zona di Licata[140]; nell'entroterra gelese *Galba(e)*; in quello camarinese *Calvi, Sab(ini), Sepul(li)* (il bollo letto *SIRF*); in zone incerte *Egnati, Anna(ei)* vel *An(ni)*; *Pop(ili) Mem(oriani) Paetiani*, un gruppo di tre *conductores / officinatores*, che hanno bollato laterizi anche separatamente e in forma più abbreviata, ad es. *Pae*[141]. Pertanto, diversamente che nell'Urbe, in cui la produzione laterizia risulta legata ad un senatore – *dominus* dei *praedia*, in cui sorgeva la *figlina*[142], in Sicilia si tratta piuttosto di semplici *conductores / officinatores*.

Inaccettabile mi sembra, perciò, la interpretazione, secondo la quale i bolli *Calvi* e *Galba* siano da svolgere *Calvi(siana praedia)* e *Galba(na praedia)*[143], richiamando la *statio Calvisiana* degli 'Itineraria' e i *praedia Galbana* attestati da una iscrizione di Roma (ILS, 3840), da riferire all'imperatore Galba. Questi bolli indicherebbero il latifondo, dove operavano le *figlinae*, da cui sono usciti i laterizi bollati, la dispersione dei quali anzi segnerebbe la estensione del relativo latifondo.

Alla base di tale interpretazione credo stia un equivoco, che bisogna dissipare: le *stationes* del *cursus publicus* segnate sugli 'Itineraria', per alcune delle quali (*Calvisiana, Petiliana* e *Philosophiana*) si è rilevata una corrispondenza in certi bolli (*Calvi, Petil., Fil·sop*), anche se esse recano il nome dei proprietari dei *praedia*, entro i quali sono sorte, restano anzitutto piccoli centri abitati, di tipo rurale con uno statuto del genere del *vicus*.

Il bollo *Fil·sop(hianis)*, il solo che non trova analogie onomastiche, va connesso con la *statio* di Philosophiana, in quanto questa era un centro vicale, per le cui esigenze edilizie pubbliche i coppi con tale bollo[144] furono confezionati. Non già perchè Philosophiana costituiva una unità latifondistica autonoma e autosufficiente.

Quanto ai bolli *Calvi* e *Galba*, per analogia con gli altri essi debbono essere intesi quali nomi personali di *conductores / officinatores*. Il bollo *Calvi* – mentre il toponimo *Calvisiana* può risalire ad un *praedium* appartenuto ad un Calvisius, magari a C. Calvisius Sabinus, coinvolto da Ottaviano nella spedizione contro Sesto Pompeo[145], nel quale sorse il *vicus-statio* dell'‘Itinerario’ – andrà più agevolmente riferito ad un liberto, designato al genitivo o del *nomen* ‘Calvius’ o del *cognomen* ‘Calvus’ (come ‘*Albii*’ o ‘*Filippiani*’). Similmente il bollo *Petil(i)* – mentre la *statio* Petiliana può ripetere la denominazione del *praedium* appartenuto ad un rappresentante della gens Petilia attestata a Siracusa per l'età di Verre[146] – andrà riferito ad un liberto, che era *conductor* o proprietario della *figlina*, il cui prodotto egli bollava. D'altra parte i laterizi coi bolli *Calvi* e *Galba* hanno conosciuto una larga diffusione: il WILSON[147] ha notato che con i bolli *Calvi* sono associati costantemente nelle stesse località bolli *Sab(ini)* e *Sepul(li)*. E allora, quale dei tre bolli indica il toponimo latifondistico? Si tratta piuttosto di nomi dei *conductores*-imprenditori!

---

[139] CIL X 2,8045,1 e 15 (Gela) (Bivona, art.cit., 380).

[140] A. Li Gotti, Note su Philosophiana e Calloniana alla luce di nuovi rinvenimenti archeologici, ASS, 7, 1955, 241 s.

[141] Ampia illustrazione, anche se con diversa interpretazione, in Wilson, art.cit., 27 ss. Per Sepullius, artigiano, cf. RE, II A 2 (1923) col. 1628 [Keune]; per Memorianus, cf. CIL X, 2,7211 (Mazara).

[142] Cf. M. Steinby, I senatori e l'industria laterizia urbana, Tituli, 4, 1982, 227 ss.

[143] Cf. Wilson, BAR 1979, 26; De Miro, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 328; Bivona, ib. 371.

[144] D. Adamesteanu, Boll. d'arte, 41, 1956, 158; G. P. Verbrugghe, Sicilia, Itinera Romana 2, Bern 1976, 83, il quale scrive „*sigillata chiara with* FIL·SOP"; Cracco Ruggini, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 499 con n. 32; 504 n. 37. Resta il solo bollo, di cui non ho potuto controllare l'esistenza.

D'altronde la larga dispersione dei laterizi con il bollo Galba in zone distanti tra loro 50 Km.[148], piuttosto che autorizzarci a concludere per un unico latifondo tanto enorme, dovrebbe semplicemente attestare una grande affermazione commerciale del prodotto delle *figlinae*, che tutte bollavano col nome Galba (anche solo Galb.), e usavano una ottima argilla, capaci di soddisfare la domanda dei mercati anche meno prossimi. I laterizi viaggiavano non solo via mare dall'Italia, da Roma o dall'Africa fino in Sicilia, ma anche verosimilmente lungo le direttrici del traffico viario nell'interno dell'isola.

Invece, va chiarita la origine e funzione economica e sociale, a parte quella itineraria, delle *stationes* degli Itinerari, che presentano la forma aggettivale al neutro plurale in *-iana*: a parte Philosophiana (Φιλοσοφιανά in Vita S. Gregori Agrig., Patr. Gr. XCVIII 652,4) e ancora Calvisiana e Petiliana, risultano Capitoniana, Cosconiana, Comitiana, Galloniana, Pitiniana[149]. Sembra ovvio sottintendere *praedia*, come nel caso di Afiniana in CIL X 2,7041, già ricordato, anche se non può escludersi *refugia* (si legge *Hereum sive Cymbis refugium*, ad es.), essendo utile in un itinerario la indicazione di luoghi, dove sostando trovare *katagogion / xenodochium*[150]. Questi *praedia* hanno mantenuto assai probabilmente il nome del primo possessore romano, che solo in qualche caso sarà stato di rango senatorio o equestre, come può sembrare lecito pensare per Calvisiana e Petiliana (vedi a n. 145 e 146). Al gentilizio Cosconius[151] può risalire Cosconiana e ad un Gallonius[152] Galloniana. Piuttosto al *cognomen* ʻCapito/nisʼ potrà rimandare ʻCapitonianaʼ, mentre non trovano connessioni con gentilizi noti Carconiana (se non coincide con Cosconiana), Pitiniana (si può tuttavia richiamare Pitinum, centro dell'Umbria), Comitiana, che potrebbe invece designare un luogo di riunione, *comitium*, o una stazione militare di *comitiani*[153].

---

[145] RE, III 1 (1897) coll., 1411 s., s.v. Calvisius nr. 13 [MÜNZER].

[146] RE, XIX 1 (1937) col. 1136, s.v. Petilius [MÜNZER] nr. 3; NICOLET, L'ordre éq., cit. II, Paris 1974, 975 s., nr. 266. A Catania una liberta Petillia (CIL X 2,7082).

[147] BAR, 68, 1979, 26–29.

[148] Ib.

[149] VERBRUGGHE, op.cit., 55 ss., 62 s., 82 s.; G. UGGERI, Kokalos, 28–29, 430 ss.; G. ALESSIO, Fortune della grecità linguistica in Sicilia, Palermo 1970, 49 n. 154. S. CALDERONE ha ripreso il problema in: Contesto storico, Committenza e Cronologia, La Villa Romana di Piazza Armerina, Atti IV Riunione sc. Scuola arch., Univ. Catania 1983 (1987), 18 ss.

[150] Per l'età bizantina, cf. G. HUSSON, L'hospitalité dans les papyrus byzantins, in: Akten d. XIII int. Papyrologenkongr. Marburg, Lahn 1971, 170 ss., ed. E KIESSLING, H. A. RUPPRECHT, München 1974.

[151] RE, IV 2 (1901) col. 1670, s.v. Cosconius [MÜNZER]. Cf. ILS, 8649 b: *Teg(ula) C. Cosconi, fig(linis) Asin(i) Poll(ionis)*, del I sec. d.C.

Tuttavia, come hanno rivelato gli scavi a Sofiana, identificata con Philosophiana, in questa *statio* sorgeva un abitato con edifici pubblici, termali (poi basilica) e portici, il quale doveva possedere tutte le caratteristiche del *vicus*, per il quale erano stati confezionati i coppi fittili col bollo relativo. E un *vicus* è anche definibile *emporium*[154], nel quale dovevano svolgersi fiere periodiche. Ancora una volta si può richiamare la iscrizione di Algeria, posta da Phosphorus, il quale nella dedica per la dea Caelestis ricorda di aver costruito una *aedis* (*templum*) e il *vicus*, il quale *nomine ipsius appellatur*, e istituito *nundinae*[155].

Personaggi della stessa categoria di Phosphorus, a vocazione mercantile e imprenditoriale, si saranno insediati anche nell'entroterra della Sicilia, nei punti nevralgici del traffico, laddove erano sorti vici, a ognuno dei quali fu trasferito il nome del possessore del *praedium* connesso, non sempre nè necessariamente a dimensione latifondistica, e sui quali vennero a sboccare prodotti e redditi.

Il panorama di un predominio del latifondo nella Sicilia nel III – IV sec. d., a mio avviso, deve essere scomposto in tanti quadri diversificati, animati ora da *praedia*, in cui erano sorti vici, ora da *villae*, ora da *emporia*, in cui si movevano diverse realtà economiche, produttive e acquisitive: la villa di Piazza Armerina, che io inquadro nella storia del latifondo imperiale, trovava nel *vicus* – *emporium* connesso (la cui esistenza giustifica la natura del materiale epigrafico emerso nel tumultuoso scavo) e nella *statio* di Philosophiana, un altro *vicus*, toccato dalla strada Catina-Agrigentum, le ragioni vitali.

Una condizione analoga doveva risultare nel territorio siracusano, nel quale sorgevano almeno due vici, 'Ορτησιανά attestato da due iscrizioni[156] – per il quale può sembrare suggestiva la connessione col bollo *Hortes*, rilevato su una tegola rinvenuta a Melilli[157], che va piuttosto sciolto *Hortes(ii)*, segnando il nome di un ennesimo imprenditore di *figlinae* – e Λογαριανά, indicato su una iscrizione funeraria di Akrai per un Ianouarios, che era stato

[152] RE, XIV 2 (1930) coll. 1596ss., s.v. Marcius (Tremulus) [MÜNZER].

[153] Cf. C. Th., VIII 4,18 (394 d.C.).

[154] Palast und Hütte, op.cit., 509 e n. 65; Bull. ép., 1979, 548.

[155] Vedi indietro a n. 95.

[156] Una di Siracusa per Εὐτυχία ἀπὸ 'Ορτησιανῶν (Arch. stor. sirac., 1975/6, 35 s.), l'altra di Modica (Trepiedi) per un Aithales, che fece „la santa chiesa ἐν 'Ορτησιανοῖς e questo cimitero" (L. AGNELLO, Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia, Roma 1953, 47 nr. 93): la chiesa sarà stata innalzata in luogo diverso dal cimitero! Cf. ancora A. BRUGNONE, Epigrafia Greca, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 454.

[157] P. ORSI, Not. Sc., 1889, 389 (BIVONA, art.cit., 370 n. 5).

presbyteros per 44 anni ἐν Λογαριανοῖς[158]. Ebbene con uno di questi due *vici*, sorti in funzione di *praedia* denominati da un Hortensius / Hortesius l'uno, da un Longarius (?) l'altro, potrà connettersi la villa tardo-romana emersa in questi ultimi lustri in zona del Tellaro[159].

Concludendo, tra fine III e inizio IV sec. d. C., latifondo imperiale, non sempre a dimensioni enormi, specie dove erano *metalla* di zolfo, *praedia*, in cui sorgevano anche *figlinae* gestite da *conductores*, *villae*, non tutte di senatori e qualcuna legata al patrimonio imperiale, *vici* – *emporia*, nei quali confluiva ogni produzione dei *praedia*, animavano il territorio fuori delle grandi città costiere, che ricevevano beni e distribuivano redditi.

2. *Ager publicus* e *annona*

Anche l'*ager publicus* del popolo Romano, al quale Cicerone nelle Verrine ha fatto più volte riferimento, pur senza dichiarare mai, a parte quello leontineo, la precisa ubicazione degli altri cinque blocchi, che lo componevano[160], ha persistito in Sicilia per l'età augustea e oltre. Da esso proveniva una certa quantità di frumento per l'*annona urbana*. A parte i topoi letterari e iconografici – quali sono stati giudicati un passo di Aelius Aristides (Εἰς Ῥώμ., 12), un mosaico di Ostia, della via dei Vigili, e una base del Museo Vaticano, con personificazioni della Sicilia (col simbolo della triquetra), di Roma e della Annona[161] – per la Sicilia frumentaria nel II sec. d.C. conserva un grande interesse una iscrizione bilingue di Efeso relativa a C. Vibius Salutaris[162]. Questi, cavaliere e benefattore di Efeso, è definito, prima che con i tre gradi della carriera equestre (è pervenuto fino a *subprocurator* provinciale), *promag(ister) portuum provinc(iae) Siciliae, item promag(ister) frumenti mancipalis*, intorno al 104 d.C. Questi titoli fanno pensare a funzioni amministrative straordinarie, create per l'occasione. A me sembra ora trattarsi, piuttosto che del rappresentante di una società di *publicani*, come avevo creduto[163], di un funzionario imperiale destinato a controllare le dogane portuali di Sicilia e le spedizioni a Roma di frumento, versato dai *mancipes/conductores* dell'*ager publicus* siciliano, per soddisfare impreviste esigenze dell'*annona urbana*[164]. Nella redazione greca si legge, infatti, ἀρχώνης σείτου δήμου Ῥωμαίων. Confrontabile con questa straordinaria di Vibius Salutaris appare la funzione di C. Graecinus Firminus, *praef(ectus) fabrum et frument(i) mancipalis provinc(iae) Africae*[165]: al servizio di un siffatto funzionario stavano schiavi imperiali,

---

[158] AGNELLO, op.cit., 38 nr. 66; L. BERNABÒ BREA, Akrai, Catania 1956, 167 nr. 39.

[159] Provvisorie notizie in: Kokalos, 18 – 19, 1972 – 3, 190 s.; 22 – 23, 1976 – 77, 572 s.

[160] Stor. Sic., II, 423 s.

[161] CRACCO RUGGINI, Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 509 s., e le riserve di E. GABBA, ib., 524 s.

[162] ILS, 7193 – 5 e ora: Die Inschr. von Ephesos, I 2, Bonn 1979, 224 – 249, nr. 28 – 37.

[163] Palast und Hütte, cit. 490. Cf. anche F. MILLAR, The Emperor in the Roman World, London 1977, 622 s.; DE LAET, op.cit., 386 s., 398 n. 3 pensa ad un *conductor*.

[164] Cf. PAVIS D'ESCURAC, op.cit., 183 s.

[165] AÉ, 1952, 225 (Tessalonica).

dispensatores[166]. Si può ancora ricordare, per la titolatura, il *promagister XX hereditatium* e per la funzione il caso di T. Flavius Macer, che prima di diventare, alla fine del regno di Traiano, procuratore di Sicilia, fu *curator frumenti comparandi in annonam Urbis*[167].

Il ricorso ad affittuari, *mancipes / conductores*, era normale sia per lo sfruttamento delle miniere, ad es. di zolfo, come si è già illustrato, che per quello dell'*ager publicus*, che in Sicilia sarà inglobato, come altrove, nel patrimonio imperiale piuttosto con i Severi[168]. Di norma questi *mancipes* avranno versato un *pretium* in danaro: tuttavia, impreviste esigenze della annona, che l'Africa o l'Egitto non avranno potuto soddisfare, possono aver imposto sotto Traiano versamenti in frumento, detto perciò mancipale.

Al fine di permettere regolari forniture di grano o di altri prodotti dalla Sicilia a favore dell'*annona urbana,* sarà stata realizzata, a cura del *praefectus annonae*, una sistemazione portuale sulla costa presso Caucana (prossima alla scomparsa Camarina), come risulta da una iscrizione frammentaria, attribuibile all'età dei Severi, rinvenutavi[169]. Ancora, l'intervento della Sicilia a forniture straordinarie di *annona*, verosimilmente per l'esercito imperiale, sembra deducibile da una iscrizione funeraria in greco, corretta in vari punti dal lapicida, di Akrai[170] (tav. IX, 15), che va datata per i caratteri al III sec. d.C. Vi si legge che Alfio Clodio, figlio di Lucio e di Cecilia (gentilizi documentati nelle iscrizioni di Buscemi, di età tiberiana), vissuto 32 anni, 10 mesi e 21 giorni, morto nel giorno del Sole, il 6 novembre, è stato *duumvir* per due volte (ἄρξας τὴν δευτέραν ἀρχήν)[171] e ha partecipato ad ambascerie presso l'imperatore (βασιλεύς) per tre volte „per trasporto di vettovaglie"[172].

---

[166] Cf. ILS, 1536 (Roma) *Lysimacho Aug(usti) (servo), disp(ensatori) frument(i) mancip(alis)*; CIL II 1197 (Betica) = J. Vives, Inscripciones latinas de la España romana, Barcelona 1971, 1467: *Pius Aug. n. verna, dispensator tr(itici ?) mancip(alis)*. Cf. anche TLL, VIII, col. 1417, 39s., s.v. mancipalis.

[167] Pavis D'Escurac, op.cit., 73; 427.

[168] Millar, op.cit., 621 s. Per la problematica relativa cf. E. Lo Cascio, Patrimonium, Ratio privata, Res privata, AIISS, 1971–2, 55 s.

[169] Palast und Hütte, cit., 496 s.

[170] IG, XIV 235; IGRR I, 1911, 497; Agnello, Sill., cit., 85 e nr. 63; L. Bernabò Brea, op.cit., 166 nr. 37 (con lettura corretta di G. Pugliese Carratelli).

[171] Cf. IGRR IV 1632 (Philadelphia): ἄρξας τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν (W. Liebenam, Städteverwaltung im röm. Kaiserreiche, Leipzig 1900, 281 s.); III 68 (Prusias ad Hypium), 8: ἄρξαντα τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχὴν ἐνδόξως, παραπέμψαντα τοὺς κυρίους αὐτοκράτορας (Caracalla o Elagabalo) πολλάκις (Bull. ép., 1979, 581). Vedi anche H. J. Mason, Greek Terms for Roman Institutions. A Lex. and Analysis, Toronto 1974, 113 (vi si cita SEG, XIX 830: ἄρξας τὴν δυανδρίαν).

[172] Sul significato tecnico di παραπομπή (ἀννώνας), cf. W. Ameling, Epigr. Anatolica, 1, 1983, 70: „*Ausdruck für die Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln ..., Transport von Verpflegung*", e ancora n. 36. M. Rostovzev, Storia ... Imp. Rom., cit. 492 n. 45 intende „παραπομπή (*prosecutio*) di vettovaglie per l'esercito", citando IGRR IV 1247 e I 497, che è precisamente l'iscrizione di Akrai, proponendovi καὶ (τρὶς) παραπομπε(ύσας). Di contro il Kaibel, IG, XIV 235 annota: „*Clodius igitur ter legationibus ad imperatorem missis praesidii causa comes ... additus*". Il Mommsen, CIL X 2, p. 736 propone di

L'imperatore, lontano da Roma (altrimenti questa sarebbe stata menzionata), presumibilmente in campagna militare, fu raggiunto dalle ambascerie partite dalla Sicilia, verosimilmente inviate dal Commune Siciliae in nome delle città siciliane[173], alle quali partecipò Clodio tutte e tre le volte, per consegnare annona (ad es. olio, vino, frumento, cuoiame, etc.). Doveva trattarsi di versamenti straordinari, intorno ai quali forse gli ambasciatori siciliani avranno presentato qualche lamentela all'imperatore.

La identificazione del *basileus*, indicato genericamente forse perchè non fu sempre lo stesso, naturalmente resta ipotetica. Molteplici confronti farebbero pensare anzitutto a Caracalla, raggiunto nelle sue campagne militari dagli ambasciatori di numerose città dell'Impero, e anche a Macrino[174].

In ogni caso, va notato che le forniture di *annona* militare assunsero un carattere regolare almeno con Gallieno[175].

3. Organizzazione fiscale e ordine pubblico

Lo *stipendium provinciale*, stabilizzato per la Sicilia con Augusto, anche se introdotto piuttosto da Cesare, di entità sconosciuta, sarà stato raccolto riguardo alle singole città *stipendiariae*, ad eccezione di tre privilegiate (Centuripae, Netum e Segesta), in proporzione dell'*ager* demaniale e di quello privato, e quindi consegnato secondo le *pactiones* ai rappresentanti delle società di *publicani*, che lo avevano appaltato per l'intero, finchè queste ultime non furono abolite, sostituite da una nuova organizzazione. Invalse infatti il sistema di affitti a *conductores / mancipes*, posti sotto il controllo del questore

---

correggere παραποντίας „*si id accipi potest de transmarino*". Il CAGNAT, IGRR I 497 intende „παραπομπῆς, *is qui comitatur aliquem praesidii vel honoris causa; ... Alfius Clodius ter electus ad comitandos sive legatos sive praesidem provinciae iter facientes*".

[173] Ecco una ulteriore testimonianza dell'istituto illustrato da F. SARTORI, Klio, 63, 1981, 401 s. (vedi indietro a n. 52). A proposito, AGNELLO, Sill. nr. 63, p. 85, anche se in una interpretazione inaccettabile per *basileus*, tanto più che l'iscrizione non presenta alcun elemento cristiano, citava PACE, Arte e civ., cit., IV, 1949, 206: „ai tempi di Simmaco il Commune Siciliae inviava agli imperatori ... un legato Ambrogio ...".

[174] Cf. Bull. ép., 1958, 422 (Efeso): un avvocato ha raggiunto più volte gli imperatori Severo e Caracalla anche quale rappresentante della provincia di Asia, e poi anche Macrino e Diadumeniano; IGRR IV 1247 (Thyatira): un certo Menelao ha ospitato M. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον βασιλέα καὶ τρὶς πρεσβεύσαν[τα] πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας (Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta) (un buon confronto con l'iscrizione di Akrai sia per l'impiego del titolo βασιλεύς, che per le tre ambascerie); AMELING, art. cit., 63 s., a proposito della iscrizione di Prusias ad Hypium, relativa a M. Aurelio Angiano Filetiano, di cui è detto πολλάκις [παρα]πέμψαντα τὸν κύριον [ἡμ]ῶν θειότατον αὐτοκράτορα M. Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνῖνον, ... ἄρξαντα τὴν μεγίστην ἀρχήν (l'editore per πολλάκις precisa il valore di „tre volte", ib. 69 n. 30); Bull. ép., 1980, 508 (Nicea, per Elagabalo).

[175] Cf. M. CHRISTOL, L'état romain et la crise de l'Empire sous ... Valérien et Gallien, Paris 1982 (cit. da CRACCO RUGGINI, Kokalos, 28–29, 513).

provinciale[176]. Per le 12 città definite *oppida* da Plinio, sarà continuato il sistema tradizionale della *decuma*, anche se manca qualsiasi testimonianza.

Della organizzazione degli uffici della *vicesima hereditatium*, istituita nel 6 d.C.[177], offre testimonianza una iscrizione funeraria di Thermae, che pose a Secundus, *XX her. vil*(*icus*) *summar*(*um*) *Primigenius XX her. ser*[(*vus*) *act*(*or*)][178] (tav. X, 16). Agli ordini del *vilicus*, sovrintendente del locale ufficio di tesoreria (*summae*), stavano uno o più *actores*, di condizione servile, mentre il procuratore imperiale esercitava la sorveglianza su tutti[179].

Alla registrazione di atti e al coordinamento della finanza pubblica era destinato il *tabularium*, che in genere impegnava liberti: di uno di questi è menzione in una iscrizione funeraria di Catina, ---*ianus Aug*(*usti*) [*lib.*], *tabul*(*arius*)[180]. A Siracusa nel III sec. d.C. erano riservati nell'anfiteatro *loc*(*i*) *ex tabularis*[181]. Dall'area siracusana proviene un sigillo di argento, di forma conica, sulla cui base si legge (al rovescio) Παγκ|άλλου| ταβουλ|αρίου. Esso doveva servire per segnare le tavolette cerate con occasionali disposizioni. Il medesimo *tabularium* controllava l'organizzazione del *portorium*, la percezione del quale con l'età imperiale era data in affitto a *conductores*[182]: esso consisteva, come verosimilmente nell'età di Verre, in una vicesima (il 5%) percepita *ad valorem* sulle merci in arrivo o in transito nelle diverse *stationes*, in cui erano uffici doganali, le quali dovevano sorgere, oltre che nei porti delle *coloniae*, in quelli che Plinio ha definito *oppida*, giusta la interpretazione sopra presentata[183]. Altre stazioni del *portorium* saranno esistite a Halaesa, Messana e Phintias, menzionate a proposito da Cicerone[184], e nelle *stationes* interne segnate negli Itinerari.

Come si è già accennato, il *portorium*, il cui gettito in seguito alla riorganizzazione di Tiberio confluì nel fisco imperiale[185], era incassato tramite *conductores*, i quali agivano a nome proprio, e non già come *societas*, e si servivano di *actores*, inquadrati dal *vilicus*[186].

---

[176] Significativa ILS, 901: [--] *Fonteio Q. f. q*(*uaestori*) *mancip*(*es*) *stipend*(*iorum*) *ex Africa*: De Laet, op.cit., 371 n. 1 la connette con le *societates*. Io penserei ad affittuari degli *stipendia* dell'Africa, sottoposti al controllo del questore.

[177] De Laet, op.cit., 250 s., 372.

[178] CIL X 2,7347 (ILS, 1559; L. Bivona, Iscrizioni latine lapid. del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1970, 69 nr. 54).

[179] Pavis D'Escurac, op.cit., 115.

[180] AÉ, 1933, 28.

[181] CIL X 2,7130,7; cf. ILS, 8245 (Efeso): [--]λος Σεβ. ἀπελεύθερος ἀπὸ ταβλαρίων. Sul *tabularium*, che sorgeva nella città sede del governatore (perciò per la Sicilia a Siracusa), cf. De Laet, op.cit., 389 ss., 411.

[182] De Laet, op.cit., 383 s.

[183] Cf. a n. 75.

[184] Cf. De Laet, op.cit., 67. Interpretando Cic., in Verr. III, 71, 167 *magister scripturae et sex publicorum* (sc. *agrorum*) (cf. G. Manganaro, Per una Storia della Sicilia Romana, ANRW, I 1, ed. H. Temporini, Berlin – New York 1972, 450) vi si elimina ogni riferimento ai *portoria* di Sicilia.

[185] De Laet, op.cit., 120, 382 s.

[186] Elenco dei *vilici* in De Laet, op.cit., 411 s.

Significativa una iscrizione di Lilybaeum, che commemora la dedica di un *sacrarium ex voto*, fatto per la salvezza dei padroni (*salvis Plotino et Rufa*) da *Eulogus, ser(vus) act(or) port(us) Lilybitani*[187]. Posso aggiungere un *signaculum* di bronzo, dalla zona siracusana, a forma di *planta pedis*, sul quale si legge *Viator, a(ctor) p(ortus) S(yracusani?)*, (tav. X, 17), da porre a confronto con l'altro da Tauromenium, su cui si è letto *Soterich/i Alf(eni?) proc(uratoris) s(ervi) a(ctoris)*[188]: ambedue dovevano essere impiegati per segnare tavolette cerate con disposizioni o ricevute doganali, che solevano rilasciare gli *actores* della dogana[189]. Mancava una organizzazione centrale, come invece è parso di concludere al De Laet a proposito di C. Vibius Salutaris, per via del titolo *promag(ister) portuum provinc(iae) Siciliae*[190]. Come si è precisato indietro, si tratta piuttosto di un funzionario imperiale, connesso con l'annona urbana. Alla sorveglianza dell'operato del *conductor* e dei dipendenti pare fosse ora destinato il procuratore imperiale, come lascia concludere anche una iscrizione frammentaria di Catania, in corso di pubblicazione: [---*proc.? provinc*]*iae Sic*[*il(iae)* / -- *patrono opti*]*mo* – / *Ma*[*ior?* – *v*]*ilic(us) sta*[*t(ionis) port(us)? Catinensis?*].

La tassa doganale colpiva manufatti e prodotti importati o locali in transito, prima di giungere sul mercato di una città o di un *vicus*, o trasferiti sul porto per la spedizione: blocchi di zolfo, laterizi, *massae* di piombo, balle di lana o di pelli o cuoio, generi alimentari entro vasi, che talora risultano bollati, rivelando il nome del produttore o del mittente[191]. La ragione della 'stampigliatura' di nomi, anche sotto forma abbreviata o di sigle, su tali prodotti, anche su lucerne ad es.[192], e altresì della grande diffusione dei c.d. piombi mercantili, è di natura fiscale. Questi bolli servivano o per una individuazione del prodotto fiscalmente in regola, col nome del *conductor*, che garantiva, o anche per segnare, nel caso dei piombi mercantili, il responsabile o il mittente della merce imballata, per la sdoganatura. Il *portorium* era assolto *ad valorem* della merce all'atto della spedizione per via di mare, a meno che la stessa non godesse di franchigia. Questo privilegio era certamente riservato alla merce spedita a nome del governatore; il piombo rinvenuto a Erice, contromarcato *Q. Iunius Blaesus, procos.*, che era il proconsole di Africa nel 22–23 d.C.[193], deve aver accompagnato merce spedita in franchigia dal medesimo. Non doveva, infatti, essere soltanto arbitrio di Verre la spedizione di merce in franchigia, come voleva far credere Cicerone e si crede generalmente[194]: solo che Verre deve aver esagerato!

---

[187] CIL X 2,7225 (ILS, 6769): cf. Bivona, I Mestieri, in: Atti II Congr. Intern. Studi antropologici sicil., Palermo 1980, 8.

[188] CIL X 2,8059,376: il Mommsen legge *S(iciliae) vel s(ummarum) a(ctoris?)*. Cf. Holm, op. cit., III 640 nr. 212.

[189] Cf. De Laet, op.cit., 313 s., con n. 3. Da ricordare la sopratassa di ufficio *pro cerario*, ib. 108.

[190] De Laet, op.cit., 294 s., 386 n. 1.

[191] Cf. già Stor. Sic., II 457 n. 86, e indietro n. 64.

[192] Notevole il caso di quelle marcate Πρόκλο(υ) 'Αγυρίο(υ), di cui un esemplare risulta anche a Cartagine (Wilson, Kokalos, 26–27, 1980–81, 241) e molti in vari centri di Sicilia (IG XIV 2405,34; A. Brugnone, Kokalos, 20, 1974, 254 ss.).

[193] Cf. R. Soraci, I proconsoli di Sicilia da Augusto a Traiano, Catania 1974, 29 s.

La merce in sosta nel porto poteva essere tenuta in magazzino, da parte dell'ufficio doganale: ciò comportava il pagamento di una tassa, che nei papiri egiziani è indicata come ταμίου / ταμείου, cioe „diritti di magazzinaggio“[195]. Ebbene a Lipara sono stati rinvenuti sei ‘piombi mercantili’, con busto di Efesto, o di Atena o di Artemide da un lato, e dall'altro l'iscrizione *Cassiorum*, tutto in giro a ταμιη(ίου)[196]. I Cassii, forse *conductores* del locale *portorium*, avevano apposto sulle balle di merce in sosta i loro piombi, che dichiaravano l'avvenuto pagamento.

Merci varie o prodotti naturali, quando giungevano nel mercato, erano soggetti ad una tassa municipale, che imponeva ed esigeva (anche attraverso *conductores*) l'*aedilis*, il quale poteva apporre sulle balle o sui contenitori il piombo segnato con i simboli del suo sigillo.

Nel mercato, qualora occorresse un controllo ponderale, si faceva uso della *mensa ponderaria*, del genere di quelle piuttosto comuni rinvenute a Selinunte[197], in cui doveva essere sorto in età imperiale un *emporium*. Così a Lilybaeum il questore propretore [--]*sius Hyginianus* dedicò per il pubblico uso *ex multis* una serie di misure-standard (CIL X 2,7235).

Per la normale polizia e il buon ordine dovevano trovarsi anche in Sicilia a disposizione delle autorità, e anche del procuratore, contingenti, per quanto piccoli, di armati, dislocati anche nelle *stationes* del *portorium* e del *cursus publicus*, organizzato tra III e IV sec. d.C. Una drastica riduzione di tali contingenti o la evidente insufficienza di essi avranno favorito talora fenomeni di ribellione dei coloni impiegati nei *praedia* o acutizzato il male del brigantaggio, come credo sia avvenuto nel caso del *quasi quoddam servile bellum*, scoppiato negli anni di Gallieno in Sicilia (SHA, v. Gall. duor., 4,9).

Poche in verità le testimonianze sulla presenza di militari nell'isola: a Catina fu seppellito un *miles Narb(onensis)* della *legio VII* (AÉ, 1897, 132); la dedica *Cilicum*, che si legge su una base tronca, verosimilmente di una stele figurata, rinvenuta nel teatro, potrebbe far pensare alla presenza di una *turma* di cavalieri Cilici; a Centuripae risulterebbe uno appartenuto – *nume*]*ro eq*[*uitum* / – *leg. secund*]*ae Trai*[*anae*??] (AÉ, 1955, 192); a Panhormus un

---

[194] De Laet, op.cit., 69 s., 110. Verre può avere fatto imprimere nei suoi piombi mercantili lo stemma parlante del *verres* (cinghiale), come quello edito da Ben. Rocco, Sicilia archeol., 14, 1971, 31 s., nr. 32!

[195] De Laet, op.cit., 319 n. 1.

[196] Stor. Sic., II, 457 n. 86. Per i Cassii in Sicilia (vedi indietro n. 137; avanti n. 263 e 292), cf. ora L. Bivona, La gens Cassia tra Africa e Sicilia, in: L'Africa Romana, Atti IV Conv. studio, Sassari 1986, a cura di Attilio Mastino. Interessante anche il bollo plumbeo col simbolo del gallo e leggenda *N. Gavi Gall.* da Messana (Stor. d. Sic., II, cit., 457 n. 86): per i Gavi, cf. G. Alföldy, Chiron, 9, 1979, 539 s.

[197] Pace, Arte e civ., cit., I, 526 e figg. 200–201, le considera greche e le connette col sistema metrologico di Tauromenion. Per la tipologia, cf. ad es. Ann. Sc. Arch. Ital. Atene, 21–22, 1959–60, 427 s.

Ulpius Severus Nar[is]tus, equ(es) sing(ularis) Aug(usti) tur(mae) Busturonis[198] e ancora un *Aur(elius) Rusticus,* che per otto anni fu imbarcato sulla trireme sotto il centurione Zeno, al quale pongono l'epigrafe due eredi, uno dei quali *Mar(cus) Germanicianus, miles* per dieci anni (CIL X 2,7288) e altresì un *evoc(atus), Tac(itius) Iulianus* (CIL X 2,7289). A Thermae compare un C. *Popillius Priscus, miles coh(ortis) X urb(anae)* (AÉ, 1978, 374), sul quale si tornerà a discutere.

Alla fine del III – inizio IV sec. d.C. sembra riferibile una laconica iscrizione funeraria di Syracusae, per Ἡσύχις λιμηνάρχης, il quale deve aver svolto funzioni di polizia relativamente al porto siracusano[199].

L'assenza di un esercito stanziale in Sicilia ha comportato uno stato di abbandono, a parte interventi municipali, della rete viaria: mancano del tutto *miliaria* imperiali, testimonianza di ristrutturazioni decisive della viabilità di una provincia.

IV. Vita municipale e stratificazione sociale

Già con Augusto l'isola presenta i suoi più vitali gangli economici e sociali nelle città costiere, anzitutto in quelle divenute *coloniae* (Tauromenium, Syracusae, Catina, Thermae e poi Tyndaris) e in Agrigentum, Lilybaeum e Panhormus, che, come tutti gli altri centri anche interni, erano *municipia latinae condicionis*, e in Messana, municipio romano. I cittadini delle *coloniae* erano naturalmente inscritti in tribù. La documentazione epigrafica, da considerare globalmente almeno fino al II sec. d. C., quando ormai gran parte della popolazione residente nelle città aveva conseguito la *civitas*, presenta per Catina cittadini inscritti nella Quirina, Claudia[200] e Palatina[201], per Syracusae (come anche per municipi latini, quali Lipara, Centuripae, Melita e Gaulus) nella Quirina[202], per Thermae nella Quirina e Claudia[203]. Iscrizioni rinvenute in municipi latini attestano altre tribù, come per Halaesa la Falerna e la Romilia, per Eryx la Aemilia, per Agrigentum la Teretina[204]. In iscrizioni di Lilybaeum, divenuta colonia sotto Settimio Severo, figurano ben otto tribù, precisamete la Claudia, la Fabia, la Lemonia, la Maecia, la Oufentina, la Pomptina, la Publilia e la Veturia[205]. D'altra parte nella stessa sussistono fin verso il 200 d.C. dodici tribù territoriali – una denominata *Jovis Aug*(*usta*) – di antica origine ellenistica[206], situazione ben spiegabile per un municipio latino, che tende a conservare istituti tradizionali pure nel graduale avvicinamento al modello romano.

---

[198] CIL X 2,7290. Per il *cognomen*, cf. RE, XVI 2 (1932) col. 1717, 64, s.v. Naristi [FRANKE].

[199] Cf. S. L. AGNELLO, Nuovo Didaskaleion, 4, 1950, 10 nr. 11. Per il *limenarches* (vedi Dig., L 4,18,10; 11,4,4; C. J., VII 16,38), a parte l'accenno in W. LIEBENAM, op.cit., 359 n. 1, cf. Bull. ép., 1946/7, 156; 1958, 422; 1967, 513; 1970, 622.

[200] G. FORNI, Sicilia Romana tributim discripta. Miscell. Studi Class. in onore E. Manni, III, Roma 1980, 955 s. (ILS, 6771; CIL X, 2,7019).

[201] M. PAGANO, Rend. Acc. Arch. Napoli, 1981, 121 (Sinuessa): *D. Pontius D. f. Palatina / Sabinus, ex colo/nia Catinense.* Cf. l'iscrizione di Antibes, CIL XII 178: *C. Tullius Flavianus, decurionis filius, domo Catina ex provincia Sicilia, incola Antipolitanus, sibi et Iuliae Caeliani libertae Thallusae, uxori merentissimae vivus fecit.*

[202] FORNI, art.cit., 960 (EE, VIII 168 nr. 694): in una iscr. siracusana, CIL X 2,7121 la tribù *Mai(cia)*? Cf. anche CIL X 2,7490 (Lipara); Not. Sc., 1915, 251; 1953, 360 (Centuripae); IG, XIV 601 (Melita); ILS, 121; 6772; CIL X 2,7511 (Gaulus) (FORNI, 955 n. 23; 956). Una iscr. funeraria di Siracusa (Not. Sc., 1951, 267) va integrata probabilmente: C. *Valerio* C. *f.* Q[*uir*(*ina*) –] / *Sepullạ* [– – *pa*]/*tri* [*pientissimo*].

[203] FORNI, art.cit., 960 – 1 (CIL X 2,7398; 7407; 7414 etc.).

La circostanza che dalle iscrizioni di una medesima città risultino numerose tribù, può dipendere dal fatto che in molti casi le prime riguardino *cives* immigrati. Per Syracusae, Catina e Thermae si potrebbe pensare ad una prima immissione di coloni, inscritti nella Quirina, seguita nelle due ultime *coloniae* da una successiva di rincalzo, nella quale i nuovi coloni furono inscritti nella Claudia, come nel caso del *tribunus militum* M. Cestius (CIL X 2,7348). Un ruolo essenziale, nella deduzione di veterani quali coloni in Sicilia, debbono aver svolto i *tribuni militum*: sembra sia il caso di Cn. Pollienus Cn. f., al quale a Thermae posero una dedica in latino, oltre che *publice Hennenses* (così modificherei la lettura *Athenienses* in CIL X 2,7350), i veterani della *legio XII* (CIL X 2,7349), certamente quelli dedottivi secondo gli ordini di Augusto[207] (tav. XI, 18). Della stessa *legio XII fulminata* fu *tribunus militum* anche l'anonimo di un'altra iscrizione di Thermae (CIL X 2,7351), che secondo la ricostruzione propostane da H.-G. PFLAUM divenne governatore di Cipro[208].

Ad una successiva deduzione di coloni a Thermae, con iscrizione nelle liste della tribù Claudia, come si è gia detto, avrà preso parte M. Cestius, quale *tribunus militum* (dopo essere stato *primus pilus* e *praef. fabrum*), eletto quindi *duumvir* (CIL X 2,7348). Con altri coloni tratti dalla *legio VI ferrata* giunse a Thermae il *tribunus militum* della stessa, Proculus, il quale iniziò indi un lungo *cursus* municipale, *quaestor* per quattro volte, *praefectus pro duoviro, duumvir quinquennalis*[209].

Dal punto di vista istituzionale in Sicilia, sia nelle *coloniae* che nei municipi latini, si è verificata una grande uniformità, con presenza di *ordo decurionum, duoviri* ed *aediles*[210]. Tuttavia, la struttura del municipio latino ha permesso la sopravvivenza di istituti greci, come nel caso delle dodici tribù o dei *decemprimi* a Lilybaeum (CIL X 2,7211; 7236), detti *principales viri* a Panhormus (ib., 7286), nella quale dopo Vespasiano si vota *centuriatim* (ILS, 5055).

---

[204] Cf. rispettivamente, CIL X 2,7460; AÉ, 1973, 272 (vedi avanti a n. 225); CIL X 2,7259; AÉ, 1966, 168.

[205] Cf. ILS, 6770; CIL X 2,7211; AÉ, 1964, 181–182; CIL X, 2,7224; 7222; 7212; 7224.

[206] ILS 6770; cf. G. BARBIERI, Kokalos, 7, 1961, 45 ss.

[207] RITTERLING, RE, XII 2 (1925) col. 1705,59 s. s.v. legio; 1709,27. Cf. anche L. BIVONA, Studi off. a E. Manni, Roma 1976, 63; O. CUNTZ, Zur Geschichte Siziliens in der caesarisch-augusteischen Epoche, Klio, 6, 1906, 468 s.

[208] Cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 374 n. 25

[209] AÉ, 1976, 265; BIVONA, art.cit., 56 ss. pensa ad un magistrato municipale, che passa alla carriera militare. Cf. anche Kokalos, 22–23, 1976–77, 290 s.

[210] Cf. A. DEGRASSI, Scritti vari di antichità, I, Roma 1962, 139 ss.; D. ASHERI, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 464. Per Agrigento l'attestazione dei δύο ἄνδρες, sia sulla monetazione

Le colonie avranno provveduto, naturalmente, a fare incidere su lastre di marmo, per permetterne la pubblica consultazione, il calendario romano, come è attestato per Tauromenium da frammenti relativi ai mesi di settembre e ottobre – se ne sono aggiunti altri, ancora lasciati inediti – caratterizzati da alcune particolarità: la nota *N(efastus)* invece di *N P*, il 12 ottobre segnato *C(omitialis)* e perciò privo della indicazione degli Augustalia. Quest'ultimo particolare, che mi aveva fatto concludere per una datazione del calendario prima del 19 a.C., sembra piuttosto indizio di età tiberiana. Ogni colonia avrà anche esposto le tavole con i Fasti consolari e, come a Tauromenium, a spese di un qualche collegio, l'albo municipale dei duoviri, dei *quinquennales* e degli *aediles*[211] (tav. XII, 19; XIII 20a; b). A Catina un frammento di un albo simile è forse da ritrovare in CIL X 2,7044, come ancora in CIL X 2,7025, che il MOMMSEN propose di connettere con il precedente, 7024, che contiene la epistola di Iulius Paternus, già discussa[212]. Invece si tratta di una lista con i nomi dei magistrati, certamente i duoviri, indicati dopo i consoli, e precisamente quelli del 268 e del 269 d.C.[213].

Solo la persistenza del calendario politico greco – anche se i nomi dei mesi divennero romani – può spiegare che a Panhormus, rimasta municipio latino almeno fino ai Severi, ancora intorno al 200 d.C. la entrata in carica dei *duoviri* cadesse nelle calende di luglio. Sulla base di due dediche latine, l'una per Settimio Severo del 198 d.C. (CIL X 2,7274) e l'altra per Geta, designato quale fratello di Caracalla, del 199 d.C. (CIL X 2,7275), datate ambedue *duumvir(atu) P. Satyri Donati et M. Maeci Rufini*, il MOMMSEN ha potuto affermare che la magistratura duumvirale, almeno a Panhormus, si estendesse dalle calende di luglio al giugno dell'anno successivo[214].

Anche se frammentarie e casuali le testimonianze epigrafiche in latino permettono di ricostruire per le città siciliane il quadro di un normale ordinamento municipale. Così a Thermae un certo Plaetorius fu *q(uaestor), aed(ilis), II vir,* mentre il Proculus già ricordato ebbe un *cursus* municipale più complicato[215]; *L. Amatius Maximus Memorianus, q(uaestor) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae), aedilis, II vir* nel II sec. d.C. a Mazara, *vicus* di Lilybaeum (CIL X 2,7211), o

---

(vedi a n. 83) che su un frammento di architrave (edito in: Kokalos, 9, 1963, 178) e sul decreto di *proxenia* IG, XIV 954 (Kokalos, 9, 1963, 214), è ulteriore prova del *Jus Latii.*

[211] Cronache di archeol. 3, 1964, 38 ss.

[212] Vedi a n. 90 s.

[213] Il testo va integrato come segue: [*Mariniano et Pa*]*terno II* / [(Praenomen, Nomen)] *Achilleus* / [(Praenomen, Nomen –)]*s Claudi*[–] / (vac.) / [*d. n. Claudio Aug. et*] *Paterno I*[*II*] / – –. Per le due coppie di consoli, del 268 e 269 d.C., cf. ILS, 2457; 3656. Per il *cognomen* Achilleus, cf. IG, XIV 466 (Catina).

[214] CIL X 2,7275; X 1, p. 90 s.; BIVONA, Iscr. latine. Palermo, 1970, 32 nr. 12. Per lo scioglimento *duumvir(atu)*, cf. ILS, 5368; 4501.

[215] Vedi a n. 209, e anche Kokalos, 22–23, 1976–7, 290 s.

ancora il munifico [? *A*]*nnius Tertius* nel medesimo periodo fu altresì *curator muneris publici gladiatorii* nella stessa (AÉ, 1964, 181). Da una dedica ancora di Lilybaeum (CIL X 2,7239) posta *T. Quartio Masculo, T. Quarti Crescentini eq*(*uitis*) *R*(*omani*) *f*(*ilio*), *dec*(*urioni*) *spl*(*endidae*) *col*(*oniae*) *Aug*(*ustae*) *Lilyb*(*itanorum*), *q*(*uaestori*) *p*(*ecuniae*) *p*(*ublicae*), *cur*(*atori*) *f*(*rumenti*) *p*(*ublici*), si intuisce come il questore municipale finisse per curare l'approvvigionamento granario della città.

A Catina riportano i *curatores* (*aquarum*) di una iscrizione frammentaria di S. Maria di Licodia[216] (tav. XIV, 21).

Ad Agrigentum un certo [–] Potianus è detto *omnibus municipalibus h*[*onori*]*bus functus*[217]. Il *duumvir quinquennalis* risulta a Catina (CIL X 2,7028), a Thermae (7356) o a Syracusae (7133: da leggere [*ex test.*] *Acerri Mari quinq.* –), quello annuale spesso, ad es. a Thermae (7348; 7353), a Segesta (AÉ, 1945, 64), ad Abacaenum (AÉ, 1955, 195: forse Tyndaris), a Catina (ILS, 6771; CIL X 2,7029; 7031 – 2), a Tauromenium (6994 – 5). Anche il duoviro doveva mostrare la sua generosità per la città. Uno di Thermae, *Q. Decumius ... porticus de s*[*uo fecit*] (7353); a Centuripae, municipio latino, due Cornelii, padre e figlio, il primo col *cognomen* e soprannome grecanico *Grammeu*[*s q*(*ui*) *et*] | *Ḷipax,* il secondo *Long*[*inus?*], *pro honore* (*duum*)*viratus, sphaeristerium fecerunt*[218] (tav. XIV, 22).

Ai munifici duoviri la città poteva conferire onori ambiti, anche per i familiari: così a Catina, come si legge in una iscrizione ancora inedita, *Grattia C. f*(*ilia*) *Paulla, uxor C. Ofilli, mater C. Ofilli Veri duumviralium, funere publico elata et lo*[*co*] / *publico sepulta et stat*[*ua*] *data in foro, d*(*ecurionum*) *d*(*ecreto*).

Più dispendiosa poteva riuscire la *aedilitas*. Interessanti alcune attestazioni per Lilybaeum: *L. Pinarius Rufus ob honorem aedilitatis imaginem Genii municipi Lilybitanorum ex arg*(*ento*) [*p*(*ondo*)] *V p*(*ecunia*) *s*(*ua*) [*p*(*osuit*)] (ILS, 6768) (tav. XV, 23); sotto i Severi un *aed*(*ilis*), M. Paconius Vipsanius Proculus costruì a sue spese *aedem Genio col*(*oniae*) *Aug*(*ustae*) *Lilybit*(*ano-*

---

[216] CIL X 2,6999, che potrebbe completarsi: *Cura*[*tores*] / *Q. Mac*[*ulnius*] / *T. Trut*[*tedius?*] / *a tur(r)i V*[*m.p.*] (cf. Seb. Lagona, L'acquedotto romano di Catania, Cronache arch. e st. dell'arte, 3, 1964, 84 s.). Per CIL, X 2,7239, vedi le conclusioni di G. Mennella, Il quaestor alimentorum, Decima Miscell. gr. e rom. Ist. Ital. per la storia antica, 36, Roma 1986, 415 s.

[217] Kokalos, 9, 1963, 176.

[218] CIL X 2,7004 = ILS, 5663 = Bivona, Iscr. Palermo, cit., 21 s. nr. 4. Il *cognomen* Grammeus deriva dal greco Γραμμή (cf. Γραμμίς, nome di una etera in Luc., de mer., 13,4), Lipax riporta a Λιπαρός / Λίπας (grasso): una integrazione Στ]ίπαξ (!) in: Actes du Coll. sur l'esclavage 1973, Paris 1976, 389. Sulla predilezione a Centuripae, e in genere in Sicila, per i soprannomi, cf. O. Masson, Noms et surnoms de grecs de Sicile, Sileno, 7, 1981 (1983), 8 s. Sul genere di edificio costruito dai Cornelii, un campo per giocare a palla (Plin., ep. II 17,12; V 6,27) – annesso al complesso termale –, piuttosto che un ring per boxe, vedi G. Roux, A propos des gymnases de Delphes et de Délos. Le site du Damatrion et le sens du mot sphairistèrion, BCH, 104, 1980, 134 ss. (di contro, J. Delorme, Sphairistèrion et gymnase à Delphes, à Délos et ailleurs, BCH, 106, 1982, 53 ss.).

rum) (CIL X 2,7222); [? *A*]*nnius Tertius*, già ricordato (AÉ, 1964, 181), *ob honorem aedilitatis* promise 25 mila sesterzi, spendendone 13 mila per la pavimentazione del viale (e non piazza!) sacro alle Cereres e il resto distribuì ai cittadini; all'incirca negli stessi anni, dopo che un anonimo, [*incohato relicto*] *opere*, pavimentò il viale (*plataeam*) del *vicus* Septizodium con pietra di Trapani (*lapide Drepanitano*), il questore propretore della provincia Q. Fabius Caesilius Modius Titianus completò e dedicò l'opera[219]. Il *vicus* di Lilybaeum prendeva il nome da un edificio detto Septizodium, lo stesso che Septizonium, di cui a Roma esisteva un modello già sotto Vespasiano, nel quale dovevano essere esposte personificazioni, forse statuarie, dei sette giorni della settimana[220] e anche il calendario o un *solarium* del tipo romano (cf. IG, XIV 1307).

A Catina Q. *Lutatius*, *q*(*uaestor*) *d.d. aedilis pro honore* [*aedilitatis*?] *tri*(*cl*)*in*(*iu*)[*m* – / *cum tr*]*i*(*b*)*us l*[*ectis*] offrì al popolo per i banchetti ufficiali (CIL X 2,7026). A Lipara L. [? N]*onn*[*ius*] *Nomentanus*, a nome proprio e del collega Clodius Thorianus, finanziò una qualche opera pubblica *ex aere dan*[*do*] / (*t*)*rienni aedilitatis suae* (CIL X 2,7490): la *summa honoraria* dovuta per l'edilità continuata per un triennio fu integrata generosamente (*reliqua pecunia de suo adiecta*)[221]. L'*ordo decurionum* poteva attribuire per un formale omaggio gli *ornamenta aedilicia*, come a Galeo, parente del Proculus *tribunus militum*, già ricordato, a Thermae[222], ovvero al ricco armatore di Narbona Aponius [Cha]erea, di cui si legge *provinc*(*ia*) *Sicilia Syracusis, Thermis* [*Hime*]*ris, Panhormi aedili*[*cis e*]*t duumviralibus e*[*t f*]*lamonis et au*[*gurali*]*bus ornamentis honorat*(*us*) (ILS, 6969).

Forse fu anche un edile – in greco ἀγορανόμος – il munifico Σεπτίκιος, che a Lilybaeum, certamente prima che essa divenisse colonia sotto Settimio Severo, dedicò per la „salvezza" di un imperatore un edificio, probabilmente una [παλαί]στρα, secondo le disposizioni di un questore(?) col gentilizio Φλάουιος[223]. Tra gli edili andranno inseriti molti tra quelli che in iscrizioni frammentarie risultano promotori di opere di pubblica utilità, come ad Halaesa l'incerto [*Cae*]*ciliu*[*s* (ovvero [–*A*]*ciliu*[*s*]), *qui templi* (?) *ite*]*r s*(*ua*) *p*(*ecunia*) *inc*[*ohavit atq*(*ue*) *perfecit* (?)], o anche l'anonimo, di rango equestre, che – – /

---

[219] Kokalos, 7, 1961, 34ss. (AÉ, 1964, 182); Tituli, 5, 1982, 376 n. 39. Per πλατεία, cf. anche Bull. ép., 1974, 181.

[220] Suet., v. Titi 1; ILS, 5626 (Lambesi): il *septizonium*, che intorno al 210 d.C. il governatore di Numidia *restituit*, era *vetustate dilabsum*. Non convince la datazione di G. BARBIERI (Kokalos, 7, 1961, 40) per questa iscrizione di Lilybaeum „proprio nell'età di Settimio Severo".

[221] S. CALDERONE, Diz. Ep. Ant. Rom., IV (1962) 4, s.v. Lipara, propone ... *ex aere damn*[*a*/ *tum*] *anni aedilitatis*. Per l'offerta di *triclinia*, ILS 6147; 5449.

[222] BIVONA, Studi storia ant. Manni, cit., 56 – 61. Per Galeo, che risulta anche come prenome di personaggi eminenti (cf. il vecchio R. CAGNAT, Cours d'épigr. latine, Paris 1898, 50), in Sicilia è lecito pensare ad una derivazione dal greco Γαλαῖος (così va corretto il soprannome di C. Titinius, tradito Γαδαῖος in Diod., XXXVI 3,5: cf. Helikon, 7, 1967, 219 n. 43).

[223] IG XIV 275. Per il Septicius, *arator* in zona leontinea, secondo Cic., in Verr. III 36, cf. FRASCHETTI, Soc. Rom. e Produz. schiav., I, cit., 68 nr. 12.

--]*equo* [*publ*(*ico*), *praef. fabrum*, --, *aed.*] / --]*basilic*[*am* -- /]*operi*[*bus ampliatis* (?) *perfecit*][224]. Sempre ad Halaesa pose una dedica „a tutti gli dei" in greco – si tratta di un municipio latino – un certo M. Αἰμίλιος Ῥω[μ(ιλίᾳ)] | Κίπου υἱὸς Ὑγ[ῖνος] | ἀγορανομ[ήσας]. M. Aemilius Hyginus (?), figlio di Kipos, forse un italico, grazie alla magistratura municipale ha conseguito la *civitas*, entrando nella tribù Romilia, la stessa del destinatario dell'altra dedica alesina *Ṭị.* [*Ṃe*]*vio L. f. Rom*(*ilia*) *Firmino Maniliano*[225].

L'entusiasmo per la vita urbana ha promosso manifestazioni di evergetismo anche attraverso fondazioni funerarie, come nel caso di [C]n. Seius Agatho, il quale deve aver distribuito (*dedit*) [--*HS*]*L m*(*ilia*) *n*(*ummum*), *II semis* -- [*decim*]*o die m*(*ensis*) *Ianuarii*, a Catina[226], ovvero a Tauromenium, secondo un frammento purtroppo assai ridotto, per il quale è lecito proporre un testo, come [--- / -- *HS*] *CC* [- *m.n.* / -- *ut*] *ex* [*usuris*(?), *die* - / *natali* - *distributio**] *XXIIII* [*n.* -][227].

Anche le cariche sacerdotali imponevano sacrifici economici e civismo, cui i siciliani non si sono sottratti. A Syracusae un anonimo pose una dedica quale *aug*[*ur* – / *flamen*] *Cerialis*, *sex*[*vir* / *Aug*(*ustalis*)] (così va letta CIL X 2,7146), e un [-] *Papinius Fla*[*v* -, *primus* (?)] / *flamen Serapis e*[*t omnium* / *d*]*eorum* sollevò la città da ogni spesa cultuale (AÉ, 1951, 174); a Catina compare una dedica *L. Rubrio Proculo, IIviro quin*(*quenali*), *auguri* (CIL X 2,7028) (tav. XV, 24); a Thermae Anthia Cleopatra, fatta sacerdotessa *ex voluntate pop*(*uli*) *d.d.*, elargì per la dedica un denario a testa al popolo, due ai figli dei decurioni, cinque a ognuno di questi (CIL X 2,7352) (tav. XVI, 24 bis); a Tauromenium per analoghe ragioni posero la dedica *C. Mevius*, [*p*]*ont*(*ifex*) e *IIvir*, e un anonimo con le stesse cariche (CIL X 2,6994–5); a Mazara, *vicus* di Lilybaeum, per meriti civici fu posta la dedica a M. Rubellinus Cestianus Crassicianus, *flam*(*en*) *Divor*(*um*) *Aug*(*ustorum*) *perp*(*etuus*), oltre che *trib*(*unus*) [*militum*] (CIL X 2,7212) (tav. XVII, 25), sotto i Severi, che promossero il culto per i divi Antonini.

La venerazione per l'imperatore Augusto – espressa dal 2 a.C. su emissioni monetali siciliane, già sopra ricordate – trova ampia documentazione. A Syracusae, forse subito dopo Nauloco, credo, fu posta la dedica [*C. Iulio Caesari*] *imp*(*eratori*) *Div*[*i f*(*ilio*)] / [-- *patrono* -- *st*]*atua dic*(*ata*)[228]. Il culto officiato dagli Augustales, in genere seviri, di estrazione libertina, nominati dai decurioni della città, si impose ovunque, come attestano dediche poste dagli interessati all'uscita di carica: così a Centuripae *[Larib(us) A]ugus[tis] / [sa]crum / L. Calpu[rni]us Apthonetus, IIIIvir Augustalis*[229]; a Lipara, dopo il 4 d.C., quando fu istituito il culto per Lucio (morto nel 2 d.C.) e Gaio (morto nel 4 d.C.), i nipoti di Augusto, fu posta questa dedica in corso di pubblicazione: *[Lar]ibus Augusteis et Genio Caesa[ris] / [Lib]erorumqe eius C. Publilius [C. l(ibertus)] / [Pil]argurus, sevir primus et prior*[230]. Non mancarono manifestazioni di devozione privata, come mi pare il caso per l'iscrizione di Agrigentum, *P. M. Anniei P. f(ilii) Vot(iria) C. Caesari Augusti f(ilio)*, se la rapida notazione fattane è corretta, alla quale doveva corrispondere un'altra per Lucio[231], ovvero per la dedica di Phintia (CIL X 2,7191; cf. ILS, 154) *Caesarib(us) sacrum L. Caelius Quadratus d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)*.

---

[224] Così completerei le due iscrizioni presentate in Kokalos, 17, 1971, 15–16 (AÉ, 1973, 268–9). Per la prima, cf. ILS, 5895: in ILS, 6741 all'inizio va letto *v*(*ivus*) *sibi inc*(*ohare*) *f*(*ecit*). Per la seconda, cf. ad es. ILS, 5755.

[225] Kokalos 17, 1971, 14 e 17s. (AÉ, 1973, 267 e 272). Per Κίπος, esclusa un integrazione "Αλ]κιπος, richiamo Cipus, soprannome della gens Genucia (RE, III 2 [1899] col. 2565, s.v. Cipus [Aust]), e il gentilizio Cipius. Per la seconda iscrizione, la integrazione e lettura dell'editore *L. N*[*ae*]*vio* non mi pare corrispondere ai segni rilevabili dalla foto.

[226] Errata la interpretazione di A. Ferrua, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 28 nr. 100.

[227] Per il formulario, cf. ILS, 6278; 6284; 6287 etc. Per elargizioni municipali in Sicilia, cf. Asheri, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 463; 471.

[228] Così intendo l'iscrizione edita in Riv. St. ant., 5, 1900, 65 nr. 51. Per il formulario, cf. ILS, 76; 8893.

Anche la dedica di ritratti, ad es. di quello di L. Cesare rinvenuto a Modica, di Augusto a Centuripae e a Tyndaris, o di Tiberio a Panhormus[232], può risalire alla devozione di munifici *Augustales*[233], i quali vennero a costituire anche nelle città siciliane sostanza delle locali „borghesie".

All'uscita di carica *seviri Augustales* solevano dedicare anche statuine sacre, benchè ciò non risulti sempre esplicitamente dalle iscrizioni.

Così deve essere per quella di Catina, incisa su una base (ora murata nel portico dell'Università centrale): *M Petronius Rufinus, VIvir Aug(ustalis)* (CIL X 2,7027) (tav. XVII, 26). Evidente invece per due iscrizioni di Halaesa, l'una *[Conco]rdiae Aug(ustae) [sac(rum)] / [-- Z]ethus sev[ir Aug.]* (AÉ, 1973, 271), l'altra coeva *Cereri sacr(um). Iulius Acilius Her/mes, pro honor(e) seviratus d(onum) d(edit) d(edicavit)*, incisa sulla base di una statua monca (AÉ, 1973, 273). I seviri dedicavano oggetti di culto *ob honorem seviratus*, a parte la rituale *summa honoraria*, come risulta a Panhormus, dove *Aram Victoriae Sex. Pompeius Mercator, VIvir Aug., praeter summam, pro honore d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) s(ua) p(osuit)*, e ancora *M. Ulpius Italici lib. Eutychus aram et basim Mercuri, pr(ae)ter summam honorariam, pro seviratu pecunia sua posuit*[234]. Ad Halaesa *Q. Caecilius Q. l(ibertus) Hime[rus, mag(ister) Aug(ustalis)?]* ha provveduto a fare esporre a sue spese l'albo dei seviri (AÉ, 1973, 270).

---

[229] Così va letta AÉ, 1955, 193 (cf. Rend. Acc. Arch. Napoli, 38, 1963, 42 n.96). Cf. R. Duthoy, Les Augustales, ANRW, II 16,2, ed. W. Haase, Berlin – New York 1978, 1266.

[230] Liberti della stessa gente Publilia erano già attestati a Lipara in due iscrizioni in greco: Ποπλιλίου [? Νικά]νδρου, e Γ. Πουβλειλίου Γόργου (Not. Sc., 1929, 82 nr. 3; IG, XIV 387) (cf. L. Moretti, RFCl, 112, 1984, 324).

[231] Cf. ILS, 131 – 2; ZPE, 39, 1980, 219 s. Interessante questa presenza di Annii in zona agrigentina, per l'età augustea, premessa per quelli delle *tegulae sulfuris* (vedi indietro a n. 104). A Siracusa, urnetta funeraria con A. Ἄννιος Κέλερ (S. L. Agnello, Nuovo Didaskal., 4, 1950, cit., 12 nr. 20).

[232] N. Bonacasa, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia, Palermo 1964, 43 s., 35 – 37, 39 s.

[233] L. Cracco Ruggini, Stor. Sic., III, 7 con bibliogr. a n. 26.

[234] CIL X 2,7269; 7267 (con p. 993). Cf. Duthoy, op.cit., 1267. *Seviri* forse anche in un frammento a Piazza Armerina (Palast 502s.).

Non mancano attestazioni della venerazione pubblica per Augusto e i membri della sua famiglia. Ad Haluntium un altare inscritto *Augusto* – altro a Lipara e a Thermae *Aug(usto) sacr(um)*[235] – e dediche *Augusto Divi f. / pontifici max. municipium* (CIL X 2,7463) e a riscontro *Liviae Augusti / deae / municipium* (7464 = ILS, 119); ad Halaesa la dedica *Imp(eratori) Caesarei / Divi f(ilio) / Augusto p(atri) p(atriae) / municipium* (CIL X 2,7458), dopo il 2 a.C.; a Thermae, almeno dopo il 4 d.C., quando Tiberio fu adottato da Augusto, fu posta la dedica, da leggere con piccole modifiche rispetto a CIL X 2,7340, *Ara imp(eratori) Cae[s(ari) Aug(usto)] / et Liv[iae deae] / matri [Tib. Caes(aris)] / imp(eratoris) Cae[s(aris) Aug(usti) f(ilii)]*. Per Lipara posso richiamare la dedica, nota solo dal Gualtherius[236], del tipo [-- *imp. Caes. Augusti* --] *pontif(icis) max(imi)* [-- | -- *et*] *Ti. Caesaris* [*Aug(usti) f(ilii)* --].

Sotto Tiberio, all'incirca quando Panhormus emetteva monete di bronzo con la testa radiata di Augusto e con Livia in figura di Cerere seduta o con la testa velata[237], nel municipio latino di Segesta, che aveva celebrato Augusto su emissioni con leggenda in greco[238], un munifico magistrato fece elevare un qualche tempietto per il culto imperiale, sul cui architrave fu apposta la dedica [-- *Augusto Dei*]*vi f(ilio) Deivo L. Sem*[*pronius* (?) –], la quale tradisce una mentalità cultuale greca[239], fatto spiegabile per un municipio latino.

Tutte le città di Sicila, *coloniae* o *municipia latina,* nel giro di qualche generazione si sono livellate con quelle italiche: partecipano ora alla rituale vita municipale romana, che comporta manifestazioni religiose e spettacoli secondo il modello di Roma e la costante esaltazione cultuale della figura dell'imperatore romano. Così si realizzò con la latinizzazione di tutti i ceti, nonostante la resistenza del greco, un equilibrato bilinguismo, quale esisteva d'altronde nell'Urbe. Le classi dirigenti municipali passarono all'uso incondizionato del latino, come lingua ufficiale, normalmente, salvo a mettere di nuovo in mostra il gusto per il greco in manifestazioni culturali (ad es. in iscrizioni metriche) (cf. a n. 251, infra, p. 51). Le classi inferiori, come liberti, schiavi o stranieri, persistettero nell'impiego del greco nelle iscrizioni funerarie.

A parte minoranze puniche, che parlavano il punico, oltre che il greco e ora il latino, nella estrema zona occidentale – non è gratuita la espressione di Apuleio (Met., XI,5,2), che parlava il punico, intorno al 160 d.C., *Siculi trilingues*[240] – l'uso del latino in un tessuto ellenofono, che già per l'età di Diodoro Siculo si rivela condizionato dalla pressione anche linguistica dei gruppi romani e degli operatori latini insediati in Sicilia, si è affermato anzitutto nelle città[241], ora anche grazie alle deduzioni coloniarie e agli effetti lenti, ma sicuri, del *Jus Latii* nei *municipia*. All'afflusso costante e ritmato dei rappresentanti del governo romano col necessario seguito si è aggiunto il movimento, antico e sottile, di uomini dalle città dell'Italia verso la Sicilia o viceversa, a parte una certa mobilità interna: ad es. a Thermae un Popillius, che era stato *domo Pollentia* (CIL X 2,7366: lo stesso gentilizio dell'*optio a victoria Liciniana*, di cui si dirà avanti), un Musicus Viboniensis (7365) (tav. XVIII, 27), per non parlare dei gentilizi latini da Anzio o Lanuvio a Centuripae; di contro, a Sinuessa un *D. Pontius Sabinus ex colonia Catinense* (vedi a n. 201); a Neapolis nel I–II sec. d.C. una Οὐήρα, nata nella Τρεινακρία γαῖα, riceve un epigramma funeraris in greco dal marito C. *Cornelianus scriba* (IG XIV 803); a Roma una Casponia Maxima, *sacerdos Cereris publica populi Romani, Sicula* (ILS, 3343); ancora a Thermae una [– ? *Ov*]*idia Catine*(*n*)*sis* o una [Αὐρη]λία | [Κου]αρτεῖνα | [Αι]λυβαῖτις[242].

---

[235] Cf. Arch. Class., 17, 1965, 201; Not. Sc., 1929, 85; CIL X 2,7339.

[236] Siciliae ... antiquae tabulae, Messanae 1624, nr. 356.

[237] Gabrici, op.cit., 161 s., nr. 325 s.; M. Grant, Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius, ANS, NNM, 116, New York 1950, 5–6: al nr. 13 si nota che un esemplare a Vienna presenta la contromarca „tempio tetrastilo", la quale ripete il tipo della emissione Gabrici, 155 nr. 98, tav. VIII 8, con etnico in greco e sigla latina *C(onsensu) D(ecurionum)* (si tratta, infatti, di un municipio latino!). Ne consegue, in forza della normale corrispondenza cronologica tra contromarca e nuova emissione di tipi analoghi, che questa medesima va datata sotto Tiberio!

[238] Gabrici, op.cit., 167 nr. 93.

[239] CIL X 2,7263. Il Mommsen annota: „*Contra consuetudinem Romanam qui dedicavit natione Graecus deo patrem adscripsit; neque enim solemne est consecrati patrem licet deum et ipsum enuntiare*".

Ormai le iscrizioni pubbliche nelle varie città si presentano quasi costantemente in latino: anche il ricorso a epigrafi bilingui rivela la coscienza della necessità del latino[243]. Nasce pure l'esigenza di calchi dal latino o viceversa[244]. Qualche raro gentilizio locale, presumibilmente osco, a Messana si riscontra tanto in trascrizione greca che latina[245].

Nell'arco dei primi tre secoli dell'Impero – con il IV sec. d.C. il quadro cambia a favore del greco, con una ripresa del latino intorno al 500 d.C. – si assiste ad una lieve persistenza del greco nella epigrafia funeraria di schiavi o di liberti, di origine greca, anche se risultano connessi con Romani eminenti: è il caso di Μαρκία Καίσαρος (Augusto!) δ(ούλη) seppellita a Partanna, in zona selinuntina (IG, XIV 272) (tav. XVIII, 28) – dove era certamente sorto un *vicus* – o di 'Αρτεμίδωρος Κλήμεντος δ(οῦλος), che pose una dedica κατ' ὄναρ a Catina[246], o dei due Vipsani a Catina (IG, XIV 494–5) – mentre

---

[240] Cf. ancora Asheri, Kokalos 28–29, 1982–83, 465; G. Bonfante, Siculi trilingues, Rend. Acc. Lincei, 37, 1982, 187–8.

[241] Rovescio pertanto la interpretazione di S. Mazzarino, ripetuta ancora in: La presenza della Sicilia nella cultura degli ultimi cento anni, Congr. Stor. intern. Palermo 1975 (1977), 10, che il latino si sia imposto nelle campagne.

[242] IG, XIV 339: [Σπ]αρτειανή è certamente da escludere.

[243] Cf. IG, XIV 472; 491 (Catina); CIL X 2,7296 (Panhormus: cf. Bivona, I Mestieri, cit. 6).

[244] Così Λέπιδος in IG, XIV 40 (Syracusae) corrisponde a *lepidus* latino (Bull. ép., 1952, 197); φώλων su un epitafio cristiano a Syracusae è *fullo* (L. Robert, Hellen. XI–XII, Paris 1960, 29 n. 2). Di contro *ergolabus* (P. Antonius Psorion –) trascrive ἐργολάβος a Thermae (CIL X 2,7363): cf. Bivona, Kokalos, 26–27, 1980–81, 403.

[245] Cf. IG, XIV 409: 'Οστρεὶς λοινᾶς(?); A. Ferrua, Epigraph., 3, 1941, 255 (P. Orsi, MAL 1916, coll. 21 s.): *L. Ostri Vesontiani*.

[246] Vane considerazioni sulla Marcia, divenuta schiava di Augusto unitamente al patrimonio confiscato da questi, in: Actes du Coll. 1973 sur l'esclavage, Paris 1976, 387 s., in cui si

Vipsanius Atticus, *vivos*, si pone l'epigrafe (CIL X 2,7101) in latino (tav. XIX, 29) – o ancora di un K. Πομπήιος a Syracusae (IG, XIV 45 a, p. 686) o di un omonimo ἀπὸ Ῥώμης a Messana (ib., 413). Di contro a Panhormus, quale *sevir Augustalis*, Sex. Pompeius Mercator, già ricordato, dedica l'ara in latino (CIL X 2,7269).

L'uso del latino, tuttavia, si impone ben presto anche nella epigrafia funeraria per liberti e schiavi.

Tra i liberti, che portano gentilizi di riguardo, sono puntualizzabili T. Flavius Aug. lib(ertus) Diadumenus, al quale pone l'epitafio la figlia Flavia Victorina in un *vicus* di Henna, a Caltanissetta (CIL X 2,7189); *P. Aelius Aug. lib. Felix,* al quale, come anche per sè e per la moglie Charis, pose la tomba il servo imperiale Fortis (7308) a Panhormus; un altro *P. Aelius Aug. lib.* [*N*]*igr*[*ia*]*nus* (se non [*N*]*igr*[*i*]*nus*) pose l'epitafio alla moglie Aelia Auge (7264) a Partinico, dove era certamente un *vicus* di Panhormus; a Thermae un *Q. Fabius Q. l. Isio* per la moglie Laelia Coprilla, liberta di *D*(*ecimus*), certamente un Laelius (7403), e ancora risultano un C. Haterius Agatocles (7409), un Sex. Raecius Stephanus (7433), un *Sempronius Primio* (*Gaiae*) *l*(*ibertus*) (7437), ovvero M. Ulpius Eutyc[he]s, che pose l'epitafio [*sib*]*i et collibertis suis* a Messana (MAL, 24, 1916, 147).

A Tyndaris un C. Iulius Anteros, *Berini*{*s*} (cioè *Verini*) *l*(*ibertus*) (7483), a Syracusae due liberti, Hermes e Iuvenalis, di Q. Cornificius (CIL X 2,8314–5, p. 993). Nella stessa Thermae compaiono diverse liberte con epigrafi in latino: *Lucia* (*Gaiae*) *l.* (7418), una *Nicari*(*o*)*n*, *Munatiae* (*et*) *L*(*uci*) *l*(*iberta*) (7426), una *Clovatia C. l.* (7393), una *Alfia* (*Gaiae*) *l. Zotica*, sposa di un cittadino (7398), la *liberta* [Vi]bia Ammia, sposa di un Cn. Terentius Rufus (7441).

Tra gli schiavi conquistati al latino figurano, fra altri, un *Eutuchus L*(*uci*) (*servus*), che inscrisse, su un mattone proveniente da M. Marzo (l'antica Herbessos, menzionata da Plinio!) ancora inedito, l'epitafio del padrone, un liberto, L. Clodius Antiochus; *Eros ser*(*vus*) *cubicularius* del proconsole di II/III sec. d.C. Iunius Iulianus (CIL X 2,7127), a Syracusae, dove era il *praetorium*, residenza del governo; il già ricordato *Fortis, Caesar*(*is*) *ser*(*vus*) a Panhormus (7308); *Ianuarius ser*(*vus*) a Thermae (7413); *Alypus simbul*(*ographus*) (?), che pone la dedica a Mercurio, secondo le disposizioni del padrone, a Lilybaeum (7224). A Caronia (Kalè Aktè) su un punzone fittile si è letta l'iscrizione (*P*)*rivat*(*i*) *et* / (*C*)*rescent*(*i*)*ani* (*duorum Luciorum*) *Iuliorum* (*servorum*)[247].

Una ricerca sulla diffusione di gentilizi latini in Sicilia è stata compiuta recentemente da L. Bivona, la quale a proposito di Thermae ha rilevato la

---

coinvolge l'epigrafe di Syracusae (IG, XIV 28) ... Εὐνώη δούλη{ν} Κωρηννίδος: il nome della padrona presenta la grafia iotacistica di Κοριννίς, -ίδος (cf. Κόριννα), per cui la correzione Κορνηλίας resta gratuita. Rientrano nel quadro, invece, le iscrizioni greche di Corneli (IG, XIV 485; 492; 581–2), richiamate, ib., 389 s. Per la dedica di Artemidoro, cf. Bull. ép., 1962, 388.

[247] P. Fiore, Sicilia archeol., 18–20, 1972, 123 s.; Bivona, Kokalos, 22–23, 1976–77, 296. Vano il discorso sul supposto Q. Caecilius Pulcher (CIL, X 2,7469: illeggibile), ib., 294 s.

presenza di Cestii, Granii, Vecilii, e con minor frequenza Antistius, Patulcius, Plaetorius, Popillius, Rufeius, Seppienus, Turranius, Iulius, e numerosi Cornelii[248], a parte il ruolo prestigioso dei Maesii nella stessa area[249]. In una analoga inchiesta, ancora inedita, che ho svolto per Centuripae, municipio latino di antica istituzione anche per via della vantata *cognatio* con Lanuvium, già consacrata in Fabio Pittore[250], dalle iscrizioni risultano attestati rappresentanti di almeno 16 *gentes*, ritrovabili in maggioranza nel Lazio e in Campania, immigrati a Centuripae prima e al di fuori della ondata di coloni dedotti da Augusto. Vanno segnalati M. Avianius Pistianus marito di Maria Eupraxia[251]; Calpurnius Apthonetus, *IVvir Augustalis* già ricordato[252]; Clodia Falconilla, madre di Pompeius Falco, cui pone la dedica il liberto Sosius Priscus[253]; A. Coelius Lupus[254]; i due Cornelii, munifici *duoviri* e vari Pompei[255]; M. Mestrius *Luci f(ilius)* *(H)erion*(?) (CIL X 2,7007); L. Roscius Melanio(n) (7010) e M. Roscius Cyronnus, il quale pone l'epigrafe a [M]anlia, moglie del figlio(?)[256]; C. Rustius Eortus, che con la moglie Alfia Anthe e gli avi Publicia Eucarpia e Publicius Festus pone l'epigrafe alla figlia morta a 13 anni, Rustia Festa[257]; C. Scribonius Flaccianus e ancora una Statia Anthe, in una iscrizione greca[258].

---

[248] AÉ, 1980, 513–530. BIVONA, Appunti di onomastica termitana, in: Scritti sul mondo antico in memoria di F. Grosso, Roma 1981, 39–50.

[249] L. BIVONA, Miscell. ... E. Manni, I, Roma 1980, 233–242.

[250] Par. del Pass., 29, 1974, 394 ss.

[251] CIL X 2,7006 (BIVONA, Iscr. lat. Palermo, cit., 23 nr. 5). Avianii a Ostia (CIL XIV 244; 1587) e a Puteoli (cf. G. CAMODECA, Tituli, 5, 1982, 105 s.). Cf. Cic., ep. ad fam., XIII 35, 1: C. *Avianius Philoxenus, ... quem Caesar meo* (*sc. Ciceronis*) *beneficio in Novocomenses rettulit. Nomen autem Aviani secutus est quod homine nullo plus est usus quam Flacco Avianio* (cf. G. LURASCHI, Foedus, Ius Latii, Civitas, Padova 1979, 418 ss.). Un ’Αβιάνιος, pur essendo un *civis Romanus,* a Catina nel I/II sec. d.C., fece incidere per la moglie ’Επαγαθώ / ‘Ροδογύνη, uccisa a colpi di pietra da un bruto, l'epigramma in lingua greca (IG, XIV 499; cf. RFCl, N.S. 36, 1958, 390/92; Bull. ép., 1980, 593), riconoscendo il primato di quest'ultima sul piano culturale e sociale.

[252] Vedi a n. 229. Per i Calpurnii in Campania, cf. Tituli, 5, 72 s.

[253] G. LIBERTINI, Centuripe, Catania 1926, 42 s. Per questa prestigiosa famiglia, diffusa nel Lazio, R. SYME, Tituli, 4, 1981, 400 s.; per la presenza in Africa e in Asia minore, cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 775 s., 647.

[254] LIBERTINI, op.cit., 45. Questo personaggio, che in qualche modo doveva essere connesso con i Pompei e i Sosii presenti anche a Centuripae (vedi n. precedente), è il committente di un lavoro musivo (*opere museo* –) forse nelle sede degli Augustales (F. COARELLI, Stor. Sic., II, 384).

[255] Cf. a n. 218 e IG, XIV 581–82 per i Cornelii: potrebbe trattarsi di discendenti di un Centuripino, per il quale può essersi ripetuto il caso del siciliano Demetrius Megas, cui per richiesta di Cicerone *Dolabella civitatem a Caesare impetravit* e perciò *nunc P. Cornelius vocatur,* conclude Cicerone (ad fam., XIII 36) (cf. LURASCHI, op.cit., 422 s.). Per i Pompei a Centuripae, noti da quattro frammenti (cf. LIBERTINI, op.cit., 44 s.), essi andranno connessi con Eubulidas Grosphus Centuripinus (Cic., in Verr. II 3, 56), un cui discendente, forse nipote, va ritrovato nel ricco Pompeo Grosfo, amico di Orazio (carm. II 16), e che avrà potuto avere la *civitas* da G. Cesare. Cf. a n. 61.

[256] Sui Roscii di Lanuvio, cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 32; Not. Sc., 1953, 360. Un C. *Roscius* [––] / *procos.* [*prov(inciae) Sic[iliae)*] in una iscr. di Siracusa, passata inosservata (V. GENTILI, Arch. stor. sirac., 7, 1961, 23) (vedi fig. 30).

Di questi *honesti cives*, che saranno stati soprattutto *aratores*, proprietari di *praedia* più o meno estesi, esistevano verosimilmente altri rappresentanti simili, di lingua e cultura latina, in ogni altra città della Sicilia, anche in quelle, per le quali è scarsissima la documentazione epigrafica, ora per la mancanza di scavi sistematici e nei luoghi giusti, ora perchè l'abitato moderno custodisce ancora o ha irrimediabilmente distrutto il relativo patrimonio epigrafico di età imperiale. A parte e al di là delle città costiere nei piccoli vici, negli *emporia* e nelle residenze campestri agivano imprenditori di vario genere, *conductores* di *praedia* o di *officinae* e *metalla sulfuris*, *officinatores* di *figlinae*, i quali tutti ormai impiegavano il latino, anche se i loro nomi tradiscono origine grecanica, come Trigonius / Eustocius / Georgius / Fanius, i quali conoscevano forse meglio il greco. Questa nuova società della Sicilia imperiale ha trovato nel bilinguismo la formula adeguata per salvare la tradizione locale e per inserirsi nel sistema produttivo, finanziario e amministrativo instaurato dal governo romano.

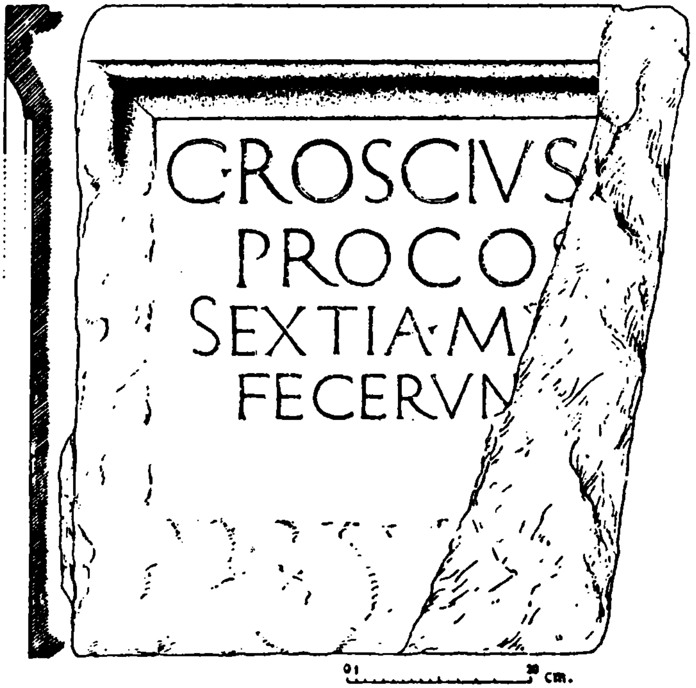


Fig. 30. V. Gentili, Arch. stor. sirac., 7, 1961, 23

---

[257] Il semplice epitafio di Rustia già in Sicul. Gymn., 1949, 97. Per i Rustii, cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 18.

[258] Sicul. Gymn., 1949, 96.

Nel plesso sociale delle città oltre ai *cives* capaci economicamente di assumere l'onere delle magistrature e ai liberti, che potevano aspirare al sevirato, non dovevano mancare quelli che avevano raggiunto le soglie dell'ordine equestre, anche se appena ai primi gradini. Tra essi quelli qualificati nelle iscrizioni come *tribuni militum*, ad es. Pollienus, Cestius, Proculus ricordati già a Thermae, a Mazara per l'età dei Severi Rubellinus Cestianus (CIL X 2,7212), ovvero avviati nella carriera, come *A. Tedius, praefect*[*us fabrum*] di una iscrizione inedita a Syracusae, *L. Roscius Quir. Rufus, pr*[*aefectus coh.* –] / *equitatae, equo publico adlectus* (CIL X 2,7019), *Q. Atilius Cla*(*udia*) *Severus, praef. fabr., IIvir, suf*(*fragis*) *popul*(*i*) *creatus* (7023), un anonimo, di un frammento dal teatro, [*IIIIvir iur*(*e*)] *dic*(*undo*) / [*trib. mil*]*itum l*[*eg.* –, – ? *procurat*]*ori Au*[g(*usti*) ––] a Catina. A parte il cavaliere anonimo di una iscrizione di Thermae, divenuto governatore di Cipro[259] e forse lo sfortunato Haterius Rufus a Syracusae (Val. Max., I, 7,8) per l'età augustea, vanno ricordati per il II sec. d.C. il T. Quartus Crescentinus padre di un decurione di Lilybaeum (CIL X 2,7239), il Clodius Rufus, amico del *patricius* Maesius Titianus a Thermae (CIL X 2,7346) (tav. XX, 31), l'altro anonimo di Halaesa (AÉ, 1973, 268), a Panhormus P. Aelius Verus, *eques Romanus*, [*tur*]*ma prima*, morto a poco più di 12 anni[260] e qualche altro caso a Tauromenium e Syracusae[261].

Più magra è la lista dei senatori siciliani: il primo compare con i Flavi, L. Acilius Rufus, al quale gli Hispellates posero una dedica come a patrono nella nativa Thermae (CIL X 2,7344) (tav. XIX, 32); a Lilybaeum quindi M. Marcius Bietis Glaucus, immesso in Senato da Commodo (ILS, 6770); alla fine del II sec. d.C. emergono a Thermae i Maesii Fabii, a Panhormus i Fabii Caesilii, imparentati con Q. Aquilius Niger, proconsole di Sicilia, a Lilybaeum C. Bultius Geminius Titianus, altro proconsole di Sicilia intorno al 200 d.C.[262] (tav. XXI, 33). Per quest'ultima città va ora aggiunto *L. Cassius Manilianus, c*(*larissimus*) *v*(*ir*), *curio minor, q*(*uaestor*) *pr*(*ovinciae*) *S*(*iciliae*), *curator rei publicae Lilyb*(*itanorum*), al quale *ob insignem praestantiam erga patriam* fu posta una dedica a Mazara[263] (tav. XXII, 34).

---

[259] Il testo di CIL X 2,7351 integrato da Pflaum (cf. a n. 208), è il seguente: [–––]*io Sex*[––| *equo public*]*o, praef*(*ecto*) *fabr*(*um*), [*trib*(*uno*) *milit*(*um*) *le*]g(*ionis*) *XII* [*ful*]*minatae, pro* [*legato*] *Caesaris Cypri, praef*(*ecto*) *ch*[*ort*(*is*) ––] / *equitatae et Iuliae* –– / *M. Livius Macedonic*[*us* –] | / *l*(*ocus*) [*d*(*atus*) *d*(*ecreto*) *d*(*ecurionum*)].

[260] CIL X 2,7285 (Bivona, Iscr. latine ... Palermo, cit., 44 nr. 27): cf., per *equites* di 9/3/17 anni, ILS, 1316 – 1318.

[261] A parte il *Pater*(*nus*) *proc*(*urator*) del 108 d.C. del blocco nel teatro di Tauromenium (CIL X 2,6996) e l'anonimo ducenarius di una iscrizione inedita di quest'ultima città (vedi dopo n. 289), vanno ricordati i personaggi dell'ordine equestre, cui sono riservati posti nell'anfiteatro di Syracusae, per cui a n. 302. Cf. anche a n. 96.

[262] CIL X 2,7233. Cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 372 – 76.

[263] L. Bivona, Lilibeo. Testimonianze archeologiche dal IV sec. a.C. al V sec. d.C., Marsala 1984, Regione Siciliana, 148 con breve notizia: alla mia richiesta di fotocopia del raro libretto di F. Napoli, Spigolature storiche di Mazara antica, Marsala 1923, dove a p. 155 s. è trascritta la iscrizione, la collega ha prontamente provveduto, per cui Le

Le perplessità, che suscita l'assenza di senatori per le grosse città della Sicilia orientale, scomparirebbero, se fosse lecito riconoscere nel proconsole di Sicilia M. Haterius Candidus (CIL X 2,7192) un discendente del cavaliere Haterius Rufus di Syracusae, ucciso accidentalmente in uno spettacolo gladiatorio nell'anfiteatro di quest'ultima negli anni di Augusto[264]. Per Catina la presenza di almeno due senatori potrebbe essere dedotta da due frammenti epigrafici: il primo (CIL X 2,7034) a belle lettere di I–II sec. d.C., sembra riferibile ad un personaggio [--? *triumpha*]*libus* [*ornamentis honoratus*] / [-- *comes prin*]*cipum* [*bello* --] / [-- *divi? Vespas*]*iani et* [*Titi? Caes. Aug.*][265]; il secondo (CIL X 2,7021) ad un altro prestigioso personaggio [---] *So*[*sio*? ? --] / [-- *consula*]*ris fil*(*io*) [-- / ---] *cos. II*, [*quaest*(*ori*), *cand. Divi Anton*]*ini* (?), *co*[*miti* -- *in prov*(*incia*) –, *in qua plura q*]*uam c*[*entum* ? *mill. ad praestanda tributa* ?][266]. Con un personaggio siffatto potrebbe connettersi la colonna celebrativa di una vittoria su un plinto di marmo, decorato con figure di prigionieri germanici, trofeo e Vittorie[267].

V. *Spettacoli, cultura, arte e medicina*

La partecipazione delle città di Sicilia al livello e ai toni della vita municipale tipici delle migliori città italiche, e pertanto ad un sicuro benessere[268], è suggerita da una serie di documenti, in parte trascurati, relativi al mondo dello spettacolo, sia di tradizione romana che ellenistica, come anche dalla scoperta di pavimenti musivi, ritratti, sarcofagi e altri prodotti di importazione.

Già sotto Augusto a Syracusae furono allestiti spettacoli gladiatori, come risulta dall'episodio narrato da Valerio Massimo (mem., I,7,8), un autore che scrive sotto Tiberio, relativo al sogno premonitore (del genere di quelli riferiti da Artemidoros di Daldis riguardo al mondo dei concorsi) avuto da Haterius Rufus, *eques Romanus*. Questi, proprio come aveva sognato, fu ucciso da un *retiarius, cum gladiatorium munus Syracusis ederetur*[269].

---

rinnovo il mio grazie! Il personaggio è già noto per l'Africa proconsolare (Tituli, 5, 1982, 717), ulteriore testimonianza di legami e movimento di famiglie tra Sicilia e la medesima.

[264] Cf. Val. Max., mem. I 7,8, per cui più avanti a n. 269. Un liberto Haterius a Thermae, già ricordato (CIL X 2,7409).

[265] Per il formulario, cf. ILS 985–988. Sarei tentato di richiamare il frammento, al Castello Ursino di Catania, di colonna coclide con figure di cavalieri, che passano davanti alle mura di una città (PACE, Arte e Civ., cit., III 144, fig. 134; COARELLI, Stor. Sic., II 381 n. 57).

[266] Per il formulario, cf. ILS, 986.

[267] G. LIBERTINI, Il Museo Biscari, Milano 1930, 67 s., nr. 142.

[268] Come afferma serenamente D. ASHERI, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 472 s.

[269] G. VILLE, La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien, Paris 1981, 380; 438; M. A. CAVALLARO, Spese e spettacoli. Aspetti economico-strutturali degli

Premesso che anche il glorioso teatro greco di Gerone II subì un adattamento per spettacoli gladiatori[270], problematica è stata finora la cronologia del grande anfiteatro di Syracusae[271]. Esso comunque dovrebbe essere augusteo[272], ciò che non è contradetto dai caratteri delle sette grandi lettere (alte ben 39 cm.) della iscrizione [––] *Betilie*[*nus* –]: probabilmente il *nomen* del proconsole di Sicilia, che dedicò la costruzione, e che potrebbe essere identificato con P. Betilienus Bassus, uno dei monetieri dell'ultima emissione di *quadrantes* di Augusto[273].

Syracusae presentava ormai un composto aspetto urbanistico romano. Già Ottaviano aveva fatto costruire il ponte, che univa l'isola di Ortigia ad Achradina[274]. Ciò sembra risultare dalla ricostruzione, purtroppo congetturale, di una dedica in greco – anche per questo anteriore alla deduzione di coloni del 21 a.C. –, che risulta come appresso[275]: [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱὸς ... ὕπατος τὸ τ]ρί[τον, καθεσταμ(ένος) τὸ τέτα]ρτον, [ἐκ θεμελίων κατε]σκεύα[σεν τὰν γέφ]υρα[ν συνάπτουσαν πρὸς τὰ]ν Ἀχραδίνα[ν καὶ ἀνέστασεν –]τὰς Νί[κας ἐν τᾶ]ι ἐξ[έδραι – καὶ τὰ ἀγάλμ]ατα [––]. Non molto tempo dopo l'impianto della colonia a Syracusae deve essere stata progettata la costruzione di un monumentale anfiteatro, il quale senza alcun dubbio doveva essere completo sotto Claudio: ciò sembra presupposto dal *vulgarissimum senatus consultum, quo civitati Syracusanorum egredi numerum edendis gladiatoribus finitum permittebatur* (Tac., ann. XIII 49), emesso nel 58 d.C. e attaccato da Paetus Thrasea, che non condivideva la politica ludica di Nerone[276]. In verità, anche se Tiberio impresse una drastica frenata per le spese pubbliche, ancora una volta intorno al 21 d.C. in città della Sicilia furono allestiti spettacoli in onore del divo Augusto, ai quali debbono riferirsi le contromarche rilevabili

---

spettacoli nella Roma giulio-claudia, Bonn 1984, 138; 170 n. 55. Questo Haterius può essere un antenato del proconsole M. Haterius Candidus (CIL X 2,7192) di età neroniana.

[270] L. BERNABÒ BREA, Studi sul teatro greco di Siracusa, Palladio, 17, 1967, 142 ss. Per un restauro nel IV sec. d.C., cf. ILS, 5643a.

[271] G. V. GENTILI, Palladio, 23, 1973, 63 s.

[272] R. J. A. WILSON, Miscell. studi class. E. Manni, VI 2217 s. Un arco onorario di età augustea, con rilievo di togati, avrebbe costituito l'accesso all'anfiteatro (Stor. Sc., II 381) (Not. Sc., 1951, 265).

[273] Questi può avere avuto una carriera analoga a quella di L. Apronius o di L. Caninius Gallus, che da *monetales* pervennero al consolato, il secondo anzi al proconsolato di Africa. Su Betilienus Bassus, cf. Tituli, 5, 1982, 16. Foto della iscrizione in WILSON, op. cit., 2230, tav. II 1.

[274] Cf. Cic., in Verr. IV 52, 117; 53,118; 119: *Altera autem est urbs Syracusis, cui nomen Achradina est, in qua forus maximus.* Strab., VI 2,4 C 270: Ἡ δὲ Ὀρτυγία συνάπτει γεφύρᾳ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον πλησίον οὖσα. Cf. J. SCHUBRING, Achradina. Ein Beitrag zur Stadtgeschichte von Syrakus, Rh. Mus., 20, 1865, 16 s., 53 ss.; G. VOZA, L'attività d. Soprint. Sic. or., Kokalos, 22–23, 1976–77, 552 s. (sui problemi che solleva la connessione tra Ortigia e Achradina).

[275] Basandomi sulla corrispondenza nei due frammenti superstiti di [τ]ρί[τον e [τέτα]ρτον a caratteri più grandi, e pertanto sulla linea della titolatura, ho pensato ad un formulario applicato a Ottaviano per il 31 a.C. del tipo, Syll^3., 768 (R. K. SHERK, Roman Documents from the Greek East, Baltimore 1969, 310 nr. 60).

[276] Cf. CAVALLARO, op.cit. 138 s.

su vecchio Aes augusteo raccolto in Sicilia. Contromarche, come quelle coi tipi del ramoscello, della lira e del capricorno debbono connettersi con celebrazioni del *dies natalis* di Augusto[277], quelle coi tipi della prora e dell'aphlaston con la commemorazione della vittoria di Azio o di Nauloco (*Actiacae Siculaeque victoriae*), che poi Caligola (Suet., v. Cal. 23,1) *ut funestas p. R. et calamitosas vetuit solemnibus feriis celebrari*. In particolare ad edizioni di spettacoli gladiatori andranno riferite le altre contromarche caratterizzate dalla figura del Pius Frater di Catina o quelle con i tipi della corazza, dell'elmo a chiodi e di una figurina stante di gladiatore, rilevabili su Aes augusteo raccolto in zone prossime a Siracusa[278].

Nelle città siceliote, associatesi nelle celebrazioni di Augusto, già intorno al 21 d.C. si era presentato il fenomeno della contrazione di circolante della zecca di Roma – che porterà nel 33 d.C. alla lamentata *inopia rei nummariae* (Tac., ann. VI 16 s.)[279] – per cui furono rilanciati in circolazione, previa impressione di contromarche 'municipali', in funzione di spese pubbliche connesse con le rituali celebrazioni, proprio contingenti di logoro Aes augusteo[280]: nel contempo Panhormus emetteva Aes celebrativo del Divus Augustus e di Livia Augusta (vedi a n. 85).

Anche le altre città costiere ebbero, anche se piuttosto nel corso del I sec. d.C., un anfiteatro o comunque allestirono spettacoli gladiatori.

Per Catina, a parte il grande edificio anfiteatrale, oggi ridotto a un troncone, è notevole un rilievo in pietra lavica, con la rappresentazione di due gladiatori, a sinistra un Thrax rivolto verso destra e dopo un cippo un c.d. Murmillo (o altro genere di gladiatore, non essendo definibile) di prospetto, ambedue armati al completo[281]. Si tratta forse del manifesto-réclame di un qualche spettacolo allestito dal munifico *munerarius*.

Per Panhormus si conoscono solo documenti epigrafici, come l'iscrizione funeraria posta dal commilitone Delicatus per il sirio Flamma, un *sec(utor)*, vissuto trentanni, il quale sostenne 34 combattimenti, vincendone 21, in 9 non fu nè vincitore nè vinto (*stans*), quattro volte fu ferito e graziato, *mis*(*sus*)[282].

---

[277] Cavallaro, 251 s., sulla linea di S. Mazzarino, che illustrava OGIS, 458. Per il valore simbolico del ramoscello di alloro, in connessione col culto di Augusto, cf. A. Alföldi, Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus, Antiquitas, R. 3. Abhandlungen Z. Vor- u. Frühgeschichte, Z. klass. u. provinz. röm. Archäologie u. z. Gesch. d. Altertums, Berlin 1973, 30 ss.

[278] A proposito ho presentato una comunicazione nel Congresso intern. di Numismatica a Londra, settembre 1986.

[279] Cf. C. Rodewald, Money in the age of Tiberius, Manchester 1976.

[280] Va escluso possa trattarsi di tessere, con funzione simile a quelle impiegate in età giulio-claudia a Roma, o di *pecunia spectaculis*, quale è intesa dal Mazzarino (Cavallaro, op.cit., 142 s., note 52; 55).

[281] Libertini, Il Museo Biscari, cit., 43 nr. 85 con Tav. XXVI, in cui i gladiatori sono descritti come Samnites (cf. le osservazioni su tale designazione impropria in L. Robert, Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des hautes études. Sect. 4: Sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc. 278, Paris 1940 (rep. Amsterdam 1971), 65 s.; p. 67 s. (per il gl. trace). Ogni legame con l'epigrafe funeraria IG, XIV 475 va escluso. Sui rilievi gladiatori come ὑπόμνημα φιλοτιμιῶν e sulla *missio*, vedi ora W. Günther, Istanb. Mitt., 35, 1985, 135 ss.

Per Thermae, oltre ai resti dell'anfiteatro, studiato recentemente e datato in epoca flavio-traianea[283], sovviene una iscrizione funeraria (CIL X 2,7364 = ILS, 5093), posta dal conservo *Spec*(*i*)*es*, Bellezza, che era *eques*, gladiatore a cavallo, per *Callistus*, gladiatore trace (*Traex*) e servo di un *Treb*(*onius*), il quale visse (ovvero vinse!) per un numero di 20 anni (ovvero in 20 combattimenti!). Si tratta di membri di una *familia gladiatoria* come quella presupposta da una iscrizione di Cephaloedium (CIL X 2,7457 = ILS, 8377), recentemente studiata senza profitto[284]. Questa presenta un estratto del testamento dettato per il padre (cf. anche ILS, 8376) dal figlio morente a Sirmio, in Pannonia, nel 175 d.C.:

> „Copia del testamento epistolare. Salute, signor padre, stammi bene, signor padre. Mentre ho dettato per te questo, io consideravo te infelicissimo, come lo eri quando mi mandavi qua. Chiedo che tu mi faccia un monumento degno della mia giovine età. Chiedo che Eutychianos mio allievo (*alumnus*) tu affranchi e liberi col rito della verga e similmente Aprile il mio servo, che solo della mia truppa (*ministerium* = *familia*) vinse. Egli scrisse il 18 marzo a Sirmio, essendo consoli L. Calpurnio Pisone e P. Salvio Giuliano".

Tipica del testamento in forma epistolare è la datazione consolare (cf. ILS, 7259; 272; 8380; 8917). L'iscrizione, con altre perdute, in cui doveva figurare il nome del morto e del padre, faceva parte del richiesto *monumentum* funerario.

Le ragioni, per cui il padre inviò il figlio a Sirmio, in cui nel 175 d.C. risiedeva la famiglia imperiale e M. Aurelio (vi si svolgeva anche il processo contro Erode Attico)[285], vanno ricercate nella espressione *Aprilem servum meum, qui solus ex ministerio meo superavit* : *ministerium* ha il significato di *familia* (cf. anche DESSAU, ILS, Index III 2, p. 735), anzi come ad es. in ILS, 5148 (. . *qui ministerio arenario fungunt*), di *familia arenaria*, cioè *gladiatoria*. Eutychianus perciò è un *aren*(*ae*) *alumnus* (cf. ILS, 5149). La *familia* del lanista di Cephaloedium venuta a Sirmio per esibirsi in combattimenti gladiatori nell'anfiteatro non registrò grandi successi: tutti i suoi componenti furono vinti, anche se naturalmente missi, compreso il giovane padrone, il quale moribondo, verosimilmente in seguito alle ferite riportate, dettò il testamento allo schiavo Aprile. Quest'ultimo fu il solo che vinse in combattimento (*superavit*).

---

[282] A proposito, cf. ROBERT, op.cit., 120 s.

[283] O. BELVEDERE, Nuove ricerche e studi ... in onore di P. E. Aria, Pisa 1982, 647 ss.; Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 85.

[284] R. MARINO, Kokalos, 20, 1974, 213 – 17. L'iscr. anche in V. ARANGIO-RUIZ, Negotia, FIRA III, nr. 56; M. AMELOTTI, Le forme classiche del Testamento (Lez. raccolte da R. Martini), II, Torino 1967, 140.

[285] P. GRAINDOR, Hérode Atticus et sa famille, Le Caire 1930, 122 ss.; A. BIRLEY, Mark Aurel, München 1968 (trad. ted.) 329 s. (il testo base è Philostr., v. soph. II 1,11 – 12).

Il giovine padrone ha chiesto per i suoi due servi nominati nel testamento una manomissione completa col rito della verga (*vindicta liberes*), perciò davanti ai magistrati del municipio latino di Cephaloedium[286].

Questa iscrizione, che fa conoscere un vero impresario di spettacoli gladiatori – quale non è l'*ergolabus* di una iscrizione di Thermae secondo l'errata interpretazione dello SCRAMUZZA[287] – ben si inquadra nel 175 d.C., quando gli stessi erano di gran moda, quella *pestis*, che M. Aurelio e Commodo anche per la dispendiosità avrebbero voluto frenare col famoso SC *de sumptibus ludorum gladiatoriorum minuendis* di Italica[288].

L'allestimento di spettacoli del genere rientrava tra i *munera* di magistrati, anzi a Lilybaeum il munifico [?A]nnius Tertius fu anche *curator muneris publici gladiatoris* proprio sotto M. Aurelio[289].

Fin da Domiziano, l'imperatore disponeva anche di speciali procuratori per reclutare gladiatori: di uno di questi credo trovare menzione in una iscrizione inedita di Tauromenium, relativa ad un anonimo, definito verosimilmente [*proc. f*]*ami*[*l*(*iae*) *glad*(*iatoriae*) *per*] *Sic*(*iliam*), *Ae*[*miliam* – / –] *Dalma*[*tiam* –, *proc. ludi mag*]*ni*, *duc*[*enarius* –].

Tuttavia nelle città siciliane non fu meno vivo l'interesse per spettacoli di altro genere, che si svolgevano nel teatro, di cui anche per riadattamento di edifici più antichi molte fra esse disponevano (Tauromenium, Catina, Syracusae, Tyndaris, Segesta, Iaiton), o in un odeon di nuova creazione (Tauromenium o Catina, ad es.)[290]. Così per il teatro di Tauromenium un sicuro indizio di una ricostruzione o di un riadattamento, anche per spettacoli gladiatori, è offerto da un grosso blocco marmoreo, trasportato nel teatro, che contiene l'iscrizione già ricordata (CIL X 2,6996), che menziona il procuratore Paterno, che nell'anno 108 d.C. curò l'estrazione dalle cave di marmo del necessario materiale.

Anzitutto va rilevata l'assenza per la Sicilia imperiale di concorsi greci[291], anche se ne erano esistiti in età repubblicana, ad es. a Tauromenion i Pythia (IG, XIV 434) o a Syracusae i Marcellia (Cic., in Verr. II 21,51): al più a Syracusae sotto Caligola si sarebbero celebrati *astici* (?) *ludi* (Suet., v. Cal., 20). A Corinto nel concorso per l'encomio poetico della diva Livia, e perciò non prima del 42 d.C., vinse un siracusano, εἰς θεὰν Ἰουλίαν Σεβαστὴν | ποιήματι | Γάϊος Κ[ά]σσιος Φλάκκος | Συρα[κόσιος], certamente figlio o nipote dell'omonimo [·] Κάσσιος Γ. υἱὸς Φλά[κκος] Συρακόσιο[ς], che nel 3 d.C. aveva vinto come ποιητής[292]. Si tratta forse di discendenti di un veterano, dedotto da Augusto a Syracusae.

---

[286] Cf. J. REA, A new case of manumission by vindicta, ZPE, 62, 1986, 81 s.

[287] Cf. BIVONA, Kokalos, 26–27, 1980–81, 403 n. 4.

[288] ILS, 5163; A. D'ORS, Epigr. jurid. de la España Romana, Madrid 1953, 37 ss.

[289] Kokalos, 7, 1961, 16 s. (AE, 1964, 181).

[290] Kokalos, 26–27, 1981–82, 224 s.

[291] Ancora recentemente L. ROBERT, Praktikà tou 8 ... Synedr. hellen. kai latin. Epigraphikis, Atene 1984, 38.

Invece pantomimi, giocolieri, mime, musicisti, attori e cantori sono ricordati in iscrizioni in greco: a Syracusae un K. Καικίλ[ιος –] pantomimo (βιολόγος) e danzatore di un tipo di danza ‘russa’ (ὀκ[λαδο]παίκτης)[293]; a Centuripae un certo Studiosos, morto a 60 anni, come risulta da una lettura corretta dell’epigrafe[294], e non un attore-bambino[295], è definito λυδιαστής, interpretabile come „cantore bucolico“[296]; a Messana un musicista, Agrippinos (IG XIV 403), e un attore da Paphos, chiamato Paphianos, „vinto per la corona della vita“ (e non dell’arte!), forse vi erano morti durante una sosta del viaggio verso Roma o Napoli[297]; a Catina fu seppellita una *Aphrodito mimas* (CIL X 2,7046).

Naturalmente gli spettacoli erano finanziati da munifici personaggi: a Catina Zosymianeides Severo per la splendida agonothesia ricevette dalla „inclita città dei Pii (Fratres)“ una dedica in versi greci, tra III e IV sec. d.C., esposta e ritrovata nel teatro cittadino[298]; a Panhormus un anonimo, che fu anche *curator portensis kal(endarii)*[299], secondo si legge in una iscrizione purtroppo frammentaria (CIL X 2,7295 = ILS, 5055), databile per la forma di alcune lettere tipiche, come G e T, all’età degli Antonini[300], ottenuta l’autorizzazione imperiale (*indulgentia sacra*) offrì al popolo una *editio gratissima* per vari giorni, cioè a parte *venationes* con l’impiego di *bestiae herbariae* e *orientales, variae missiones* e un gran banchetto finale, anche pantomimi. Infatti, per suo merito il popolo tutto [*per multa*]*s horas theatri voluptas tenuit et hilaris* [––– *a me*]*ridie transiit*. Evidentemente si erano esibiti danzatori e pantomimi, che resero *hilaris* il popolo, il quale nell’entusiasmo richiese a gran voce (*frequentissimis vocibus*) che fosse tributato l’onore di statue in biga secondo il numero delle centurie (*centuriatim*) al *munerarius*, che tuttavia si accontentò di due statue bigate e di due(?) a cavallo.

Quando, verosimilmente nel corso del II sec. d.C., si procedette al restauro dell’anfiteatro a Syracusae, adattato piuttosto nel IV d.C. per altri spettacoli non gladiatorii, nella cavea furono assegnati posti a singoli personaggi o a categorie, come risulta dalle iscrizioni in latino (una sola in greco) incise ogni volta da mano diversa sul coronamento della balaustra del podio[301]. Seguendo l'ordine presentato nel CIL X 2,7130 per i vari frammenti, è dato leggere: *Locus P. Lae*[– –]*ni eq*(*uitis*) *R*(*omani*) (accostando al nr. 2 il nr. 1); *Locu*[*s* –/– ? *Li*]*vi Alli*/– (nr. 5 + 4); [*Locus*] / *Rosciani Antioc*(*h*)*i v*(*iri*) [*e*(*gregi*)] (nr. 6); [*Loc*(*i*)] / *ex tabularis* (nr. 7); *Locus Statili* | [––] (nr. 8); [*Loc.* ? *Ca*]/ *ssi e*(*gregi*) *v*(*iri*) (nr. 9); [–Εὐ]ρησίου (*palma*) (nr. 10); [*Locus De*]/*xippi Alfiani v*(*iri*) [*e*(*gregi*)?] (nr. 12); [– ? *Ru*]/*fini fili, loc*(*i*) (nr. 14); *loc*(*i*) *Aur*[*eli* ? *Fr*]/ *ont*(*onis*) *q*(*uaestoris*) *fr*(*umenti* ?) –– (nr. 13 + 15); [*Locus*] / *Sabin*(*i*). *Loc*(*i*) – (nr. 16); [*Loc*(*i*) *Iud*]/*aeorum* (*hedera*) (nr. 17); [–] / *Alfiani et Pilat*(*i*) (nr. 18); [–] / *Telesphoriani. Yacin*[*ti* (?)] (nr 19); [–] / *Cestiani Faretri locus* (nr. 20); [–– *procura*]*toris* (?) (nr. 21); [––] / *Hilario*[*nis* –] (nr. 22); e ancora [– ? *Vind*]*icis et Sterc*[*orii*][302].

---

[292] Corinth, VIII 1,19, lin. 11 s.; 14 lin. 85–86 (cf. L. ROBERT, REG, 79, 1966, 743 n. 1; ID., Études épigr. phil., Paris 1938, 21–23). Vanno richiamati due framm. epigrafici di Siracusa, Not. Sc., 1891, 392; 1920, 138.

[293] Bull. ép., 1964, 622.

[294] Permessa dalla foto edita da PR. CACIA, in: F. ANSALDI, op.cit., 319, Tav. XLI.

[295] Come in Sic. Gymn., 1963, 12 s. (Bull. ép., 1964, 616), e come ripete G. PROSPERI VALENTI, Epigraph., 47, 1985, 77–78.

[296] Sulla base di Diom., art. gram., 487,4 (Gramm. Lat. I), s.v. bucolica: ... *Nonnulli* (*pastores*) ... *transisse creduntur, quos lydiastas et bucolistas appellaverunt* (cf. Sic. Gymn., 1963, 13).

[297] Cf. ROBERT, Hellenica XI–XII, Paris 1960, 330 s.

[298] IG, XIV 502 (Arch. st. Sic. or., 1958, 16 s.). Dal teatro proviene anche la base con la dedica *T(ito) Flavio Ionio* (Sic. Gymn., 1961, 195 s.), che può essere stato un altro munifico *munerarius* di Catina.

[299] Su questa funzione, cf. LANGHAMMER, op.cit., 175 s.

[300] Cf. anche BIVONA, Iscriz. Museo Palermo, cit., 48 s., nr. 31. Per la forma delle lettere indicate, vedi A. E. GORDON, Album of dated Latin Iscr., 1958, Tav. 107, nr. 232 s.

I caratteri epigrafici, soprattutto il nesso T I, che si incontra nei nrr. 6, 18, 20, indirizzano verso l'età di M. Aurelio (cf. ad es. CIL X 2,7475), che è poi quella, in cui gli spettacoli gladiatori ebbero ovunque la massima fortuna.

Allora debbono essere stati riservati posti per gli ex-funzionari del Tabularium, che certamente aveva sede a Syracusae, come altresì per il *procurator* e per il *q*(*uaestor*) *fr*(*umenti*) – se integrazione e scioglimento ai nrr. 21 e 13 + 15 sono accettabili – oltre che per singoli personaggi, tra i quali figurano un *eq*(*ues*) *R*(*omanus*) e tre che recano il titolo burocratico dell'ordine equestre, *v*(*ir*) *e*(*gregius*) (nrr. 6 e 12) ovvero *e*(*gregius*) *v*(*ir*) (nr. 9). Per i senatori e per i decurioni, naturalmente, erano riservati altri posti in settori specifici[303].

Piuttosto nel IV sec. d.C. un settore fu riservato, se la mia integrazione per il nr. 17 va accolta, anche per i residenti *Iudaei*[304].

Nel IV sec. d.C. la passione per le corse ippiche nel circo arrivò anche in Sicilia, i cui cavalli erano stati apprezzati dal vecchio Gordiano (SHA, v. Gord. 4,5): significativa la notizia nella Expos. totius mundi, 66 sulle gare circensi a Syracusae e Catina e l'altra, che nel 401 d.C. Simmaco fece venire a Roma dalla Sicilia *aurigae* e *scenae artifices*[305].

All'interesse per manifestazioni pantomimiche e musicali, gestite da gente di estrazione greca, si accompagnò anche in Sicilia quello per la poesia greca e latina, di cui offre vari esempi la epigrafia funeraria e dedicatoria[306]. Tra i poeti si possono ricordare Πέρσις a Thermae (IG, XIV 316), a Catina Rubrius[307] e 'Ευνοῖος (IG, XIV 453)[308], mentre altri compositori restano anonimi ed epitafi anche cristiani in greco rivelano il gusto per la retorica e le forme poetiche[309].

---

[301] CIL X 2,7130 e G. V. Gentili, Palladio, 1973, 65 s., 69 – 70.

[302] Quest'ultima iscrizione in Gentili, art. cit., 70 nr. 13.

[303] Cf. J. Kolendo, Spectacles et stratification sociale dans l'Empire Rom., Ktema, 6, 1981, 312 s.

[304] Va richiamata l'iscrizione nel teatro di Mileto τόπος τῶν Εἰουδέων τῶν καὶ θεοσεβί(ω)ν (Bull. ép., 1969, 52). Cf. H. Hommel, Juden und Christen im kaiserzeitlichen Milet. Überlegungen zur Theaterinschrift, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 25, 1975, 167 – 195.

[305] Cracco Ruggini, Stor. Sic., III 58 n. 18.

[306] Una ricca esemplificazione, anche se non senza errori, in O. Garana, Le catacombe siciliane e i loro martiri, Palermo 1961, 262 ss.

Non mancarono quelli che amarono definirsi φιλόσοφοι, come a Lilybaeum un certo Φλάουιος o a Syracusae un certo Timotheos, che ricevette sepoltura nelle catacombe di S. Giovanni[310] al pari della fanciulla Euterpe, ἡ τῶν Μουσῶν σύντροφος, morta intorno al 360 d.C.[311]. A Syracusae era nato l'amico di Simmaco, Naucellius, al quale sono attribuiti gli Epigrammata Bobiensia[312] e col quale va identificato, fatto non rilevato, il personaggio ricordato nell'epigramma latino funerario, mutilo, DIEHL, ILCV, 725[313]. Questo costituisce una variante degli Epigr. Bob. 8–9 con particolari autobiografici – vi ritornano le espressioni *Syracusis* (v. 2), *ex atavis* (v. 4) – documentando come epigrammi di Naucellius fossero stati incisi su lapidi e poi trascritti in codice.

La tradizione poetica in latino non è stata assente in Sicilia: già nel santuario di Eryx Apronius Caesianus fece incidere una serie di epigrammi in latino, che esaltavano l'imperatore Tiberio, il padre e se stesso per le gesta contro Tacfarinas (CIL X 2,7257 = ILS, 939), segno che era previsto un pubblico interessato, in condizione di apprezzare forma e contenuto degli stessi. A Syracusae, d'altra parte, è stato rinvenuto un frammento di iscrizione metrica in latino (CIL X 2,7134). Alla fine del I sec. d.C. il senatore e grande avvocato penalista, C. Valerius Licinianus, esiliato da Domiziano in Sicilia, vi sarebbe rimasto ancora sotto Nerva, dedicandosi a tenere conferenze in latino nelle città[314].

---

[307] SEG, II 533; vedi: Il tempio greco in Sicilia, Architettura e Culti, Atti Scuola Arch. Univ. Catania, 1976 (1985), 162 s.

[308] Cf. Arch. st. Sic. or., 1958, cit., 20 s. In CRACCO RUGGINI, op.cit., 59 n. 20 Ennoios è giudicato „evergete cittadino".

[309] Ne indico soltanto alcuni, come IG, XIV 463; 499; 502; 219; AGNELLO, Sill., cit., nr. 20 etc.

[310] Cf. IG, XIV 278 (IGRR, I 500) e Röm. Quartalschr., 1896, 29 (C. WESSEL, Inscr. Graecae Christ. Veteres Occid., Diss. Halensis, 1936, nr. 162). Per la lista dei φιλόσοφοι, cf. Bull. ép., 1971, 553; 1958, 84.

[311] IG, XIV 112 (AGNELLO, Sill., cit., 46 nr. 91).

[312] Cf. ad es. RE, Suppl. IX (1962), col. 411 s., s.v. Naucellius [MARIOTTI].

[313] Ecco il testo in DIEHL, 725: [–*pat*]*re cretus Hyg*[*in*]*o* / [–*Sy*]*racusis* / [– *Nau*]*cellius hoc fu*[*it* –] / [– *pr*]*otinus ex atavis* / [–*nomen*] *Germanis nobile c*[*unctis*] / [–*puer*]*um me Roma Latin*[*is*] / [–*ve*]*rsibus erudiit*. Il GARANA, op.cit., 264, che ha acutamente notato questa iscrizione romana, tuttavia, ne deduce l'esistenza di un poeta „Igino nato a Siracusa e venuto a Roma per apprendere a verseggiare" (errore ripetuto in CRACCO RUGGINI, Stor. Sic., III 78 n. 102).

[314] RE, VIII A 1 (1955) col. 52, nr. 219, s.v. Valerius Licinianus [HANSLIK]. Di contro uno storico greco, come A. Claudius Charax di Pergamo sotto Adriano fu ταμίας Σικελίας (CHR. HABICHT, Istanb. Mitt., 9–10, 1959–60, 110 ss.; Bull. ép., 1961, 511; alla lista dei *quaestores Siciliae*, va ora aggiunto il supposto *Ovi*[*nius*] *Seve*[*rianus*] di una dedica di Novara (G. MENNELLA, Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. Arch., 57, 1984–85, 192 s.). Poco credibile che Pantainos, maestro di Clemente Alessandrino, nel II sec. d.C., fosse di origine siciliana (vedi L. ALFONSI, Aegyptus, 56, 1976, 101–3).

La borghesia siciliana tra II e III e ancora nel IV sec. d.C. ha goduto di un notevole benessere econòmico, sì da poter soddisfare le sue esigenze di ornare case ed edifici pubblici con pavimenti musivi, di „buon livello", quali sono stati rilevati in diverse città: da Centuripae, dove la „sede degli Augustali", con ogni probabilità, fu adornata da A. Coelius Lupus *opere museo*, a Lilybaeum, a Syracusae, a Catina, a Panhormus (mosaico di Orfeo a piazza della Vittoria e l'altro con una serie di personificazioni e figure mitologiche, le quali anche se non sono riferibili a concezioni escatologiche ed orfiche, esprimono un sincretismo dionisiaco e tradiscono modelli africani e siriaci), ad Agrigentum, sì da porre la Sicilia a riscontro della più fiorente Africa latina[315]. La Sicilia poteva importare marmo, per confezionare, *crustae* o, lastre per monumenti funerari e per iscrizioni, essendo priva di cave di vero marmo (quelle ad es. di Tauromenium producevano soltanto breccia per costruire), oltre che dall'Africa, da Luni: associazioni di *marmorari*, come quella che pose l'epitafio per il *conviva* L. Arrius Secundus a Catina (CIL X 2,7039), e gli innumerevoli scalpellini, che incidevano tituli per scopi sacri e profani, del genere di quelli indicati in una strana iscrizione bilingue di Panhormus (CIL X 2,7296)[316], implicano una intensa domanda di materiale idoneo.

Così è dato rilevare in città e anche in *vici* dell'interno dell'isola ritratti imperiali o di personaggi altronde sconosciuti in marmo, certamente confezionati in officine urbane i primi, da artigiani residenti gli altri, e ancora sarcofagi in marmo, con rappresentazioni dionisiache o di vario repertorio mitologico o simbolico. Questi ultimi sono stati in gran parte importati nel II–IV sec. d.C. (ad eccezioni di alcuni trasferiti in città siciliane in epoca medievale e rinascimentale, o nel Settecento): accanto a sarcofagi, riconosciuti come prodotti di fabbrica attica, o romana o micro-asiatica[317], non ne manca qualcuno di fattura siciliana, come quello di stile neo-attico, databile nell'epoca antonina, con scene di putti sacrificanti secondo il rito romano (tav. XXIII, 35), che io ho rilevato in occasione di una perizia, pretura di Aidone del 9/4/1980, in una fattoria in contrada S. Bartolo (Valguarnera), e perciò nell'area dell'antica Morgantina.

La popolazione continuò a disporre di buoni medici, non essendo venuta meno la tradizione della scuola medica, che attraverso i santuari di Asclepio ad Agrigento e Syracusae poteva risalire agli Asclepiadi[318]. Scribonio Largo, fiorito sotto Claudio e collega di Vettio Valente, medico e amante di Messalina, riporta un medicamento efficace contro il dolore al fianco, illustrato *a Paccio Antiocho auditore Philonidis Catinensis*. Quest'ultimo ne avrebbe tenuta segreta la formula, finchè dopo la sua morte essa fu trasmessa all'imperatore Tiberio *per libellum*, e depositata nelle pubbliche biblioteche. Lo stesso Scribonio riporta un antidoto del maestro Apuleio Celso, che componeva ogni anno per inviarlo a Centuripae, *unde ortus erat*, poichè *in Sicilia plurimi fiunt rabiosi canes*. Inoltre suggerisce a chi si reca in campagna di portare addosso contro i morsi dei serpenti *peucedanum vel cervi ... sordes virosi odoris* (sterco puzzolente), che i cacciatori in Sicilia sono soliti raccogliere diligentemente e recare *in cinctu*. Scribonio, appunto, pur non essendo siciliano, aveva seguito l'insegnamento del catanese Filonide e del centuripino Apuleio Celso[319].

---

[315] F. COARELLI, Stor. Sic., II, cit., 384 s. e n. 86–87; R. CAMERATA-SCOVAZZO, Nuove proposte sul grande mosaico di Piazza della Vittoria a Palermo, Kokalos, 21, 1975, 231–273; Mosaici pavimentali di Carini, Arch. Class., 29, 1977, 134 ss.; R. J. A. WILSON, AJA, 86, 1982, 415–28 e ancora D. VON BÖSELAGER, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien, Roma 1983.

[316] L. BIVONA, I Mestieri, cit., 4–6; Iscr. latine Museo Palermo, cit., 86 s., nr. 74. Per i *marmorari*, cf. L. ROBERT, Hellen. XI–XII, Paris 1960, 28 ss.

[317] Oltre V. TUSA, I sarcofagi romani in Sicilia, Palermo 1957, vedi R. J. A. WILSON, Kokalos, 26–27, 1980–81, cit. 238 s.; A. M. FALLICO, Frammenti di sarcofagi romani conservati nel Museo di Siracusa, Scritti in onore di Ottavio Morisani, Catania 1982, 43–55.

Nel I sec. d.C., se non nel I a.C., va posta l'iscrizione metrica in greco, in ionico anzi, incisa su una stele rinvenuta in zona di Acate (Ragusa), in corso di pubblicazione, per un Μοντᾶνος ἰητὴρ ἠδὲ γεωργός. Altri medici figurano in Sicilia per il III/IV sec. d.C., ancora una volta legati al mondo greco, al pari del liberto seppellito a Messana nel II sec. d.C., *C. Terentius Symphorus, medicus chir(urgus) coh(ortis) IIII praet(oriae)*, morto a 28 anni, al quale l'epigrafe fu posta dal servo Atticus, *cura huius* (sc. *patroni*)[320] (tav. XXIV, 36a; b). In latino naturalmente è il *signaculum* di oculista, al Museo di Siracusa, che serviva a marcare col nome di Alexander boccette contenenti colliri speciali, come il *phoenix* e il *diaomph(acium)*[321].

A Syracusae un epigramma inciso su un grande blocco celebra un medico, che elargiva farmaci benefici a tutti[322]; nelle catacombe di S. Giovanni, furono sepolti il medico Felice, che comprò la tomba per un *solidus*, ὁλοκ(οτίνου) α', Thasios e Βέριος[323]; sempre nella stessa città *Laurentius medicus*[324].

---

[318] Cf. Il tempio greco in Sicilia, op.cit., 164 n. 83.

[319] Cf. Scrib. Larg., Compositiones, ed. G. HELMREICH, Lipsiae 1887, p. 41,15 s.; 69; 67. Per questi medici, vedi RE, II A 1 (1921) coll. 877 s., s.v. Scribonius Largus [KIND]; II 1, 1895, 259,34 s.; S. SCONOCCHIA, Per una nuova edizione di Scribonio Largo, Brescia 1981; E. KÜNZL, Medizinische Instrumente aus Sepulkralfunden der röm. Kaiserzeit, Köln 1983, 11 s.

[320] A. FERRUA, Epigraph., 3, 1941, 258 (AÉ, 1945, 62). L. BIVONA, in: I Mestieri, cit., 9 intende „(il medico) prestò la sua opera per ben 28 anni". Per i medici militari, vedi H. GUMMERUS, Der Ärztestand im röm. Reiche nach den Inschriften, Soc. Sc. Fenn., Comm. Human. Litter., III 6, 1932, 18–103. Non mancano in raccolte siciliane strumenti chirurgici in bronzo; ho rilevato anche una 'ventosa' in bronzo a forma di coppa cilindrica a testa rotonda (simile a quelle in A. KRUG, Heilkunst u. Heilkult. Medizin in der Antike, München 1985, 94–97).

[321] G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, Un nuovo signaculum medici ocularii, Par. del Pass., 9, 1954, 144 s. Per boccette di Lykion, frequenti in Sicilia, cf. anche KRUG, op.cit., 110 s.; L. TABORELLI, Athen., 63, 1985, 200 s.

[322] Bull. ép., 1967, 707, dove si respinge la mia interpretazione in Arch. Class., 17, 1965, 209–210, ripetuta in CRACCO RUGGINI, Stor. Sic., III 59 n. 20. Cf già Bull. ép., 1950, 241 a. Per ἔργον riferito alla professione medica, cf. IG, XIV 2310 a; per εἰητήρ in epigrammi, ib. 1750; 1813; 1879; 1937; 2064; 2104. Proporrei adesso di leggere: [Χείλεσι μὲ]ν παῖδες θλίβουσι πέση[μα(?)υ–– (τοῦ δεῖνος)] | [ὅς λύπαις] καὶ νούσοις ἤπια φάρμακα πᾶσσιν | [ὅπασεν ε]ὐδαίμων.

Nell'entroterra hyblense, a Chiaramonte Gulfi, fu seppellito „il medico amatissimo e saggio e a tutti caro, Eudemon", vissuto 65 anni e morto il giorno 7 del mese di phaophi[325]: egli proveniva verosimilmente dall'Egitto.

A Catina appare un medico cristiano, Bassos[326].

La popolazione siciliana, per le cui esigenze di vita civile e culturale furono allestiti i vari spettacoli passati in rassegna, o furono inscritte le iscrizioni metriche o dedicatorie in latino e talvolta in greco, o importati da Roma ritratti e sarcofagi in marmo, e per il benessere fisico della quale provvedevano medici, generalmente di formazione greca, si rivela pertanto fondamentalmente urbanizzata e del tutto in linea con quella delle migliori città dell'Italia imperiale. Non mi pare sia lecito, ormai, parlare di isolamento o marginalità o addirittura di un ritardo rispetto alla società romana, e tanto meno sul piano economico, per questa popolazione, che prendeva posto in edifici tanto grandi, come l'anfiteatro augusteo di Syracusae o in quello di Catina, costruito nel II sec. d.C., e che aveva promosso la costruzione di nuovi teatri.

Essa doveva essere consistente: per Catina si è potuto proporre „con una certa dose di ottimismo" 28/35 mila abitanti sulla base della capienza del teatro, mentre sulla base di quella dell'anfiteatro piuttosto 32/48 mila[327].

Altri criteri, in astratto validi, come quello della estensione dell'abitato *intra muros* e delle necropoli o del supponibile volume di acqua fornito dagli acquedotti – documentati appena da ruderi per città come Catina, Thermae, Haluntium[328] – per l'insufficienza dei dati non possono essere proficuamente utilizzati.

E tuttavia l'immagine più genuina della Sicilia imperiale deve essere quella di una regione con alto indice di urbanizzazione e con un paesaggio rurale operoso, frequentato e bene fruito, non afflitto da un latifondo improduttivo, ma costellato di *praedia* vari, *vici* ed *emporia* e talvolta di *villae*, in un plesso che trovava nelle *stationes* di ogni rete viaria interna e costiera il recupero e il ricambio delle forze economiche e sociali in circolazione.

---

[323] Agnello, Sill., 23 nr. 21; Wessel, op.cit., nr. 141; A. Ferrua, Rend. Pont. Acc. Rom. arch., 22, 1946/7, 233 nr. 24, il quale legge: τό]πος Βέρ|[ου τοῦ] εἰατροῦ, e aggiunge „il nome potrebbe essere Βερνάκλου o altro simile".

[324] Not. Sc., 1947, 188 s.

[325] A. Di Vita, Epigraph., 12, 1950, 99 s. (Agnello, Sill., 38 nr. 68).

[326] Wessel, op.cit., nr. 140.

[327] Asheri, Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, cit. 468 s.

[328] Wilson, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, cit. 223; Belvedere, Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 85 s., che data al II sec. d.C. l'acquedotto di Thermae; S. Lagona, Cron. arch., 3, 1964, cit., 70 ss.

VI. La Sicilia e gli Imperatori

1. Da Tiberio agli Antonini

Quando l'impero passò nelle mani di Tiberio anche in Sicilia, che durante i lunghi anni del regno di Augusto aveva avuto tempo e modo di assumere tutte le sembianze e i modi di una provincia romanizzata, si rinnovò la devozione per il nuovo imperatore mediante dediche: a parte quella di Thermae (CIL X 2,7340), databile dopo il 4 d.C., e quella assai frammentaria di Lipara, già richiamata[329], vanno citate la dedica del 18/19 d.C. di Lilybaeum (CIL X 2,7226), quella di Capo d'Orlando (Agathyrnon) (EE, VIII 171 nr. 708) posta da P. Clodius C.f. Rufus Latro, e una, forse per una opera pubblica, a Salina (Eolie), di cui sono noti due frammenti[330]. A Lipara, d'altronde, era stata innalzata *ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)* una dedica a Cornelius Masuetus, procuratore di Tiberio e Iulia Augusta, cioè Livia, dopo la morte di Augusto (CIL X 2,7489), già ricordata.

Sotto Tiberio, come ho accennato sopra, furono emesse in onore del divus Augustus e di Livia monete in bronzo a Panhormus e a Segesta fu innalzato un tempietto per il *divus Augustus*[331], mentre, verosimilmente nel contempo, in altre città siceliote si procedette alla contromarcatura di logoro *aes* augusteo della zecca di Roma con tipi figurati, che sembrano riferibili alla celebrazione del *dies natalis* o delle vittorie navali di Augusto, ovvero a spettacoli gladiatorii a Syracusae e forse a Catina[332]. Altre contromarche figurate possono essere connesse, quali simboli 'municipali', con città – a parte quelle alfabetiche, LILYBI ed EPVΞ – come nel caso del bucranio con Tauromenium, della lira con Halaesa, di aratro e spiga con Centuripae, della triskeles con Panhormus (?), dell'ape con Hybla.

Questo fenomeno, che rivela una necessità di recupero di vecchio *aes*, deve essersi verificato all'incirca quando in Africa nel 21 d.C. anche il proconsole L. Apronius fece contromarcare col suo nome APRON *aes* augusteo, contestualmente con emissioni in bronzo di Hippo Regius (M. Amandry), piuttosto che Diarrhytus, e di Thapsus, sulle quali figura tra altre la formula significativa *permissu L. Aproni procos. III*[333], che riporta al 21 d.C.

Aes contromarcato APRON si rinviene anche in Sicilia: un esemplare, a Zagabria, presenta inoltre la contromarca con elmo a chiodi, ripetuta[334], proprio quella rilevata su *aes* augusteo in Sicilia, che ho connesso con spettacoli gladiatorii (vedi a n. 278). Credo si possa concludere che siffatto *aes* contromarcato sia arrivato dall'Africa proconsolare in Sicilia, dove in parte sarebbe stato coinvolto in un processo di seconda contromarcatura, verosimilmente pochissimo tempo dopo il 21 d.C.

---

[329] Vedi n. 236.

[330] Not. Sc., 1929, 98 fig. 54: *Ti. Caesari Divi / [Au]g(usti) f(ilio) Augusto* (– –). S. Calderone, D. E., De Rugg., IV, 1962, 4 A, s.v. Lipara, pensa trattarsi di due dediche, una per Augusto e una per Tiberio, frammentarie.

[331] Vedi nn. 238 – 239.

[332] Vedi a nn. 277 – 78.

[333] M. Grant, Aspects of the Princ. of Tiberius, cit. 8 – 10.

[334] M. Mackensen, JNG, 28 – 29, 1978 – 9,11 ss.

In questi anni la Sicilia, infatti, costituì la retrovia del fronte militare aperto contro il temibile ribelle Tacfarinas[335]: uomini dall'Africa proconsolare vi avranno recato *aes* augusteo contromarcato da Apronio (che in parte quasi subito sarà contromarcato in città siceliote), merci imballate, accompagnate da piombi, come quello col nome riferibile al proconsole di Africa, *Q. Iunius Blaesus, procos.*, rinvenuto a Erice[336], che successe ad Apronius, altri beni, per ripartire con manufatti, come lucerne della fabrica di Proclas figlio di Agyrios[337], o con carichi di frumento. Deve essere fiorito anche un commercio clandestino di quest'ultimo a favore di Tacfarinas, se potè essere mossa l'accusa, smentita per l'intervento di due proconsoli, Elio Lamia e L. Apronio, *frumento hostem Tacfarinatem iuvisset* (Tac., ann. IV, 13,2–3) contro Carsidius Sacerdos e C. Sempronius Gracchus. Quest'ultimo, che viveva a Cercina, l'isoletta davanti alla piccola Sirti, in cui lo aveva trascinato nell'esilio il padre, colpevole di essere stato l'amante della sventurata Giulia, e poi fatto giustiziare da Tiberio, *per Africam ac Siciliam mutando sordidas merces sustentabatur*[338].

Eryx – che ha contromarcato in questi anni *aes* augusteo col suo nome – assume un ruolo importante, accogliendo nel santuario, che pure doveva essere piuttosto decadente, di Venus Erycina, divinità venerata da secoli anche a Roma, riverita fin dall'epoca repubblicana dai governatori di Sicilia (Diod., IV, 83), e non priva di devoti anche in Africa[339], il donario innalzato da L. Apronius Caesianus. Questi figlio del proconsole di Africa già ricordato, eletto da Tiberio *septemvir epulonum*, volle celebrare l'imperatore, il padre e se stesso con un monumento fornito di statue e di quattro epigrammi in latino, di cui sono arrivati frammenti (CIL X 2,7257 = ILS, 939).

Il MOMMSEN, avendo intuito che il frammento superstite, ancora nel Museo di Trapani, andava connesso con quello copiato dal Gualterius, e poi perduto, e che ambedue riguardavano le operazioni del proconsole L. Apronius contro Tacfarinas e la brillante azione del giovinetto Caesianus nel 21 d.C., riferita da Tacito (ann. III,21)[340], diede incarico al BÜCHELER di tentarne la integrazione.

---

[335] Cf. ad es. A. BERTHIER, La Numidie. Rome et le Maghreb, Paris 1981, 100 ss. Fondamentale la dedica di P. Cornelius Dolabella, per cui Epigraph., 20, 1958, 4 ss. (AÉ, 1961, 107; cfr. anche 108).

[336] B. E. THOMASSON, Laterculi Praesidum, I, Göteborg 1984, 1 nr. 4. Cf. indietro a n. 193.

[337] Un esemplare rinvenuto a Cartagine (WILSON, Kokalos, 26–27,241 n. 92).

[338] Tac., ann. IV 13,2–3. Cf. RE, II A 2 (1923) 1400 nr. 48.

[339] Cf. RE, VIII A 1, 1955, 852 s.; 883; S. F. BONDÌ, Stor. Sic., I, 1979, 206. A Cartagine sulla base di una statuina si lege: *Veneri Erucinae Aug(ustae) s[acr(um)] / L. Cassius Apolaustus/ v. s. [l. a.].*

[340] P. ROMANELLI, Storia delle province romane dell'Africa, Roma 1959, 233 s.; B. E. THOMASSON, Die Statthalter der röm. Provinzen Nordafrikas von Augustus bis Diocletianus, I, Lund 1960, 23 s.

Comunque, nel monumento dovevano figurare almeno tre statue, quella dell'imperatore (cui si riferisce il quarto epigramma), quella del proconsole Apronius, forse laureata (Tac., ann. IV, 23), e quella di Caesianus con la *praetexta* sacerdotale (ciò risulterebbe dal secondo epigramma). Il primo e il terzo epigramma erano dedicati alla esaltazione del proconsole, che aveva ricevuto i *triumphalia ornamenta*, anche se non aveva conseguito contro Tacfarinas decisivi successi, quali avrà nel 24 d.C. Dolabella, al quale però fu negato eguale onore. Nel contempo erano consacrate nel monumento le armi, impiegate da Caesianus negli scontri contro le *Getulae gentes*, cioè scudo, spada consumata per le stragi e asta[341].

Anche se l'espressione *Aeneadum alma parens* in III 6 riecheggia Virgilio, si tratta in verità di *carmina factitata*[342], come erano di moda nella società colta romana. D'altra parte la esecuzione dell'epigrafe appare maldestra („*litterae ... male factae*" annotava il MOMMSEN).

Il santuario ericino tuttavia richiedeva urgenti restauri. Così nel 25 d.C. una legazione di Segestani, nella giurisdizione dei quali doveva rientrare il medesimo, anche se Eryx godeva di statuto autonomo, si presentò a tale scopo a Tiberio, il quale pur essendo poco incline a finanziare lavori pubblici e parsimonioso, compiaciuto per la rievocazione delle origini troiane della *gens Iulia, libens ut consanguineus* accettò la cura di restaurare *aedem Veneris montem aput Erycum vetustate dilapsam* (Tac., ann. IV,43,4). Tiberio avrà nominato un *curator operis* ed elargito tramite il suo procuratore in Sicilia somme, senza concludere molto.

In verità durante il regno di Tiberio, il quale nel suo ultimo anno di vita avrebbe fatto trasferire da Syracusae a Roma, per dedicarla *in bibliotheca templi novi* sul Palatino, la statua di Apollo Temenites (Suet., v. Tib. 74), e poi ancora dopo, almeno fino ad Adriano, in Sicilia si assiste ad una reviviscenza di culti locali: così per quello di Venus Victrix Hyblensis, un cui santuario sorgeva anche a Hybla, pagus di Catina, come si deduce da una dedica latina rinvenutavi (CIL X 2,7013), al quale è fatto esplicito riferimento nel Pervigilium Veneris, che è stato datato sotto Adriano[343]; così pure per il culto di Anna e le Paides, alle quali sono rivolte dediche in greco in un santuario rupestre a Buscemi, in territorio acrense. Fra esse una è datata con i consoli C. Cestio (Gallo) e M. Servilio Noniano, del 35 d.C., con l'*amphipolos* di Syracusae A.

---

[341] Per il v. 10 proporrei: *qua cecidit fusus barbar*[*us eques humi*], convinto che non poteva mancare in questo brano un riferimento alla cavalleria. Cf. Tac., ann. III,21,4: *missu patris Apronius Caesianus cum equite et cohortibus auxiliariis ... prosperam adversus Numidas pugnam facit.* Vedi il mio art., Tacfarinas e la Sicilia (ovvero L. Apronius e il santuario ericino), in: L'Africa romana, Atti IV convegno studio, Sassari 1985 (1986).

[342] Tac., ann. VI,39,1 (a proposito di Sextius Paconianus, che aveva diffuso versi satirici contro Tiberio)

[343] Cf. R. SCHILLING, Kokalos, 13, 1967, 3 ss.: per il culto di Venus Victrix sotto Adriano, cf. J. BEAUJEU, La religion romaine à l'apogée de l'Empire, I, Paris 1955, 138 s.; per il culto a Hybla, cf. il mio art. Per la storia dei culti nella Sicilia greca, in: Il Tempio greco in Sicilia, cit. 153.

Valerio Arabico, con il sacerdote delle Paides L. Bebio Clado e con la sacerdotessa Clodia Polla – tutti recano nomi romani ma con l'antico mese Panamos[344]. Nelle altre dediche sacerdoti e devoti presentano onomastica romana, trattandosi perciò di discendenti dei coloni augustei (se Buscemi rientrava nel territorio siracusano) ovvero da magistrati del municipio latino di Acrae, che avevano conseguito la *civitas* e pur tuttavia mantenevano la devozione per quelle antiche divinità locali[345].

Più largo seguito nella Sicilia imperiale hanno avuto i culti per le divinità egizie e genericamente orientali – Iside, Serapide, Zeus Hammon, Mithra, Cibele, Ecate, Nemesi e persino Artemide magica e Aion – come attestano iscrizioni, statuine o ex-voto figurati (ad es. le impronte di piedi per Iside), amuleti[346]. Il bisogno di proteggersi dal 'malocchio' ha provocato un largo impiego di simbolici 'falli' in bronzo, di anelli con figurazioni dell''anguipede' e di gemme magiche egittizzanti[347].

Non mancano attestazioni per divinità di tradizione romana, quali risultano anche in città africane o italiche (ad es. ILS, 3196; 3583 ss.; 4003; 6843; 6854; 6953 etc.), come Aesculapius e Ceres[348], Concordia[349], Dii Consentes e

---

[344] Par. Pass., 6, 1951, 69 s. (cf. tav. I–II).

[345] Per forme cultuali di tradizione grecanica a Segesta anche nel culto di Augusto, vedi indietro n. 239. Le dediche di Buscemi rivelano un „senso annalistico" di tipo diodoreo, ponendo accanto alla cronologia romana quella dei sacerdoti eponimi locali.

[346] Cf. anzitutto G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, I culti orientali in Sicilia, Leiden 1973; BENT PARODI, La religiosità egizia in Sicilia, Arch. St. Sic., 1981, 5–46 (compilazione, non senza errori); il mio art. in: Sic. Gymn., 1961, 182 s. La dedica alla dea Nemesi di Panhormus (CIL X 2,7268 = BIVONA, Iscr. lat. Palermo, cit., 29 nr. 10) va integrata ovviamente *M. Gellius Car*[*us* ?] / *ex* [*visu*] / *d.*[*d.*]: cf. a Catina, Bull. ép., 1962, 388 'Αρτεμίδωρος Κλήμεντος δ(οῦλος) κατ'ὄναρ (vedi n. 246); IG XIV 450 (vista dal Gualterius, sulla basetta di statuina) das rettificare: Περσεφόνη Βασιλὶς κατ'(ὄ)ναρ. Per la figura del pinax siracusano in Cron. di Arch., 2, 1963, 72 s., va esclusa la connessione con Iside, accolta in SFAMENI GASPARRO, op.cit., 179 (cf. R. FLEISCHER, Artemis v. Ephesos, in: Studien z. Religion u. Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschr. F. K. Dörner, I, 1978, 347). Per il culto di Hekate a Tyndaris, cf. Bull. ép., 1966, 525 e ancora in: Il Tempio greco in Sicilia, Archit. e Culti, cit., 160. Per Aion, vedi l'amuleto aureo da Lentini al Museo di Ginevra, per cui Rev. Arch., 1912, 6 ss.

[347] Cf. Il Tempio greco, cit. 163 ss. e ad es. la defixio di Lilybaeum contro Allia Prima, Bull. ép., 1946/7, 265. Prossimamente pubblicherò una gemma magica e materiale simile di Sicilia.

[348] AÉ, 1952, 158 (Not. Sc., 1951, 164, Floridia, presso Syracusae): *Numini* | *praesen*| *tissimo*| *Aesculapio*|[.] *Roscius Ae*|*lianus Salvius*, | *u*(*t*) *v*(*overat*) *r*(*ecte*?), *s*(*olvit*) | *libens*, *d*(*onum*) *d*(*edit*)|, *nonis Mart*(*iis*), / *Albino et Massimo* [*coss.*] (227 d.C.: ILS 9023). La dedica di Agrigentum (Kokalos, 18–19, 1972–73, tav. LXII fig. 4) va integrata [*Deo Aesculapio*] *sacr*(*um*) / [(Nome del dedicante)] *statuam Dei cum* / [*sua base*] (vac.) *fec*(*it*). Per Cerere, cf. CIL X 2,7266 (Panhormus); AÉ, 1973, 273 (Halaesa); Arch. Class., 17, 1965, 189 (Henna); ILS, 3343; Kokalos, 7, 1961, 31 ss. (Lilybaeum); Helikon, 2, 1962, 490 (Catina: vedi anche S. SANTANGELO, Scritti Vari ..., Palermo 1960, 278 ss.).

[349] AÉ, 1973, 271 (Halaesa); CIL X 2,7192 (*Concordia Agrigentinorum*). Va ricordata CIL X 2,7131 (Syracusae: nota solo dal Gualterus, da integrare all'incirca [-- *c/*]*olonia I*[*ulia* ? *Aug.*] *Syracusanor*[*um*] -- ... *civium*] *concordia*(*e*) *grati*[*a*] (cf. Bull. ép., 1984, 487).

Lares Augusti[350], Fulgur conditum (CIL X 2,6990, tavoletta a Tauromenium), Fortuna-Tyche[351], Genius (CIL X 2,7222; 7223; 7014: Catina, IV sec. d.C.!), Mercurius (CIL X 2,7224; 7267), Minerva (CIL X 2,7120), Priapus[352], Sol Invictus Conservator (CIL X 2,7337, per Caracalla), Victoria (CIL X 2,7338; 7269).

Concluso questo panorama dei culti, che rivelano ulteriormente l'allineamento della Sicilia alle altre province romane, per Caligola vanno registrati interventi edilizi e soggiorni nell'isola. Svetonio annota (v. Cal. 21) *Syracusis conlapsa vetustate moenia deorumque aedes refectae,* e ricorda che il folle imperatore, scosso dalla morte della amata sorella Drusilla nel 38 d.C., avrebbe deciso di recarsi a Syracusae, facendo ritorno a Roma con barba e capelli incolti (ib. 24,2), e che allo stesso sarebbe altresì incorso di assistere ad una eruzione dell'Etna, che lo avrebbe atterrito al punto da farlo fuggire nottetempo da Messana (ib. 51,1). Il medesimo avrebbe confiscato i beni fondiari in Sicilia di Sextus Pompeius, il console del 14 d.C., accrescendo così il patrimonio imperiale.

Inoltre Caligola avrebbe concepito il progetto grandioso, lasciato incompiuto, di costruire moli ʽmoderniʼ a Messana e a Rhegium, al fine di accoglervi la flotta frumentaria dall'Egitto (περὶ ʽΡήγιον καὶ Σικελίαν εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀπ'Αἰγύπτου σιτηγῶν πλοίων)[353].

E' probabile che le opere restaurate a Syracusae – nel cui Museo si conserva un ritratto di Caligola, come in quello di Termini Imerese uno della madre Agrippina[354] – siano state dedicate piuttosto a nome di Claudio, al quale sembra riferibile l'iscrizione su un frammento marmoreo rinvenutovi[355]. Nella stessa città è stata recuperata una *fistula aquaria* in piombo, con la formula *Ti. Cl*(*audius*) *Caes*(*ar*) *Aug*(*ustus*) *Germ*(*anicus*) (CIL X 2,7140), che suggerisce un intervento imperiale per qualche edificio termale o fontana pubblica[356].

---

[350] V. Lavore, Una epigrafe romana nel territorio di Acate, Ragusa 1982 (ne proporrei la integrazione: – –/ *Dis Con*[*sentib*(*us*) *et Laribus*]| [*A*]*ugustis*. (vac.) *Imp. Co*[*mmodo III*]| [*et A*]*ntistio Byrro* [*coss.*]. La coppia consolare era stata già identificata dall'Editore! Per i Lares A., vedi indietro a n. 229 s.

[351] A parte statuine in bronzo, alcune in collezioni private a me note, del tipo edito in G. Libertini, Il Museo Biscari, cit., 27 s., nr. 50, vedi IG XIV 419+420 (Bull. ép., 1967, 700), Messina: iscrizione per Ulpio Niceforo di Antiochia di Siria, ἔμπορος Τυχαίων (vedi anche L. Robert, CRAI, 1981, 526 ss.). Dalla Siria sono arrivati in Sicilia vetri, come la coppa da Solunto con la iscrizione 'Εννίων ἐποίησεν. Μνησθῇ ὁ ἀγοράζων (A. Tusa Cutroni, Boll. d'arte, 1966, 1 ss.).

[352] Cf. Il Tempio greco, cit., 162 s.

[353] Flav. Jos., Ant. Jud. XIX 2,5,205 s. (vedi G. Salmeri, Sicilia ed Africa ..., in: L'Africa Romana, Atti III Convegno Studi, Sassari 1985, 403 n. 38).

[354] N. Bonacasa, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia, Palermo 1964, 45 s.; Sculture romane inedite, Fondaz. Ign. Mormino, Palermo 1960, 5 nr. 2.

[355] Not. Sc. 1971, 634–5: [– – *pont. ma*]*x. tr*[*ibun. pot.* – – *aedem*? *v*]*etust*[*ate conlapsam restituit*?].

[356] Nel Museo di Siracusa si conservano cinque fistulae in piombo, di cui due dal quartiere S. Lucia con l'iscrizione *R*(*es*) *p*(*ublica*) *Syracusanorum* (inv. nr. 36161–2; Not. Sc.,

Per il programmatico „taglio delle spese“ di Tiberio l’opera di restauro del santuario ericino dovette riuscire insufficiente, per cui Claudio *templumque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinae vetustate conlapsum, ut ex aerario p(opuli) R(omani) reficeretur, auctor fuit*[357]. Un altro intervento edilizio risulta da una dedica evanita su un frammento marmoreo al Museo di Termini Imerese, che inizia *Ti. Claudius* [– –][358]. Un ritratto dello stesso Claudio, da Tyndaris, è al Museo di Palermo[359]. Va infine ricordato che in un ludus organizzato nel lago di Fucino Claudio avrebbe fatto combattere tra loro *classis Sicula et Rhodia*, ciascuna di 12 triremi (Suet., v. Cl. 21,6): indizio che esisteva una flotta stanziata in Sicilia?

Per gli anni di Nerone vanno richiamati il *vulgarissimum senatus consultum* del 58 d.C., che autorizzava a Syracusae spettacoli gladiatorii straordinari, segno di benessere delle componenti municipali, e la dedica alla diva Poppaea e a Nerone, rinvenuta nella villa di Piazza Armerina, posta forse da un sacerdote, che avrebbe fatto largizioni al popolo e restaurato il *templum* (?), abbattuto da un terremoto nel *vicus-emporium*, connesso con la *villa rustica*, cui faceva capo un blocco del latifondo imperiale[360].

Nel 69 d.C. L. Clodius Macer, il *legatus Augusti pro praetore Africae*, deve aver progettato il coinvolgimento della Sicilia nella sua lotta contro Galba. Fra i suoi denari, ormai nello standard neroniano, emessi soprattutto ad esaltazione della *legio I* e *III*, si distingue la emissione con testa di Cartagine al D/ e al R/ il volto di Medusa al centro della triskeles, con tre spighe di grano fra le gambe e la leggenda SICILIA[361]. In ogni modo un certo disordine deve essersi verificato. Significativo un episodio della vita di Apollonio di Tiana, narrato da Filostrato (v. Apoll. 5,11 ss.): trovandosi in viaggio per la Sicilia, da Lilybaeum giunto per mare a Messana, il filosofo avrebbe appreso l’avvenuta fuga di Nerone e la rivolta in corso; quindi a Syracusae, nel prodigio di un neonato a tre teste su un solo corpo, avrebbe letto il presagio della prossima eliminazione dei tre pretendenti, Galba, Vitellio e Othon. Altri invece avrebbero interpretato il monstrum come segno della rovina della Trinacria: „se non stessero in concordia (ὁμονοήσειεν) e si accordassero, ma in realtà

1915, 202: per la formula, G. Barbieri, Not. Sc., 1953, 152 s.; W. Eck, Tituli, 4, 1982, 197 ss.), e una con *Q. Caecili Aviti* (inv. nr. 45418). Nel Museo del Castello Ursino a Catania tra altre, a lettere retrograde, di difficile lettura, una con l’iscr. *Marius Protus*.

[357] Suet., v. Cl. 25,5. Cf. G. Cultrera, Not. Sc., 1935, 294 s.; G. Bodei Giglioni, Lavori pubblici e occupazione nell’antichità class., Bologna 1974, 161; Cavallaro, op.cit., 187 s..

[358] EE, VIII, 1899, 170 nr. 702.

[359] Bonacasa, Ritratti, cit. 47. Vedi anche R. M. Bonacasa Carra, Nuovi ritratti romani della Sicilia, Univ. Palermo 1977, 14 s.

[360] Cf. n. 97 e n. 123. Il rinvenimento nella Villa di Piazza Arm. di una testa maschile ‘neroniana’ e di un ritratto di dama Flavia si spiega bene, se la stessa va connessa con la amministrazione imperiale.

[361] Cracco Ruggini, Kokalos, 28–29,510 n. 45; per la monetazione, K. V. Hewitt, NC, 143, 1983, 64 ss. tav. 12.

molte città erano in rivolta fra loro, anche il vivere nell'ordine (καὶ τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ ζῆν) sarebbe esulato dall'isola"[362].

Appunto, se è vero che in Sicilia è stato rinvenuto qualche ripostiglio di sesterzi di Nerone e di Galba (appena circolati), e nell'entroterra catanese un ripostiglio di denari imperiali, che si chiudeva con esemplari f. di c. di Vitellius, in essa debbono essere avvenuti fatti violenti.

A questo punto andrebbe ricordata la iscrizione funeraria di Thermae posta dalla parente Turrania Primilla a C. Popillus Priscus, soldato della *cohors X urbana, optio a victoria Ticiniana* secondo la lettura di L. Bivona (AÉ, 1978, 374): questi perciò sarebbe stato coinvolto nella lotta tra Othon e Vitellio, prima della battaglia di Bedriacum nel 69 d.C., a cui parteciparono *urbaniciani* (Tac., hist. I,87,1; 89,2; II, 21,4). Tuttavia, nonostante la filiazione e la indicazione della tribù, la *Mae(cia)* – particolari che ritornano ad es. in una iscrizione di età costantiniana, ILS, 6623 di Hispellum[363] – i caratteri epigrafici sono estranei a quelli tipici del I sec. d.C. e la forma *Ticiniana* incredibile, al posto di *Ticinensis / Ticina*, va senz'altro rettificata, anche sulla base della mia autopsia, in *Liciniana*: l'iscrizione pertanto andrà collocata o nella seconda metà del III sec. d.C. (e in questo caso la victoria dovrebbe riferirsi a Licinius Gallienus[364], anche se più normale doveva essere l'aggettivazione *Galliena*), ovvero, come io credo, poco dopo il 313 d.C., quando si verificò la vittoria al Campus Ergenus di Licinio, sostenuto da Costantino, su Massimino Daia. Impressionante il riscontro con Lattanzio[365].

Vespasiano, ristabilita la pace, procedette alla deduzione in Sicilia di veterani, con assegnazione di lotti nel territorio dei Panormitani e dei Segestani[366]: nell'*ager* dei due municipi latini fu staccata una porzione (*ager ... finitur terminis Tiburtinis pro parte scriptis*), e mediante *lineae consortales* (cioè a confini in comune) gli stessi soldati determinarono i lotti, apponendo a guisa di termini, a distanze regolari, cippi di legno di ulivo (*cyppi oleaginei*)[367]. Vespasiano, come io credo, avrà destinato sezioni di *ager* di queste due città, se non addirittura di *ager publicus* (la distribuzione dei sei blocchi di esso resta in gran parte incerta) incluso nel territorio delle stesse, per queste assegnazioni ai veterani, ai quali avrà riconosciuto lo stato giuridico di *coloni*

---

[362] Philostr., v. Apoll. V, 11 – 13 (cf. G. Clemente, Stor. Sic., II, 470 e n. 27, con bibliografia).

[363] Palast und Hütte, cit. 511 n. 31; Tituli, 5, 373 n. 21. Per l'importanza della indicazione della tribù per i militari, vedi J. Kolendo, Archeologia, 19, 1968, 128.

[364] Cf. SHA, v. Gall. 10,8 e le serie monetali con VICTORIA GAL(*lieni*): tuttavia i confronti mancano.

[365] Lact., de mort. persec. 46: ... *Maximinus ... si victoriam cepisset ... Licinio quiescenti adsistit angelus dei monens ... illius fore victoriam ...*; 47: ... *Liciniani ... adversarios invadunt ... milites Licinianos nunc precibus sollicitare ...* Cf. la dedica a Licinio CIL X 2,7284 (ILS, 677, Panhormus). Per il ductus epigrafico, si può rimandare a A. E. Gordon – J. S. Gordon, Album dated Lat. Inscr., III, tav. 147 nr. 310 s.

[366] Gromat. Veteres, ed. C. Lachmann, Berolini 1848, 211: cf. R. MacMullen, Athen., 54, 1976, 20 s.

[367] Cf. IG XIV 352,14 s.

Romani[368], senza che ciò abbia comportato per le due città a diritto latino (certissimo per Segesta) la elevazione alla condizione di *coloniae*: comunque, nulla ne risulta nel registro di Plinio (n.h., III,8,88 s.)[369].

Di contro a questa operazione imperiale, che creava nuovi piccoli proprietari, risultano per questo periodo esempi di proprietà estese, a regime pascolativo, come quella in territorio catanese di Domitia, moglie di Domitianus, probabilmente ereditata dal padre, o le altre in zona hyblense, sfruttate per l'apicoltura, cui allude Marziale[370]. D'altronde proprio con i Flavi appare il primo senatore siciliano, L. Acilius Rufus (CIL X 2,7344), a Thermae: nel Museo di questa città si conserva un ritratto di Domitianus[371].

Segno che la storia della Sicilia antica non era estranea alla cultura dell'Urbe può ritrovarsi nel fatto che nell'anno 80 d.C., in occasione della dedica del Colosseo, vi si sarebbe svolta una naumachia, che rievocava la battaglia del 413 a.C. tra Ateniesi e Siracusani[372].

Esiliato in Sicilia, per la tresca con una Vestale, nel 91 d.C. C. Valerius Licinianus, senatore e avvocato, finì per prendervi radici, dedicandosi a dare conferenze in latino per le città siciliane[373]: queste offrivano un ambiente a cultura latina non disprezzabile.

A Lilybaeum un acquedotto *lapidibus quadratis a novo tectum* fu dedicato nell'84 d.C. a Domitianus (CIL X 2,7227), e in anni prossimi, quando il culto per Augusto conobbe una ripresa, *Alypus, simbul* (–), pose una dedica a Mercurius Augustus[374] [*ex test*(*amento*) – piuttosto che *iussu* – *M.*] *Albi M. f. Ouf. Pollionis oper*(*e*) *C. Domiti C. f. Vot. Rufi*[375]. Questi tre personaggi recano una onomastica, che potrebbe definirsi ‘domizianea’[376]: Alypus era evidentemente lo schiavo di Albius Pollio – un commerciante o un *conductor* (significativo il bollo *Albii* su tegole di Acate[377]) – di cui aveva meritato la fiducia, al punto di esserne l'esecutore testamentario per questa dedica, realizzata grazie all'impegno di Domitius Rufus, e comunque era stato fedele collaboratore. Nell'appellativo, *simbul*, se esatta la lettura, già il MOMMSEN sospettava *„latere ... συμβολαιογράφος vel tale quiddam“:* non volendo ammettere un *I* pro *Y*, egli concludeva che il lapicida avesse erroneamente scritto

---

[368] Cf. S. MITCHELL, Proc. X. Intern. Congr. Class. Arch., 1973 (1978), 312–318 (Bull. ép., 1980, 387).

[369] Secondo M. GRANT, FITA, cit. 197 s. Panhormus sarebbe divenuta colonia romana con Tiberio! Per il problema, vedi ora G. SALMERI, Sicilia ed Africa in età romana ..., in: L'Africa Romana, cit., Atti III° Conv. di studio, Sassari 1985 (1986), 408 s.

[370] Vedi rispettivamente a n. 62 s. e 125; e a n. 131.

[371] BONACASA, Sculture rom., cit. 7 nr. 3.

[372] Dio Cass., LXVI 25,4: cf. F. GROSSO, Kokalos, 14–15, 1968–69, 246 s.

[373] Vedi n. 314.

[374] Cf. B. COMBET-FARNOUX, Mercure romain, Bibl. École fr. Rome, 238, 1980, 434 ss.

[375] CIL X 2,7224 (l'iscr., che si dovrebbe conservare nel vescovato di Copenhagen, merita una revisione).

[376] Ricordo ad es. Albius Pullaienus Pollio, console del 90 d.C. (ILS, 1998; 4046); Albius Alypus proc. di Domiziano in una fistula del lago di Albano (ILS, 8680).

[377] BIVONA, Kokalos, 28–29, cit. 370; 377 s.

SIMBVL pro *STABVLario*. A me sembra più probabile che si tratti della trascrizione abbreviata di un termine greco, corrente nella Sicilia bilingue, che può essere σύμβουλος (consigliere), se non piuttosto, come aveva intuito il MOMMSEN, συμβολαιογράφος, che in papiri tardi è talora abbreviato συμ.[378], con valore di „scrivano", oltre che di notaio.

Per il regno di Traiano si è voluto inferire una decadenza dell'agricoltura in Sicilia, in corrispondenza di quella dell'Italia[379]: qualche testimonianza, comunque, sembra suggerire piuttosto la tenuta della produzione granaria, se è vero che la funzione di Vibio Salutare fu intesa a integrare le esigenze dell' annona urbana mediante invii di frumento consegnato dai *mancipes* dell'*ager publicus* di Sicilia[380].

Inoltre vi si è verificata una certa attività edilizia: a Tauromenium il blocco marmoreo (breccia) nel Teatro con l'iscrizione, già ricordata (CIL X 2,6996), da intendere *cur(ante) Pater(no) proc(uratore)* (su un lato), *Gallo et Bradua co(n)s(ulibus), n(umero).* [–] (sull'altro lato), rivela che nel 108 d.C. vi si procedette a qualche opera di restauro, o di rifacimento per adattare l'edificio a spettacoli gladiatorii[381]. Il materiale proveniva dalla cave gestite dal procuratore imperiale, atteso il monopolio vigente[382]. Ancora nell'Antiquario di Taormina si conserva un frammento di marmo, sul quale si rilevano lettere cubitali, da integrare [*M*]. *Ulp[io Traiano* ––], e pertanto da riferire al padre dell'imperatore, noto per grandiosi interventi edilizi a Mileto e Efeso[383], poi divinizzato intorno al 112 d.C., se non tra il 100–105 d.C.[384]. A Tyndaris, insieme con una statua di Traiano, ora al Museo di Palermo – mentre in quello di Siracusa è un ritratto dello stesso e uno di Nerva[385] – fu rinvenuta la dedica del 103 d.C. (CIL X 2,7472). Un'altra frammentaria inedita è nel Teatro di Catania.

L'imperatore Adriano al ritorno dalla Grecia nell'estate del 126 d.C. volle fermarsi in Sicilia, come si apprende dagli SHA, v. Hadr. 13,3: ... *in Siciliam navigavit, in qua Aetnam montem conscendit, ut solis ortum videret arcus specie, ut dicitur, varium*[386]. Ricordo di questo soggiorno imperiale si ritrova su emissioni di sesterzi e dupondii, genericamente databili nell'arco 119–138 d.C., le quali presentano la leggenda *Sicilia* (figurazioni della triskeles e del faro di Messana) / *Adventui Aug(usti) Siciliae* / *Restitutori Siciliae*[387]. Tra gli accompagnatori di Adriano era T. Caesernius Statius Quinctius Macedo Quinctianus, che sarà console suffetto nel 138 circa, designato nel 140 d.C. Nel *cursus* di una dedica trovata ad Aquileia, donde era originario, questi è detto *com(es) Divi Hadriani per Orientem et Illyric(um), ... com(es) per Siciliam, Afric(am), Mauret(aniam)*[388].

---

[378] F. PREISIGKE, W. gr. Pap., III, 1931, 164 s.v. L'epigrafe di *Fruendus Caesaris n. vern(a), adiut(or) tabul(arii)*, inizia col *signum symboli* (CIL VIII 18813) (cf. Rh. Mus., 62, 1907, 391).

[379] E. GABBA, Kokalos, 28–29, 525; CRACCO RUGGINI, ib. 530.

[380] Vedi a n. 161 ss.

[381] M. SANTANGELO, Taormina und Umgebung, Roma 1966, 48 allude ad una trasformazione del teatro in arena. Vedi indietro a n. 101.

[382] A parte TABORELLI, Opus, 1982, 336 s., cf. L. ROBERT, Journ. des Savants, 1962, 22 ss. (90 ss.); J. WARD-PERKINS, The Marble Trade and its Organization: Evidence from Nicomedia, Roman Seaborne Commerce, MAA Rome, 36, 1980, 325 ss.

[383] ILS, 8970; 8787; per il formulario, ILS 307.

[384] M. L. PALADINI, Divinizzazione di Traiano padre, Homm. Alb. Grenier, III, Coll. Latomus, 58, Bruxelles 1962, 1202–6.

[385] BONACASA, Ritratti, cit. 74 s.

[386] SHA, v. Hadr. 13,3. Cf. F. GROSSO, Kokalos, 14–15, 1968–9, 243.

In tale occasione Adriano, oltre a fare l'ascensione dell' Etna ed essersi fermato a Catina, può aver disposto interventi edilizi: così potrebbe suggerire il rinvenimento di mattoni bollati di fabbrica urbana, databili nel 120 – 129 d.C., a Catina, Syracusae e Licata (Phintias)[389]. Una dedica di Mazara ad Adriano posta nel 119 d.C., *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)* (CIL X 2, 7202), è probabilmente riferibile a qualche edificio pubblico, finanziato dalla cassa imperiale.

Una testa colossale di Adriano è stata scoperta a Centuripae, dove si conserva[390]; allo stesso sembra riferibile la statua acefala del Museo Biscari a Catania. Un ritratto, di bottega locale, di Vibia Sabina, consorte di Adriano, si conserva nel Museo di Siracusa[391]. Un liberto di Adriano è menzionato nella iscrizione già ricordata di Partinico (CIL X 2,7264) e in una di Panhormus (7308).

All'imperatore Antonino Pio si riferiscono soltanto un ritratto a Messina[392], una dedica a Thermae, *Divo Antonino Augusto* (CIL X 2,7341), e quella posta in Mazara dal *populus Lilybitanus* al cittadino L. Amatius Maximus Memorianus, che fu anche *praef(ectus) imp. Antonini*, oltre che duoviro (CIL X 2,7211).

Più ricca la documentazione per M. Aurelio e i membri della famiglia imperiale. Anzitutto va ricordata la dedica posta nel 140 d.C. a M. Aurelius Verus Caesar, appena adottato da Antonino Pio, a Tyndaris (CIL X 2,7473), dove nel 161 d.C. ne fu esposta una per L. Verus Augustus (7475), un cui ritratto è al Museo di Palermo, contestualmente con quella, purtroppo lacunosa, per M. Aurelius (7474): ambedue a cura di M. Valerius Vitalis, *curator rei publicae.*

---

[387] P. L. STRACK, Untersuch. z. röm. Reichsprägung des zw. Jahrh., II, Stuttgart 1933, 143; 155 tav. XII; BM, CRE III 1966, 496; 516 s.; 526.

[388] AÉ, 1957, 135 (G. BRUSIN, Studi in onore di A. Calderini – R. Paribeni, I, Milano 1957, 259 ss.); Tituli, 5, 333. Per i *comites* di Adriano, cf. R. H. CHOWEN, Class. Journ., 50, 1954, 122 – 4. Per la lista dei *comites* imperiali dell'Alto Impero, cf. H.-G. PFLAUM, REL, 57, 1979, 307 s. e ancora G. MENNELLA, Rend. Pont. Acc., 1984 – 85, cit., 120 n. 17.

[389] CIL X 2,8045, 1; 15 (CIL XV 1,1344, 4); WILSON, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 228 n. 33; BAR, 68, 1979, cit. 35 n. 36.

[390] BONACASA, Ritratti, cit. 82; F. ANSALDI, op.cit., tav. VII.

[391] A. HOLM, Catania antica, trad. ital. G. LIBERTINI, Catania 1925, 50 tav. IV; Museo Biscari, cit., 47 – 48 nr. 93: senza attribuzione precisa. Per il ritratto di Vibia Sabina, cf. BONACASA CARRA, Nuovi ritratti, cit., 18 s., tav. VIII.

[392] BONACASA, Ritratti, 93. Da richiamare le emissioni di sesterzi e dupondii con la personificazione di Sicilia, che tiene in capo la triskeles e nella mano sinistra la tessera frumentaria (BM, CRE IV, 192).

Questo magistrato straordinario è indizio dell'insorgere di qualche difficoltà nella gestione finanziaria della città[393].

Nel 163 d.C. la *r(es) p(ublica) Panhormit(anorum)* innalzò una dedica a M. Aurelius (CIL X 2,7270); il *sevir* L. Aponius Rufinus pose una base a Lilybaeum per T. Fulvus Aurelius Antoninus, il gemello di Commodo, morto a quattro anni nel 165 d.C.[394], lo stesso che a Tessalonica ricevette culto come dio Fulvus[395]. Nel 169 d.C. a Lilybaeum il magistrato Annius Tertius, che aveva speso grosse somme per la pavimentazione di una strada sacra alle Cereri, pose una dedica *pro salute et reditu et victoria* di M. Aurelio e figli[396]: l'opera si inseriva nel rinnovamento urbanistico della città, al quale contribuì anche Fabius Caesilius col completamento della grande strada (e non piazza) del *vicus*, chiamato *Septizodium*[397].

Non vanno dimenticati infine i documenti relativi a spettacoli gladiatorii databili sotto M. Aurelio[398], nè va esclusa la possibilità che l'assegnazione di posti nell'anfiteatro di Syracusae a personaggi, come i cavalieri *P. Lae -- nius, Roscianus Antiochus, Cestianus (Ph)aretrus*, sia avvenuta in seguito ad un restauro sotto M. Aurelio[399].

Á Catina, dove un frammento inscritto dal Teatro sembra vada integrato [*Imp. M*]*arcus*[*s Aurelius* -- *Aug*[*ustus* [--], intorno al 164–166 d.C. in occasione della costruzione di una *porticus* si rese necessario un forte contributo della cassa imperiale, integrato dal *curator* (*operis*) Iulius Paternus: di questa vicenda e della iscrizione al riguardo si è già parlato[400].

Riguardo a Commodo si possono citare una dedica inedita di Tauromenium, da integrare verosimilmente [*Imp. Caesari M. Aur*]*elio* / [*Commodo Antonino Aug.*] *Pio*, che può fare riscontro ad una di difficile lettura di Panhormus[401], e quella ai *Dii Consentes* e ai *Lares Augusti* datata nel 181 d.C. in zona hyblense[402]. A Lilybaeum i *tribules trib*(*us*) *Iovis Aug*(*usti*) posero una dedica in onore di M. Marcius Bietis Glaucus, *c.v.*, che l'imperatore Commodo aveva immesso nel Senato (CIL X 2,7237): un altro siciliano entrò così nell'albo senatorio[403].

Intorno al 182/189 d.C. la peste dovette raggiungere anche la Sicilia[404], se con essa va connesso il seppellimento senza recupero di un ripostiglio di sesterzi, scoperto nel 1914 a Marzamemi (Museo di Siracusa, inv. 34791 ss.), che si chiude con Lucilla e Commodus.

---

[393] Fr. Jacques, Les curateurs des cités dans l'Occident romain de Trajan à Gallien, Paris 1983, 383; G. P. Burton, Chiron, 9, 1979, 465.

[394] ILS, 8911 (Barbieri, Kokalos, 7, 1961, 34 n. 51).

[395] L. Robert, Hellen., II, 1946, 42 s.

[396] AÉ, 1964, 181 (Barbieri, art. cit., 16 s.; Tituli, 5,376 n. 39).

[397] AÉ, 1964, 182: vedi indietro n. 219.

[398] Vedi a n. 284 ss.

[399] Significativo mi pare per il nesso TI il confronto tra CIL X 2,7475 (Tyndaris, dedica a L. Vero del 161 d.C.) e CIL, X 2,7130, 6; 18; 20 (iscr. dell'anfiteatro siracusano).

[400] Vedi indietro a n. 89 ss. e anche Jacques, Les curateurs, cit., 384.

[401] CIL X 2,7280, riferita a Commodo in Bivona, Iscr. lat. Palermo, 40 nr. 22.

[402] Vedi indietro a n. 350.

[403] Tituli, 5, 374 n. 32.

[404] Cf. il classico saggio di J. F. Gilliam, AJPh, 82, 1961, 225 ss., che a p. 231 rileva per il 189 d.C. la grande moria a Roma e in Italia (Dio Cass., LXXII 14,3–4; Herodian., I 12,1).

Le miniere di zolfo nell'agrigentino sembrano ormai tutte entrate nel monopolio imperiale[405].

2. Dai Severi a Traiano Decio

L'epoca dei Severi segna per la Sicilia una fase importante e la documentazione è ricca.

A L. Septimius Severus avvenne di essere accusato, perchè durante il suo proconsolato di Sicilia, nel 188/9 ovvero nel 189/190, succedendo al fratello Geta[406], *quasi de imperio vel vates vel Chaldaeos consuluisset*[407].

L'affermazione del medesimo al potere suscitò l'omaggio anche di città siceliote, attestato soprattutto da iscrizioni nella parte occidentale. Lilybaeum fu dichiarata *colonia Helvia Aug(usta)* da Settimio Severo in onore di Pertinace[408], della cui memoria, come di quella della dinastia degli Antonini, i Severi vollero garantire la continuità attraverso l'autoadozione. A Thermae fu posta una dedica (CIL X 2,7342) *Divo Commodo Aug(usto)*, *d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*, *p(ecunia) p(ublica)*. A Mazara, verosimilmente da parte della colonia di Lilybaeum, fu innalzata una dedica, ora quasi illeggibile, a M. Rubellinus Cestianus Crassicianus, *flam(en) Divor(um) Aug(ustorum) perp(etuus)*, oltre che già *trib(unus) mil(itum) leg. --, coh. X* (CIL X 2,7212): il culto dei Divi Augusti, instaurato da Commodo (cf. ILS, 6640), fu incrementato dai Severi (cf. ad es. ILS, 6906). L'autoadozione implicava la legittima eredità del patrimonio della dinastia antonina, ad es. in Sicilia dei *praedia* con le miniere di zolfo. A Panhormus risultano ben cinque dediche, tutte da parte della *res publica*, a Settimio Severo (CIL X 2,7271), a Iulia Domna (7272), a Caracalla (7273: del 196/197 d.C.), ancora a Settimio Severo con la titolatura di adozione nel 198 d.C. (7274) e subito nel 199 d.C. a Geta, designato anche quale fratello di Caracalla (7275). Queste due ultime figurano datate sotto gli stessi duoviri[409]. Una dedica del 198 d.C. nella stessa Panhormus per Caracalla fu posta da Maesia Fabia Titiana e da Maesius Fabius Titianus, i quali nell'anno precedente a Thermae ne avevano fatta un'altra per Settimio Severo[410].

A Iulia Domna, *mater castrorum*, fu innalzata una dedica entro gli anni 195-211 d.C. nel contado panormitano (contrada Luparello), probabilmente in un *vicus* connesso con un blocco del latifondo imperiale[411]; similmente nell'*emporium* connesso con la villa rustica (precedente quella di età costantiniana con i mosaici) a Piazza Armerina una dedica fu posta per Caracalla e Geta (il cui nome fu abraso)[412]. A Fulvia Plautilla, che sarà relegata a Lipara per morirvi, pose una dedica la *res publica Soluntinor(um), d.d.*[413]. Nel 213 d.C. la pose per Caracalla, unico Augusto, la colonia di Lilybaeum (CIL X 2,7228); un'altra Tauromenium (6691).

---

[405] Vedi a n. 103 ss.

[406] THOMASSON, Laterculi, cit., nrr. 21-22.

[407] SHA, v. Sept. Sev. 4,2-3. Per la suggestione operata dalla disciplina di Chaldaei, cf. G. W. BOWERSOCK, Class. Quart., 33, 1982, 491 (Bull. ép., 1984, 226).

[408] R. MARINO, Kokalos, 24, 1978, 95 ss.

[409] Cf. indietro a n. 214. Per le iscrizioni indicate, vedi BIVONA, Iscr. lat. Palermo, nrr. 12-17. Appunti sulla cronologia in Latomus, 33, 1974, 125.

[410] Cf. CIL X 2,7276 (BIVONA, op. cit., nr. 18); 7343.

[411] AÉ, 1968, 200 (Kokalos, 13, 1967, 205-8).

Non mancano ritratti della dinastia: di Iulia Domna a Catania e a Messina, di Caracalla a Trapani[414], un busto di Geta da Sabucina bassa – dove era forse un *vicus* o una *villa* – ora al Museo di Caltanissetta[415].

Testimonianze varie, purtroppo non databili se non genericamente entro la prima metà del III sec. d.C., suggeriscono un più attivo contributo della Sicilia alla soluzione dei bisogni annonari del governo centrale. A parte la iscrizione di Alfio Clodio di Acrae, già illustrata[416], sembra da porre negli anni 209–211 d.C. quella frammentaria da Caucana (un *emporium* sulla costa camarinese, sviluppatosi in età protobizantina), che commemora una qualche sistemazione portuale *[provid]entia / [-- v(iri)] p(erfectissimi) pr]aef(ecti) ann(onae) / [idemq(ue) a(gentis) v(ices) pr]aef(ectorum) praetorio (duorum) e(minentissimorum) v(irorum)*. La rasura nella prima linea del frammento fa pensare al nome di Geta, che doveva seguire quelli di Settimio Severo e di Caracalla[417]. Il prefetto dell'annona di Roma deve aver trovato nella produzione granaria della Sicilia un ausilio per le esigenze urbane, e così fatto allestire a Caucana un opportuno caricatore, dal quale potessero partire con i loro carichi per Ostia i naviculari. In esso, come in altri, il grano poteva confluire ora più agevolmente grazie alla riorganizzazione della viabilità anche interna dell'isola, riflessa nell''Itinerarium Antonini', che in definitiva deve ripetere un quadro sistemato proprio all'epoca dei Severi[418]. Ogni itinerario interno si scandiva in una serie di *stationes*, che rappresentavano *vici*, nei quali sboccavano le risorse dei latifondi o di normali *praedia*, che alle stesse davano il nome[419] e così tali risorse potevano essere avviate alle città costiere o a precisi *emporia*-caricatori: tutto un plesso, legato al nuovo sistema di rifornimento annonario e di esportazione-importazione, che rappresentò una incentivazione economica per la Sicilia e ne agevolò l'inserimento nel circuito degli scambi d'oltremare.

Città, famiglie senatorie siciliane, detentrici di vasti *praedia*, *vici*, che animavano il territorio delle grandi città, manifestavano la devozione per la figura dell'imperatore (con dediche o ritratti), il quale li aveva ormai coinvolti nella gestione economica e politica del potere. Ambascerie partivano a nome del *commune Siciliae* per raggiungere il *basileus*, anche nelle sue campagne militari[420]. Operavano attivamente intanto schiere di *conductores/mancipes*, che gestivano *figlinae* o *praedia* o *officinae* per lo zolfo[421]. Eliminata l'attribuzione a Opellio Diadumeniano della iscrizione frammentaria di Panhormus CIL X 2,7280[422], in questa città risultano dediche per Elagabalo e per Severo Alessandro[423], a Tyndaris per Severo Alessandro e per la madre Iulia Mamaea[424]. Dall'area panormitana (Terrasini) proviene una iscrizione frammentaria, che deve essere riferita piuttosto che a Severo Alessandro, come ha creduto la BIVONA[425], a Massimino il Trace, essendo da integrare *Imp. C[aes(ari) C. Iulio] / Vero[Maximino] / Pio F[elici Aug.* – –] (cf. ILS, 487 – 490). Responsabile della rasura dei *nomina* sulle citate dediche per Severo Alessandro, CIL X 2,7278 – 7279, fu certamente il questore o il governatore dell'isola, segno che quest'ultima doveva essere in qualche modo, almeno per la parte occidentale (la dedica di Tyndaris, CIL X 2,7476 non presenta rasura), controllata da Capellianus, governatore della Numidia e fedele a Massimino. La eliminazione di quest'ultimo implicò la rimozione della dedica all'imperatore *damnatus*, la quale fu buttata a mare, dove è stata recuperata: a Terrasini doveva sorgere un *emporium*, con un caricatore sulla spiaggia, il che spiegherebbe meglio il recupero di anfore spagnole e di pani di rame[426].

---

[412] Palast, 500 s.

[413] CIL X 2,7336 (Bivona, Iscr. Palermo, nr. 48). Cf. L. De Salvo, Arch. Stor. Mess., 26–27, 1975–76, 237 s. (Cracco Ruggini, St. d. Sic., III, 58 n. 19).

[414] Bonacasa, Ritratti, nrr. 150–1.

[415] Kokalos, 18–19, 1972–73, 246 s. tav. LXV; 28–29, 1982–83, 329, e meglio, Bonacasa Carra, op.cit., 25 s., tav. XII–XIII.

[416] Vedi indietro a n. 170 s.

[417] Palast, 497 s.

[418] G. Uggeri, La viabilità romana in Sicilia, Kokalos, 28–29, 436 s.

[419] Vedi indietro a n. 149 s.

Se per l'età di M. Aurelio a Tyndaris appare un *curator rei publicae*, con ogni probabilità un decurione della stessa, che non può attribuirsi qualifica sociale[427], nella prima metà del III sec. d.C. altre città siceliote risultano in una sorta di amministrazione controllata attraverso personaggi, di rango senatorio, i quali fra altro sono stati *quaestores Siciliae*: così è per Lilybaeum, che onora un suo cittadino L. Cassius Manilianus, *c.v.* e anche *curator r. p.*[428]; per la stessa città, per Panhormus, Halicyae e il *vicus* dei Chalitani, secondo una iscrizione di Magonza in onore di Gordiano III e famiglia, innalzata da un certo [– –]*us L(ucii) f. Fab(ia) Annianus,* definito fra altro *q(uaestor) pr(ovinciae) S[icil(iae), per*(?) *indulgen]tiam c(urator) c(ivium) civit(atium) adm(inistrandarum) Li[lybitan(orum)]*, | *[Panhormit]an(orum), Haliq(uensium) et Chalitan[or(um)]*[429]; per Catina, di cui fu *c.r.p.* il senatore Clodio Pupieno, che assolse un eguale compito a Benevento e Leptis Magna, comunque prima che il padre ascendesse al trono imperiale nel 238 d.C.[430]; così infine nel caso di C. Mevius Donatus Iunianus, console e proconsole di Sicilia intorno al 200 d.C., il quale secondo la dedica di Lanuvio (CIL XIV 2107) fu *quaestor Siciliae provinciae, curator civitatium universarum provinciae* [*Sici*]*liae* (l'integrazione mi pare certa, perchè la curatela segue la questura). Forse una siffatta curatela, che implicava il patronato[431], era conferita dal *commune Siciliae*, del cui ruolo si potrebbe così cogliere ulteriore indizio[432].

---

[420] Vedi a n. 172.

[421] Vedi a n. 102 s.

[422] Vedi a n. 401.

[423] CIL X 2,7277 – 8 – 9 (BIVONA, Iscr. Palermo, nrr. 19 – 20 – 21).

[424] CIL X 2,7476; 7478 (BIVONA, nrr. 68 – 69).

[425] Kokalos, 20, 1974, 210 s.

[426] Kokalos, 20, 1974, 201 ss.

[427] Vedi a n. 393.

[428] Vedi n. 263.

[429] ILS, 1188 add. (JACQUES, Les curateurs, cit., nr. 104, p. 211 – 3, sulla base della brillante ricostruzione di G. ALFÖLDY, Legionslegaten, 61 s.: tuttavia i Chalitani non possono essere gli Haluntini, ma gli abitanti di un *vicus* prossimo ad Halicyai) (per la zona e altri piccoli centri, G. BEJOR, ASNP, 12, 1982, 839).

Più tardi, in età dioclezianea, a Lilybaeum C. *Val*(*erius*) *Pompeianus, v*(*ir*) *p*(*erfectissimus*), *cur*(*ator*) *r.p.* pone una dedica al *corrector prov. Sic*(*iliae*), *C. Val*(*erius*) *Apollinaris, v*(*ir*) *p*(*erfectissimus*), come a patrono, esaltato per la sua alta giustizia[433].

Anche per la Sicilia gli anni di Gordiano III – alla consorte del quale, Furia Sabina Tranquillina, fu posta una dedica a Mazara (CIL X 2,7203) – segnarono un incremento della economia monetale, come rivela la persistenza e frequenza dei sesterzi dello stesso, logori per lunga circolazione. D'altra parte, che il vecchio Gordiano l'Africano abbia distribuito alle *factiones* del circo a Roma *equos Siculos centum, Cappadoces centum, permittentibus imperatoribus* (SHA, v. Gord. tr., 4,5), costituisce solo un indizio delle disponibilità latifondistiche, con allevamenti di 'purosangue', in Sicilia e in Asia minore di questa prestigiosa famiglia senatoria, che aveva la sua base in Africa.

Alla fine del regno di Filippo l'Arabo, di cui fu collega nel consolato nel 245 d.C. il cittadino di Thermae C. Maesius Aquillius Fabius Titianus[434], sembra vadano collocati almeno due ripostigli di sesterzi, quello di Grottaperciata (Siracusa), che si chiude con esemplari di Gordiano III e di Filippo[435], e l'altro di Pozzallo, importante scalo marittimo della zona hyblense, che si chiude anche con sesterzi di Gordiano III, di Otacilia Severa e dei Filippi (fior di conio)[436].

Per ambedue non escluderei che i proprietari siano stati vittime della c.d. 'persecuzione' di Traiano Decio, il quale nel 251 d.C. emise l'ordinanza che tutti gli abitanti dell'Impero sacrificassero agli Dei e che fosse rilasciato loro un 'libello'[437].

In tale occasione vennero allo scoperto le ambiguità spirituali e le contraddizioni della società romana, e altresì le debolezze interne di quella 'società cristiana', che grazie alla organizzazione accentratrice della chiesa di Roma aveva potuto costituirsi. Seppure la tradizione agiografica annovera per la Sicilia, per questa persecuzione, appena Agata, martirizzata a Catina dal proconsole Quintianus[438], specie al principio non debbono essere mancati tra la piccola gente i martiri, rimasti anonimi anche per il gran terrore che spinse i molti ad abiurare.

---

[430] Jacques, op.cit. 211 nr. 103; Tituli, 5, 378 n. 56.

[431] Cf. Barbieri, Kokalos, 7, 1951, 47; Jacques, op.cit. 213 s. Cf. G. Camodeca, Ricerche sui cur. r.p., ANRW, II 13, 1980, 454–508.

[432] Vedi indietro a n. 52.

[433] EE VIII nr. 696.

[434] Tituli, 5, 375; Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 497 s.n. 28.

[435] AIIN, 5–6, 1958–59, 285 ss. (Kokalos, 28–29, 397).

[436] Not. Sc., 1909, 65 s. (Kokalos, 28–29, 400 s.).

[437] Cf. ad es. H. A. Pohlsander, The religious policy of Decius, ANRW II, 16,3, Berlin–New York 1986, 1826 ss.

3. Da Valeriano a Diocleziano

Passata la tempesta con la morte di Decio in battaglia contro i Goti, già nel 251 d.C. si pose subito all'alto clero romano il problema dei *lapsi*, di quanti avevano rinnegato la fede cristiana sacrificando (detti perciò *sacrificati*) ovvero procurandosi un *libellus* liberatorio, anche fittizio (detti *libellatici*). L'organizzazione ecclesiastica, che reggeva le comunità cristiane nelle città siciliane, dipendeva dalla chiesa di Roma ed era agganciata con quella africana. Ciò risulta da un passo della lettera redatta da Novatianus – durante la vacanza della sede episcopale di Roma (gennaio 250 – aprile 251 d.C.) in seguito alla morte del papa Fabianus – indirizzata a Cyprianus a Cartagine, nella quale si fa riferimento ad altra epistola destinata al clero in Sicilia, inviata a quest'ultimo per l'approvazione, prima che fosse recapitata[439]. Anche in questa il clero romano impartiva disposizioni riguardo ai *lapsi*. In tale dolorosa circostanza Cyprianus espresse le sue idee che la *ecclesia* era *corpus permixtum*, dove erano insieme puri e impuri[440]; perciò si alleò col nuovo vescovo di Roma, Cornelius, opponendosi al rigorismo di Novatianus, ma anche al lassismo di Felicissimus in Africa. La riammissione dei *lapsi* nel seno della chiesa poteva avvenire solo attraverso una prassi penitenziale e a certe condizioni. Il vescovo di Syracusae, certamente unica sede episcopale, per la quale per il IV e V sec. d.C. risulta un *episkopos*[441], la cui esistenza va ormai necessariamente ammessa per il 251 d.C., si sarà allineato ai criteri di Cornelius e Cyprianus.

Chiusa la questione del *rebaptisma* o della sola *manus impositio* da parte del vescovo, per chi doveva rientrare pentito nel seno della Chiesa, nel 257 d.C. Valerianus emise un primo editto e poi un altro nel 258 d.C. con l'ordine di '*caerimoniari*': anch'egli voleva assicurarsi la protezione degli 'Dei salvatori dell'Impero'. Cyprianus affrontò il martirio nel 258 d.C. Quando nel 260 d.C.

---

[438] Cf. H. Dörrie, RAC, I, 1950, 179 – 184; E. Mioni, Anal. Boll., 68, 1950, 58 ss. Per il proconsole, vedi a n. 489.

[439] Cyprian., epist. 30,5,2: *quales litteras in Siciliam quoque miserimus subiectas habebis* ... Cf. A. Pincherle, Kokalos, 12, 1966, 551 s.

[440] S. Calderone, Costantino e il Cattolicesimo I, Roma 1962, 5; 8.

[441] A parte l'episkopos Chrestos, contemporaneo del *corrector* Latroniamus (vedi ILS, 677), sono noti un Syrakosios e un Cheperion da epigrafi funerarie (S. L. Agnello, Silloge iscrizioni paleocristiane, cit., nrr. 32 e 24). Cf. anche O. Garana, Le catacombe siciliane, cit. 265. Colgo l'occasione per escludere la storicità di quanto risulta nel Praedestinatus, nonostante F. P. Rizzo, Kokalos, 26 – 27, 1980 – 81, 287 ss.

Valerianus cadde prigioniero del re dei Persiani, Sapor, il figlio Licinius Gallienus concesse libertà di culto ai Cristiani[442].

Gli editti di Valerianus avranno provocato qualche martire anche in Sicilia: la tradizione agiografica anacronisticamente annovera i tre fratelli Alfio, Filadelfo e Cirino, martirizzati in Leontini, arrivati dall'Oriente greco, e ancora Peregrino e Libertino ad Agrigentum[443].

Una dedica frammentaria a Tyndaris (CIL X 2,7479), che il MOMMSEN ha riferito al divus Valerianus iunior, morto nel 255 d.C., è l'unica testimonianza, a parte un ritratto di Gallienus nel Museo di Palermo[444], di questi anni calamitosi, in cui tra 258 e 263 d.C. le campagne dell'isola dovettero essere teatro di violenze insolite. Tanto è suggerito da un passo degli SHA, v. Gall. duor., 4, 9: *... etiam in Sicilia quasi quoddam servile bellum extitit, latronibus evagantibus, qui vix oppressi sunt.* Deve essersi trattato di una rivolta non di schiavi – anche se è evocato dall'erudito storico, che è l'anonimo autore senatorio delle biografie imperiali, il quadro della guerra servile del 136 o 103 a.C. – ma di coloni dei *praedia* di senatori o dell'imperatore, ribellatisi alle angherie esercitate da *conductores/mancipes* e datisi al brigantaggio[445]. Il fenomeno deve essersi aggravato anche perchè Gallieno, per esigenze estreme di difesa militare, nel quadro della riforma del 263 d.C., deve aver sguarnito la Sicilia, provincia tranquilla dei pochi presidii di stanza nelle *stationes* del *cursus* o al servizio del governatore o del procuratore[446].

Nel 268 d.C. venne a rifugiarsi a Lilybaeum, ospite di un certo Probo, uomo dotto e forse di rango senatorio, il neoplatonico Porfirio di Tiro, discepolo di Plotino, per guarire da una grave depressione, che stava per condurlo al suicidio[447]: egli potè dedicarsi allo studio e scrivere contro la religione ormai trionfante dei Cristiani[448].

L'unità dell'impero intanto si era frantumata e una feroce crisi finanziaria dello stato aveva ridotto gli 'antoniniani' (radiati) a solo bronzo, al più bagnato nell'argento. Ucciso Gallienus nel 268 d.C., gli successe Aurelius Claudius, detto il Gotico, la cui *consecratio* nel 270 d.C. – celebrata su radiati di bronzo, assai comuni anche in Sicilia in costante associazione con i radiati dei Tetrici delle Gallie – è evocata su una base inscritta di Panhormus con la formula *Divo Claudio / res p(ublica) Panhormit(anorum)* (CIL X 2,7281), che trova confronto in Africa (ILS, 572). Essa fu certamente posta sotto Aureliano, quando tornò l'ordine nell'Impero e in una città come Catina si confezionò o aggiornò l'albo dei magistrati, come risulta da CIL X 2,7025, se rettamente interpretato[449], in cui sono indicati i consoli del 268 e 269 d.C., seguiti dai nomi dei duoviri. La vita municipale non si era interrotta affatto nè erano venuti meno gli scambi commerciali e valutari con le Gallie.

---

[442] Cf. M. M. SAGE, The persecution of Valerian and the Peace of Gallienus, Wien. St., N.F. 17, 1983, 137–159; J. MOLTHAGEN, Der röm. Staat u. die Christen im zw. u. dritten Jahrh., Göttingen 1970, 85 s., 98 ss.

[443] Il tentativo di storicizzazione, impossibile, in CL. GEBBIA, Comunità ebraiche nella Sicilia imperiale e tardo antica, ASSO, 75, 1979, 247 s., 250 ss. Per i martiri di Agrigentum, E. DE MIRO, Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 326.

[444] BONACASA, Ritratti, 113 s.

[445] Palast, 494. Per altre spiegazioni, vedi CRACCO RUGGINI, Kokalos, 28–29, 511 s.

[446] Per la esiguità di presenze militari in Sicilia, vedi a n. 198 s.

[447] F. CUMONT, REG, 32, 1919, 113 s.; Tituli, 5, 376 n. 45.

[448] CRACCO RUGGINI, Kokalos, 28–29, 504 con n. 38, anche a proposito di Chrysaorius.

E' significativo che siano stati tesaurizzati in Sicilia, insieme con radiati di bronzo di Claudius II e *Divo Claudio*, radiati anche barbarizzati dei Tetrici: a parte un ripostiglietto da Marzamemi (?), parzialmente assicurato al Museo di Siracusa, del quale ebbi a dare notizia nel VI Congresso internazionale di Numismatica a Copenhagen nel 1967[450], e un altro pescato nel mare di Siracusa dal marchese Gargallo (e forse ancora custodito dagli Eredi), ora sono stati editi esaurientemente tre supposti 'gruzzoli', raccolti nella Vigna Cassia a Syracusae[451] dei quali solo quello più consistente, di 114 esemplari, riesce interessante (contiene '*radiati*' di Gallienus, Salonina, Claudius II, *Divo Claudio*, Quintillus, Aurelianus, Victorinus e Tetricus). La datazione al 273–274 d.C., esatta secondo il contenuto (mancano i 'nuovi antoniniani' di Aureliano)[452], non ne spiega il seppellimento, anche se in un luogo sepolcrale, che a noi moderni può apparire strano, senza recupero.

L'arrivo di Tetrici, anche barbarizzati, in Sicilia, come in Africa e anche in centri dell'Asia minore, ad es. ad Aphrodisias di Caria[453], si spiega con un normale movimento di uomini tra l'area gallica e queste regioni. Per la Sicilia non mancano varie testimonianze, anche se piuttosto del I–II sec. d.C.[454]. D'altra parte il generale vuoto e bisogno di circolante di piccolo valore – e non certamente unicamente la supposta „temporanea chiusura della zecca romana da parte di Aureliano nei primi mesi del 271, che sarebbe durata fino alla vigilia della riforma" (che si pone nel 274 d.C.)[455] – avranno provocato la permanenza in circolazione e il risucchio dei pessimi 'radiati' anche gallici nell'area siracusana: in vista di essi, massa imponente in ogni mercato, le emissioni dei 'nuovi antoniniani', prolungatesi da Aureliano a Diocleziano, furono tariffate XX.I (K A) e poi XI (I A)[456], in modo da stabilirne un preciso raccordo valutario e in ogni caso differenziare il nuovo numerario da quello vecchio, discreditato e confuso. Un circolo protettivo ed esclusivo ha isolato gli *argentei Aureliani* (SHA, v. Prob. 4,5), risultato della riforma monetale del 274 d.C., dai radiati, che hanno continuato a circolare ancora a lungo fin oltre la metà del IV sec. d.C., permanendo ad es. nel ripostiglio di Sofiana, di prossima pubblicazione, che si chiude nel 360 d.C. con Costanzo II, o ancora dopo in Africa[457]. Gli *argentei Aureliani* non si sono mescolati con i pessimi ‘radiati’: la composizione di un ripostiglio come quello di Vigna Cassia non ne impone una datazione anteriore al 274 d.C.!

---

[449] Vedi indietro a n. 213.

[450] S. Garraffo, RACr, 57, 1981, 321 n. 25.

[451] Ib., 289 ss.

[452] Ib., 320–23. L'editore propone fra altre spiegazioni che possa essersi trattato di 'salvadenai' di bambini (ib., 323).

[453] Cf. ad es. D. J. MacDonald, Greek and Roman Coins from Aphrodisias, Br. Arch. Rep., Suppl. 9, Oxford 1976 (P. R. Franke, Hamb. Beiträge z. Numismatik, 30/32, 1976/78, 308).

[454] A parte le testimonianze epigrafiche, segnalate in precedenza, AÉ, 1897, 132; ILS, 6969; CIL XII 178 (cf. Tituli, 5, 377 n. 49), e ancora AÉ, 1980, 513 (Thermae): P. Antistius Cavar(ianus), cognomen celtico; CIL X 2,7052 (una Cabaria, a Catina). Il rilievo di Wilson, Kokalos, 26–27, 236 circa la scarsità di ceramica gallica in Sicilia, è da verificare.
Per la probabile origine gallica della famiglia di Alpinius Magnus Eumenius, oriundo da Lilybaeum, *consularis prov. Siciliae* nel 331/340 d.C., cf. G. Barbieri, Kokalos, 9, 1963, 239 ss.

[455] Garraffo, art.cit. 320 s.

Invece va ricercata una causa per il mancato recupero del medesimo o di quello di Marzamemi, sopra segnalato: essa a mio avviso deve essere, come sempre, ritrovata in un evento straordinario. L'unico a me sembra la incursione intorno al 280 d.C. sotto Probo dei Franchi, provenienti dal Ponto, proprio contro Syracusae (zona dalla quale provengono i ripostigli in discussione).

In Zosimo[458] rettamente l'incursione dei Franchi contro questa città è posta prima di quella in Africa, mentre nel Panegirico del 297 d.C. per il Cesare Costanzo si legge l'inverso. Vi è infatti rievocato il terrore provocato dal pugno di prigionieri Franchi, installati da Probo sulle coste del Ponto Eussino: *qui a Ponto usque correptis navibus Graeciam Asiamque populati nec impune plerisque Libyae litoribus appulsi, ipsas postremo navalibus quondam victoriis nobiles ceperant Syracusas et immenso itinere pervecti oceanum ... atque ita eventu temeritatis ostenderant nihil esse clausum piraticae desperationi*[459].

La Sicilia era verosimilmente sguarnita di presidii militari.

Nella grande riorganizzazione amministrativa dell'Impero promossa da Diocletianus la Sicilia fu inquadrata nella Diocesi italiana e connessa al vicariato suburbicario. Il suo ruolo di ʽponte' tra Oriente e Occidente non cambiò, riflesso anche nell' *Edictum de pretiis*[460].

---

[456] La tariffa indicherebbe non un valore in sesterzii (20 sest. = 5 denarii), ma la percentuale di argento, secondo i risultati presentati in NAC, 8, 1979, 243 ss. Io credo, che con questa tariffa degli *argentei aureliani* – e non in epoca vandalica (tanto più che gli esemplari in questione in Africa sono rarissimi) – vada connesso il graffito XLII, rilevato su logori bronzi da Vespasiano (assi) fino a Gordiano (C. MORRISSON, Studies in Numism. Method presented to Ph. Grierson, Cambridge 1984, 95–108): ognuno di questi pretendeva di valere quanto due *aureliani* (XXI + XXI), anche se questi ultimi non si mescolavano con i primi, che dovevano confrontarsi piuttosto con i logori *radiati*. Forse si pretendeva far valere il pezzo col graffito XLII un numero di 42 pezzi *radiati*?

[457] GARRAFFO, art. cit. 321 n. 25 rimanda ad A. DI VITA, Libya antiqua, 11–12, 1974/5, 27 ss. Radiati sporadici rilevati a Naxos, Syracusae, Piazza Armerina e Barrafranca (Kokalos, 28–29, 1982–83, 396 s., 402–3). D'altra parte, nel ripostiglio detto ‘della Principessa’ nel Museo di Messina sono solo ‘*argentei aureliani*’, senza alcun ‘radiato’ pre-riforma (cf. anche il rip. di Palermo, Kokalos, 28–29, 398 n. 11).

[458] Zos., hist. nova I 71,2, p. 52 ed. L. MENDELSOHN: καὶ Φράγκων ... μοῖρά τις ..., πλοίων εὐπορήσασα, ... καὶ Σικελίᾳ προσσχοῦσα καὶ τῇ Συρακοσίων προσμίξασα πολὺν κατὰ ταύτην εἰργάσατο φόνον. ἤδη δὲ καὶ Λιβύῃ προσορμισθεῖσα ...

[459] Paneg. Lat., paneg. IV Constantio Caesari, 18, 3. Cf. G. VITUCCI, L'imperatore Probo, Roma 1952, 53; L. POLVERINI, ANRW, II 2, 1023 s.

Per tutta l'età imperiale, in verità, la Sicilia ha costituito punto nodale nei traffici marittimi verso Roma e le Gallie, in partenza dall'Oriente oltre che dall'Africa. Testimonianze epigrafiche, di cui alcune si collocano giá nel II sec. d.C., ma più numerose nel IV – V sec. d.C., sono indicative. Passano per Messana e vi trovano con la morte una tomba, con epigrafe quasi sempre in greco, uomini provenienti da Occidente e Oriente: da Roma Sesto Pompeo Phoibos (IG XIV 413), ovvero Epitynchanus Candidian(us), schiavo imperiale, in viaggio verso l'Asia per ricoprirvi l'ufficio di *ark*(*arius*) (*vicesimae*) *hered*(*itatium*) (ILS, 1558); da Antiochia di Siria Ulpio Niceforo, ʽvenditore di statuette di Tyche', come è detto nell'epigramma in greco a lui dedicato di III sec. d.C.[461]; di Apamea è Cornelio Magno, che pone l'epitafio per il servo Epaphrys[462]; dalla Licia il marinaio Androbios (IG XIV 404); da Cizico Aurelio Eutyches[463]; da Polyrrhenia (Creta) un Epaphras (IG XIV 406); da Pafo un attore Paphianos (IG XIV 411); da Corinto M. Antonio Skorpos[464].

A Catina, se ne è accettabile la provenienza, un efesio riceve un epigramma sepolcrale in greco dal padre Αἶλις Ἀχιλλεύς[465]. A Syracusae trovano sepoltura nel corso del III e IV sec. d.C. uomini provenienti: dall'Asia minore, come l'efesio Paolo, Theoktistos capitano licio e Kollybas nella catacomba di S. Lucia[466]; dalla Libia, come Ithallas (non Ithamas) da Lepcis Magna a Vigna Cassia[467]; dalla Cirenaica, come Kloutoria da Ptolemaide[468]; dalla Siria, come il Ζόδωρος (Διόδωρος) ἀπὸ Μακρῆς Κώμης, Solanos Syros, Ioannis Syros, Iulia da Antiochia[469]; da Costantinopoli un certo Ariston[470].

A Syracusae nella catacomba di S. Lucia risultano sepolte Καστεῖνα Ῥωμαία[471], e altresì Θεόδουλος Κατανε̃ος νεοφώ{σ}τειστος (SEG XVIII 397);

---

[460] Cf. S. Lauffer, Diokletians Preisedikt, Berlin 1971, 200 ss.: 37,7 *ab Alexandria Siciliam, in k*(*astrensi*) *mo*(*dio*) *uno* ✳ *decem*; 37,21 *ab Oriente ad Siciliam* ... ✳ *sedecim*; 37,27 *ab Africa in Sicilia* ... ✳ *sex*; 37,32 *item a Roma Siciliam usque* ... *sex*; 72 – 73 [*a Si*]*cilia Afr*[*icam* – –]/ *a Sicilia Gen*[*uam* –].

[461] Vedi a n. 351. Fondamentale L. Ruggini, Ebrei e Orientali ..., SDHI, 25, 1959, 186 ss.

[462] P. Orsi, MAL, 23, 1916, 59 s.

[463] IG XIV 405 (M. T. Manni Piraino, Iscriz. greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1973, 50 ss. nr. 27).

[464] Orsi, MAL, 23, 1916, 162 (nel verso, l'epigrafe latina del *medicus chirurgus*, di cui indietro a n. 320) (cf. Tav. XXIV).

[465] IG XIV 466 (IGRR I 510, dove si annota a proposito del padre: „*An is qui fuit rationalis Septimi Severi anno p.C. 193*"? PIR I 12, 102).

[466] Cf. rispettivamente, Wessel, Inscr. Gr. Christ., cit., nr. 23; Bull. ép., 1967, 708; L. De Salvo, A proposito di alcune iscrizioni di naukleroi in Sicilia, Arch. Stor. Messinese, 1979, 59 ss.

[467] Wessel, nr. 93 e ora D. Feissel, BCH, 107, 1983, 609 – 11.

[468] Bull. ép., 1962, 391. Per uno di Tripolis(?), Wessel, nr. 71.

[469] Cf. rispettivamente IG, XIV 117 (Wessel, nr. 99); Wessel, nr. 40 – 41; SEG IV 9. Cfr. anche Τιτιγέλλα ἀπὸ Χρυσαρίου (SEG XVIII 400).

[470] Wessel, nr. 13 (cf. Garana, op.cit., 264 fig. 50).

[471] SEG XIV 582. A Roma un Μάρις, Σικελός (Wessel, nr. 2); Σύμφορος Σικε(λὸς) Πανορμίτης (ib., nr. 8).

nella catacomba di S. Giovanni un Superianus *clericus* di Aquileia e un Auxentius, *Hispanus patria, ep(iscopus) Rotdon*[472].

Dall' Egitto insieme con i 'nummi' della zecca imperiale di Alessandria[473] arrivano a Syracusae uomini con tipica onomastica, come Πάεις (SEG IV 24); ovvero adusati al sistema di conto in *myriades*[474] o a indicare il solido di oro col termine ὁλοκότινος[475], ovvero al calendario egizio, come mostra l'epitafio per il medico Eudaimon, seppellito in zona hyblense (Chiaramonte Gulfi) nel mese di *phaophi*[476].

Quando nel 303 e poi nel 304 d.C. Diocletianus emise gli editti, che imponevano di sacrificare pena la morte, i governatori delle province ne furono gli esecutori. Per la Sicilia, in cui già nel 285 d.C. a Panhormus fu posta una dedica a Diocletianus (CIL X 2,7282), ricorre il nome del λαμπρότατος κορρέκτωρ Calvisianus, che avrebbe sottoposto a giudizio a Catina il diacono Euplus nel 304 d.C.[477]. A Syracusae Lucia, la cui morte è festeggiata il 13 dicembre, subì il martirio forse piuttosto nel 303 d.C., dopo aver affrontato il giudizio del *corrector*[478].

Nell'epigrafia funeraria di IV – V sec. d.C., ormai significativamente in greco, è menzione della 'signora Lucia', come della 'signora Agata'[479]: alle due martiri non si applica l'appellativo ἁγία, ma quello di rispetto per mortali κυρία[480], già tributato a divinità pagane, come Artemide, Iside o Cerere[481].

---

[472] AGNELLO, Sill., nr. 74; 82 (ambedue del V/VI sec. d.C.).

[473] Not. Sc., 1947, 213 s. (Kokalos, 28 – 29, 398). Significativo che nel Romanzo di Senofonte di Efeso, databile nel II – III sec. d.C., la Sicilia (e in particolare Syracusae e Tauromenium) appaia la naturale sosta per un viaggio dall'Egitto all'Italia (vedi ora F. SARTORI, Journ. des Savants, 1985 [1987], 173 ss.).

[474] AGNELLO, Sill., nr. 29: ... ἠγόρασαι ... τύμβον ἑβδομήκοντα δυῶν μυριάδων. Per il sistema di conto, cf. ad es. The Abinnaeus Archive, Pap. of a Roman Officer in the Reign of Constantius II, ed. H. I. BELL – V. MARTIN – E. G. TURNER – D. VAN BERCHEM, Oxford 1962, nr. 35,89, col calcolo 50 talanta = 30.000 dr. = 30 myriades.

[475] AGNELLO, nr. 21 (vedi indietro a n. 323); IG XIV 142 (MANNI PIRAINO, Iscr. greche Palermo, cit., 142 s. nr. 112). Per il termine, cf. R. S. BAGNALL, Currency and Inflation in Fourth Cent. Egypt, BASP, Suppl. 5, 1985, 15 ss.

[476] AGNELLO, nr. 68 (vedi indietro a n. 325).

[477] PACE, Arte e Civ., cit. IV, 11; 217; P. FRANCHI DEI CAVALIERI, Note agiografiche, 7, Roma 1928, Studi e Testi, 49,47 ss.; F. CORSARO, Studi sui docum. agiogr. intorno al martirio di S. Euplo, Orpheus, 4, 1957, 33 – 62 (con appendice dei testi); Kokalos, 28 – 29, 1982 – 83, 506 n. 40. Cf. anche S. COSTANZA, Arch. Stor. Sir., 3, 1957, 5 ss.

[478] G. ROSSI TAIBBI, Martirio di S. Lucia, Palermo 1959 (Anal. Boll., 79, 1961, 181 s.). Per ipotesi proporrei di identificare il *corrector* del 303 d.C. con C. Val. Apollinaris Pancratius (EE, VIII nr. 696).

[479] AGNELLO, Sill. nr. 20 (... ἀνεπαύσετο τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς κυρίας μου Λουκίας ...); IG XIV 592 (Ustica: secondo la migliore interpretazione di A. FERRUA, Bull. ép., 1952, 197, Λουκιφέρ[α] ἀ[πέ]θανεν τῇ (ἡμέρᾳ) κυρίας 'Αγάθης). D. FEISSEL, BCH, 105, 1981, 494 – 497, propone per la parte finale di una iscr. di Catania (IG XIV 525; AGNELLO, Sill. nr. 106) ... κυρία 'Αγάθη, εἰρήνην 'Αγά[θωνι].

[480] Così ad es. nella catacomba di S. Giovanni (Siracusa) ... τελευτᾷ ἡ κυρία μου Εὐτυχία (P. ORSI, Röm. Quartalschr., 10, 1896, 11 nr. 2); in altra iscr. ... ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ μου ἐπισκόπῳ Συρακοσίῳ (AGNELLO, Sill., nr. 32; cf. anche nr. 53; 106, per cui alla nota

Il Cristianesimo ormai stava per trionfare: mancava solo il riconoscimento da parte di un imperatore. Così si sarebbe dissipato l'equivoco, che fino ad allora aveva caratterizzato uno Stato, che si presentava come pagano e destinato alla difesa di una società pagana, la quale invece era tale ormai soltanto in misura ridotta, per convenzione e indolenza, mentre entro di esso urgeva prepotente e coraggiosa, rotti gli argini del formalismo giudaico, una nuova società promiscua di ricchi e poveri, di umili e di potenti, guidata dalla chiesa di Roma, organizzata secondo una gerarchia intelligente, la società cristiana.

4. Albo dei governatori di Sicilia da Augusto a Diocleziano

L'amministrazione provinciale e la responsabilità giudiziaria della Sicilia furono affidate annualmente a partire dal 27 a.C. da Augusto e poi dagli imperatori successivi, almeno fino all'accesso al potere di Diocleziano, ad un *proconsul* di rango pretorio. La lista, che dei *proconsules Siciliae* ha recentemente compilato B. E. THOMASSON[482], può essere ripresentata come appresso, operate alcune esclusioni e qualche integrazione.

Credo opportuno adottare l'ordine numerico secondo una cronologia approssimativa per imperatori.

(Augusto)

1. P. Betilienus Bassus, probabilmente il personaggio indicato in una iscrizione frammentaria, a caratteri cubitali, nell'anfiteatro di Syracusae[483];
2. L. Mussidius (RE, XVI 1, 1933, 900 nr. 1; THOMASSON, 1);
3. Sisenna (Cornelius) (RE, IV 1, 1900, 1511 nr. 372; THOMASSON, 2);
4. Q. Terentius Culleo (RE, V A, 1, 1934, 654 nr. 45; THOMASSON, 3)
5. L. Clodius Rufus (RE, IV 1, 1900, 99 nr. 54; THOMASSON, 5);
6. L. Seius (Firmus?) (RE, II A 1, 1921, 1121 nr. 2; THOMASSON, 6)[484];
7. C. Roscius – (se non augusteo, tiberiano, secondo i caratteri della iscrizione siracusana)[485];

---

precedente). Per ἅγιος, applicato anche a persona comune o al fedele, non ancora al 'santo' o a divinità, cf. L. ROBERT, Hellen., XI–XII, Paris 1960, 428. In piena epoca bizantina riportano le due lucerne, una da Gela con ὁ ἅγιος Ἀλέξανδρος (SEG XVI 568), l'altra da Siracusa con ὁ ἅγηος Λεώνηως (SEG XIV 585).

[481] Vedi ad es. L. ROBERT, Hellen., X, Paris 1955, 56 n. 3; A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, REG, 83, 1970, 183 ss.; il mio art. in: Helikon, 2, 1962, 490 (Ceres domina, in un graffito catanese). Naturalmente vanno respinte le esagerate conclusioni di E. CIACERI (cf. RAC I, 1950, s.v. Agata, col. 183 s. [DÖRRIE]).

[482] Laterculi Preaesidum, I, Göteborg 1984, coll. 1–6. Cf. anche G. BARBIERI, Kokalos, 14–15, 1968–69, 187–189.

[483] Vedi indietro alle note 271–73.

[484] Vedi n. 83.

[485] Edita da G. V. GENTILI, Arch. st. sir., 7, 1961, 22–23 è passata inosservata. Essa può essere integrata all'incirca C. *Roscius* [*.f.* –(Cognomen)] / *procos.* [*prov. Siciliae*] / *Sextia Mu*[*cia* (?) – *nymphaeum* (?)] / *fecerun*[*t* – –]. Per i Roscii in Sicilia, vedi n. 256.

(Tiberio – Nerone)

8. P. F(lavius) Silva, piuttosto che P. F. Silva(nus ?) (THOMASSON, 7)[486];
9. Sura (Plin., n.h. 7,55: escluderei la identificazione con l'omonimo catilinario, nonostante MÜNZER, RE, IV A 1, 1931, 962 s. nr. 5; THOMASSON, 37);
10. Alfidius Sabinus (CIL VIII 9247; THOMASSON, 8);
11. A. Didius Gallus (RE, Suppl. XIV, 1974, 111 nr. 6: *consul suff.* nel 39 d.C.; THOMASSON, 9);
12. P. Plautius Pulcher (ILS, 964: sotto Claudio; RE, XXI 1, 1951, 33 s., nr. 46; THOMASSON, 10);
13. M. Haterius Candidus (ILS, 6767, sotto Nerone?; THOMASSON, 11: forse un discendente del cavaliere Haterius Rufus, ucciso accidentalmente durante uno spettacolo gladiatorio a Syracusae sotto Augusto[487]);

(Flavii – Adriano)

14. T. Iunius Montanus (*consul suff.* 81 d.C.: AÉ, 1973, 500; RE, Suppl. XV, 1978, 125 s., nr. 105; THOMASSON, 14);
15. Senecio Memmius Afer (ILS, 1042: *consul suff.* 99 d.C.; THOMASSON, 15);
16. M. Pompeius Macrinus Neos Theophanes (I G, V 2,151; AÉ, 1979, 595: *consul suff.* 115 d.C.; RE, XXI 2, 1952, 2278 s., nr. 95; ZPE, 37, 1980, 7s.; THOMASSON, 16);
17. Q. Caecilius Marcellus (ILS, 1045; THOMASSON, 17);
18. P. Cluvius Maximus Paulinus (AÉ, 1940, 99; RE, Suppl. XIV, 1974, 105 nr. 10 b; THOMASSON, 18);
19. L. Burbuleius Optatus Ligarianus (ILS, 1066; THOMASSON, 19);

(Antonini)

20. Curtius Iustus (incerto per la Sicilia: CIL III 1458; THOMASSON 20);
21. P. Septimius Geta (AÉ, 1946, 131: sotto Commodo; RE, Suppl. XIV 1974, 661 nr. 31 a; THOMASSON, 21);
22. L. Septimius Severus (SHA, v. Sept. Sev. 4,2; THOMASSON, 22);

(Severi – Gallieno)

23. Q. Pompeius Balbus (CIL VIII 954; RE XXI 2, 1952, 2268 nr. 69; THOMASSON, 35: età incerta del III d.C.);
24. Q. Annius Annianus Postumianus (CIL VI 1338: datazione incerta, comunque entro la prima metà del III sec. d.C.; THOMASSON, 27);
25. Q. Aquilius Niger (CIL X 2,7287; Tituli, 5,375; THOMASSON, 28);
26. Cascellius (CIL IX 3666; THOMASSON, 29; datazione incerta);
27. C. Bultius Geminius Titianus (ILS, 6770 a; Tituli 5,376; THOMASSON, 31);

---

[486] Vedi a n. 83.

[487] Vedi n. 264 e 269.

28. C. Mevius Donatus Iulianus (CIL XIV 2107; Kokalos 7, 1961, 45 – AÉ, 1964, 183; THOMASSON, 34)[488];
29. Q. Lusius Laberius (CIL X 2,7018; THOMASSON, 33);
30. Iunius Iulianus (CIL X 2,7127; THOMASSON, 32; Kokalos, 28–29, 381 s.);
31. M. Marius Titius Rufinus (CIL IX 1584; THOMASSON, 23: poco prima del 231 d.C.);
32. M. Domitius Valerianus (SEG, XX 28; RE, Suppl. XIV 1974, 114 nr. 85; THOMASSON, 24: sotto Severo Alessandro);
33. Quintianus (251 d.C., sotto Decio: THOMASSON, 25)[489];
34. M. Veturius Veturianus (AÉ, 1914, 245; RE, Suppl. IX, 1962, 1693 nr. 22 a; THOMASSON, 26: sotto Valeriano e Gallieno);

Anonimi

35. Anonimo (Tituli, 4, 1982, 626 s. nr. 21; THOMASSON, 38);
36. Anonimo (CIL XI 4647; THOMASSON, 40);
37. –]IDIVS –– (Kokalos, 17, 1971, 20 nr. 10 = AÉ, 1973, 274; THOMASSON, 39)[490].

Dalla lista vanno eliminati decisamente L. Sextius (THOMASSON, 36) e Q. Iunius Blaesus, proconsole di Africa nel 22–23 d.C.[491]; dubbio resta comunque C. Curtius Iustus, nr. 20.

5. Legati pro praetore provinciae Siciliae

Grazie all'acribia di W. ECK[492] e ad una precisazione del THOMASSON, la lista comprende 12 personaggi, di cui quattro anonimi (CIL VI 1554; VIII 9247; XIV 3617 = AÉ, 1967, 80 = THOMASSON, Laterc. I, nr. 13; ILS, 8980, per cui Chiron, 3, 1973, 390 n. 47a e THOMASSON, 41) e ancora

5. Ti. Claudius Herodianus (ILS, 2938);
6. M. Cocceius Nepos (CIL XI 13);
7. Q. Caelius Honoratus (IGRR, III 970)[493];
8. L. Cornelius Marcellus (CIL X 2,7266; THOMASSON, 12);
9. M. Acilius Priscus Egrilius Plarianus (CIL VI 31678; MEFRA, 82, 1970, 295 s.);
10. C. Plautius Rufus (CIL IX 5834 = ILS, 926) (vedi indietro a n. 50);
11. L. Saevinius Proculus (AÉ, 1924, 77; W. ECK, ZPE 8, 1971, 71 s.);
12. G. Fulvius Maximus (ILS, 1195; THOMASSON, 30).

---

[488] Cf. n. 431.

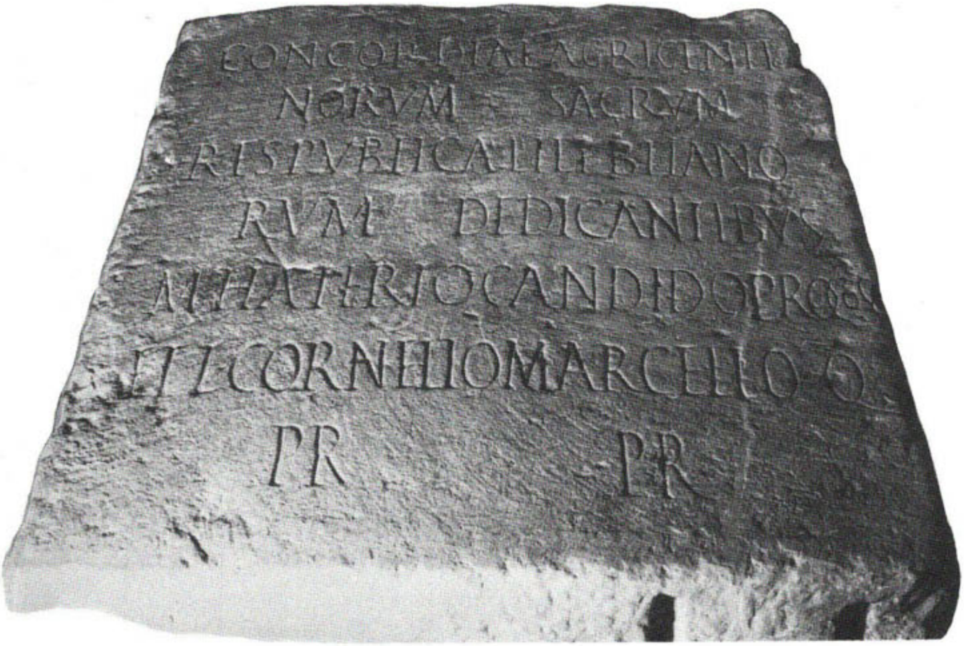
[489] Cf. G. BARBIERI, L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino, Roma 1952, 642 s.

[490] L'iscrizione va intesa: [––]*idiọ* [––] / *procos. c*(*larissimo*) *v*(*iro*)[–– *Halaes*]*ini* (?) *optimo*[*civi ac patrono*(?) –].

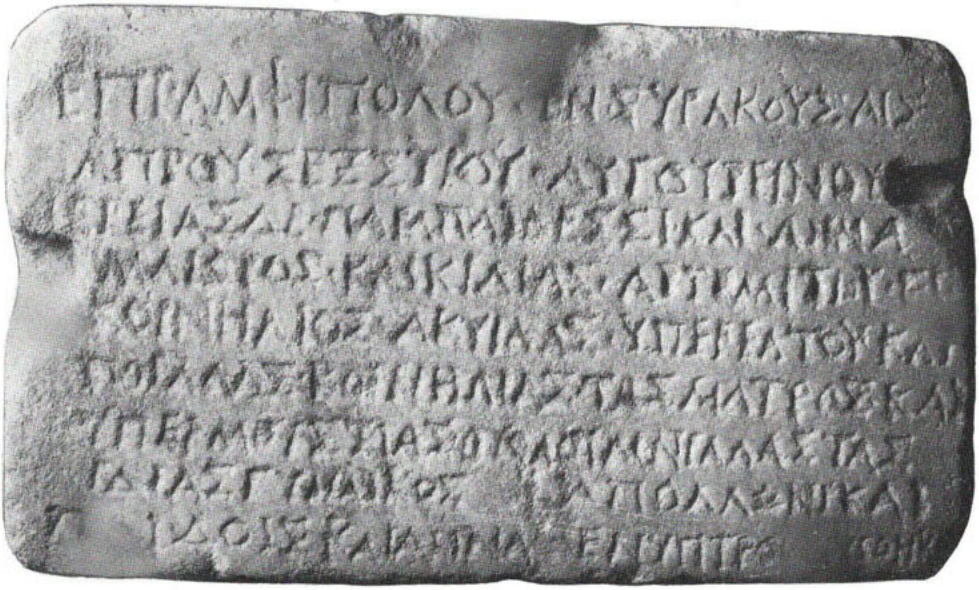
[491] Vedi a n. 336.

[492] Epigraphische Studien, 9, 1972, 36; Chiron, 3, 1973, 390 n. 47.

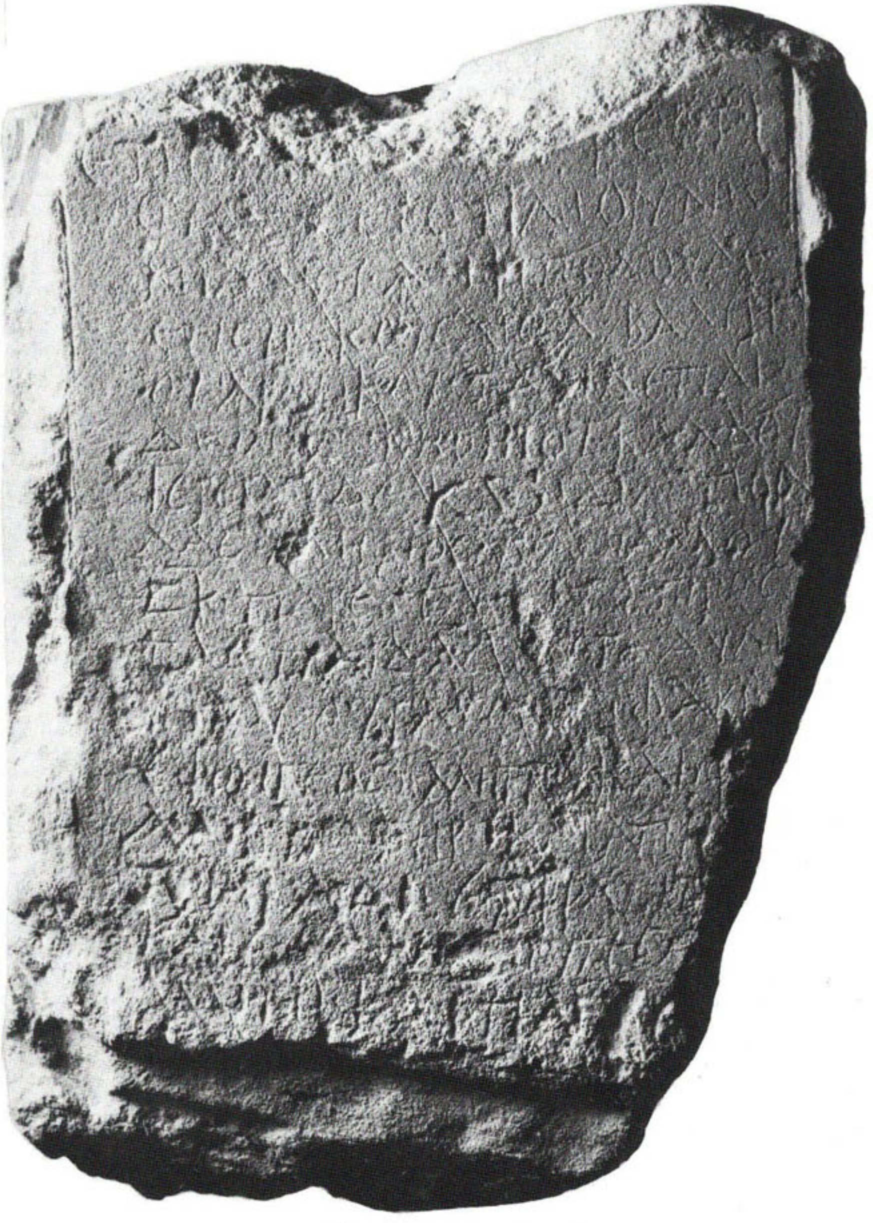
[493] Cf. R. S. BAGNALL – TH. DREW BEAR, Phoenix, 27, 1973, 224–5.



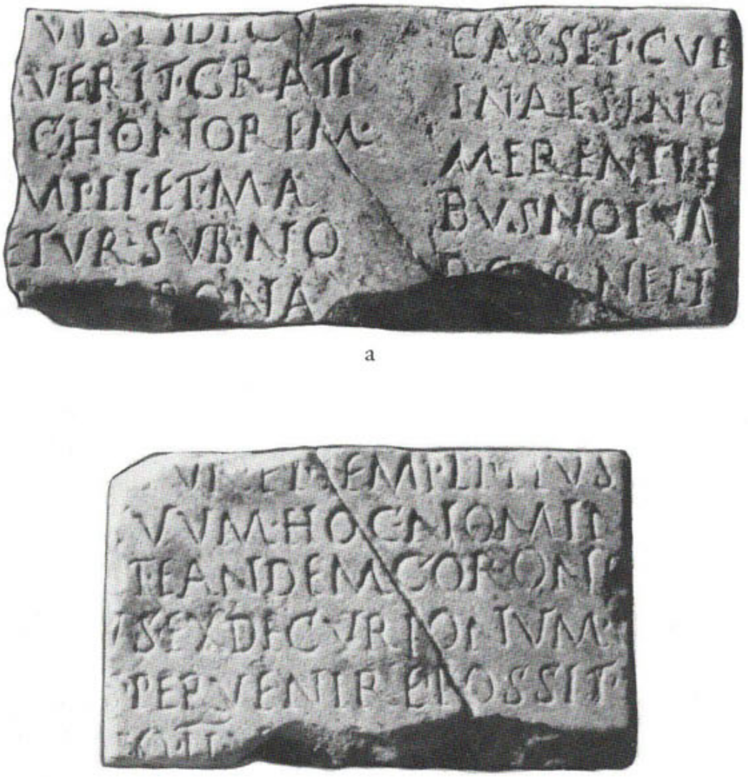
1. CIL X 7192 = ILS, 6767



2. Par. del Pass., 6, 1951, 71 n. 5



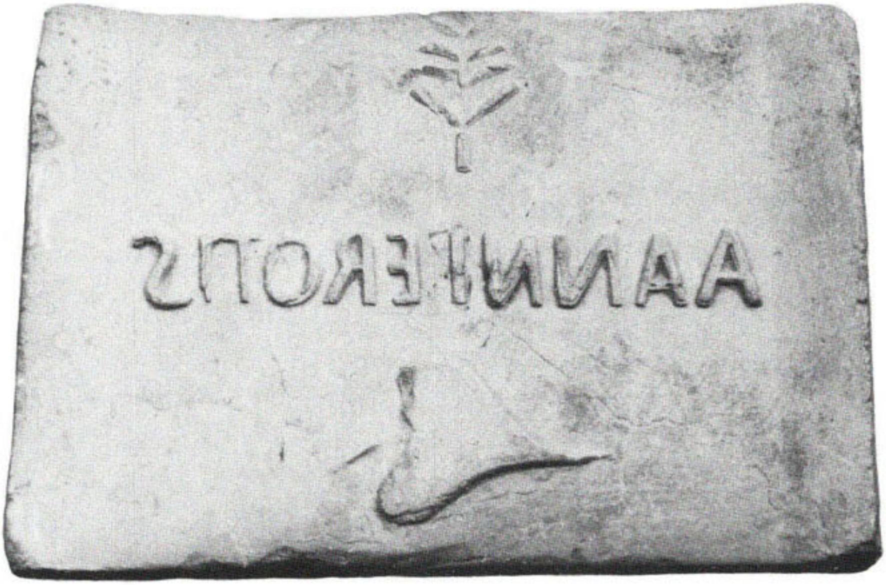
3. Par. del Pass., 6, 1951, 69 n. 2



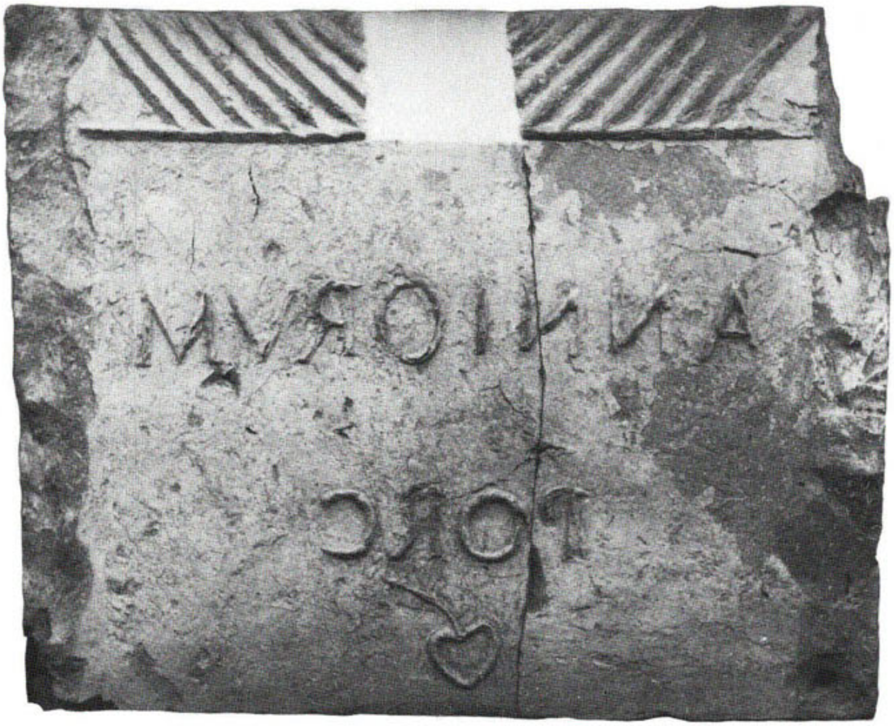
a

b

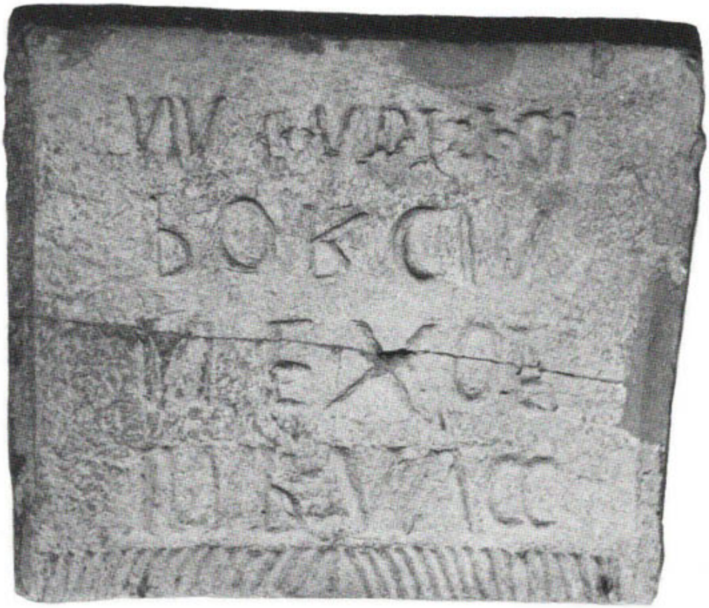
4a.b. Iscrizione rinvenuta nella villa di Piazza Armerina



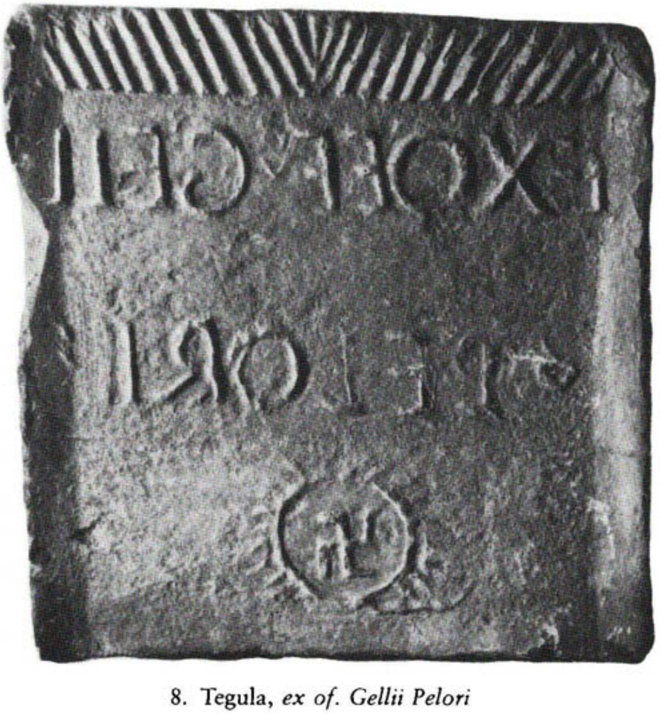
5. Tegula, *A. Anni Erotis*



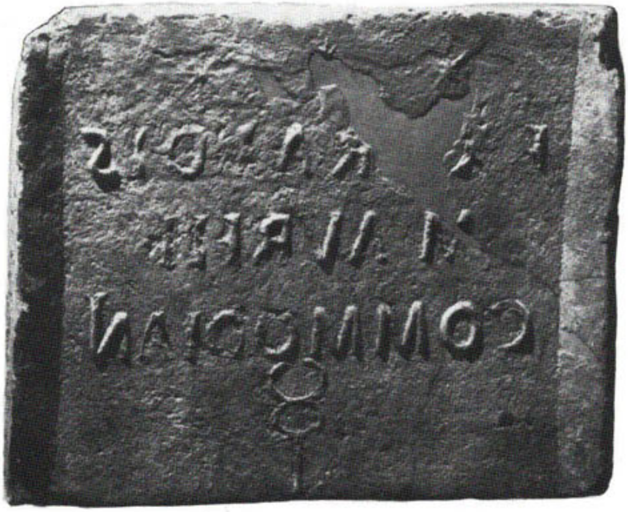
6. Tegula, *Anniorum*



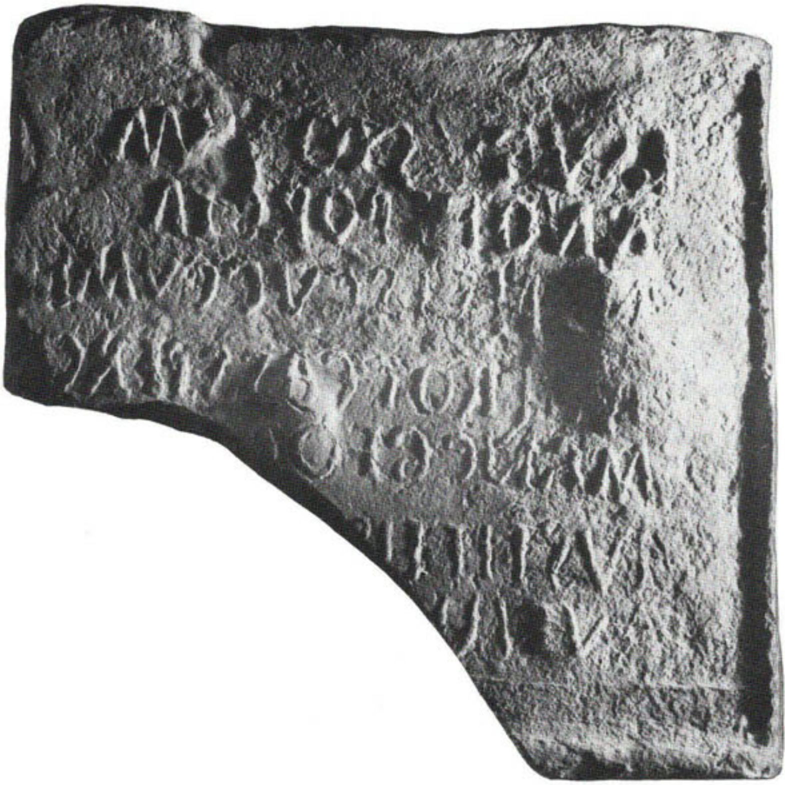
7. Tegula, *ex of. Porciana*



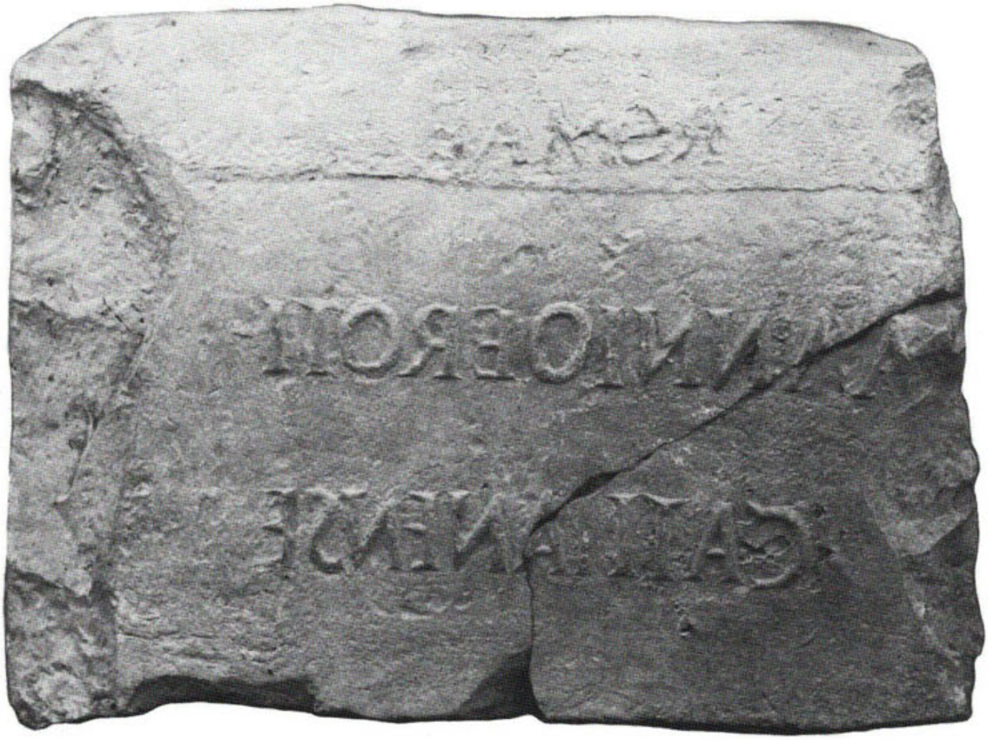
8. Tegula, *ex of. Gellii Pelori*



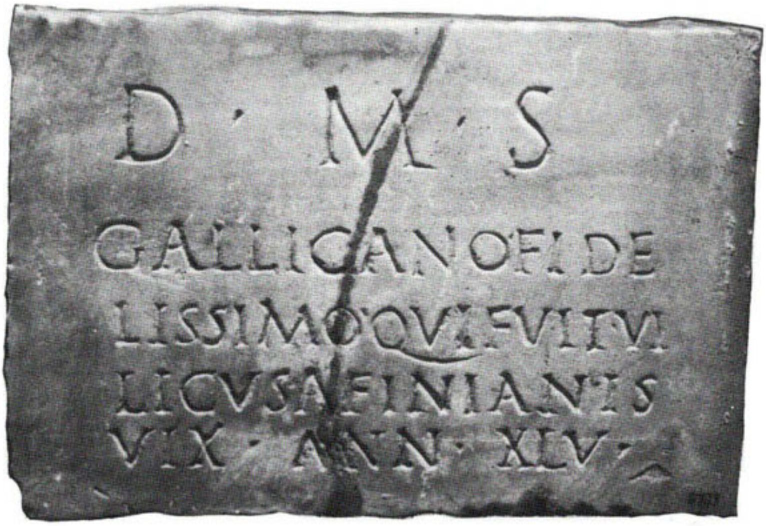
9. Tegula, *ex praediis M. Aureli Commodiani*



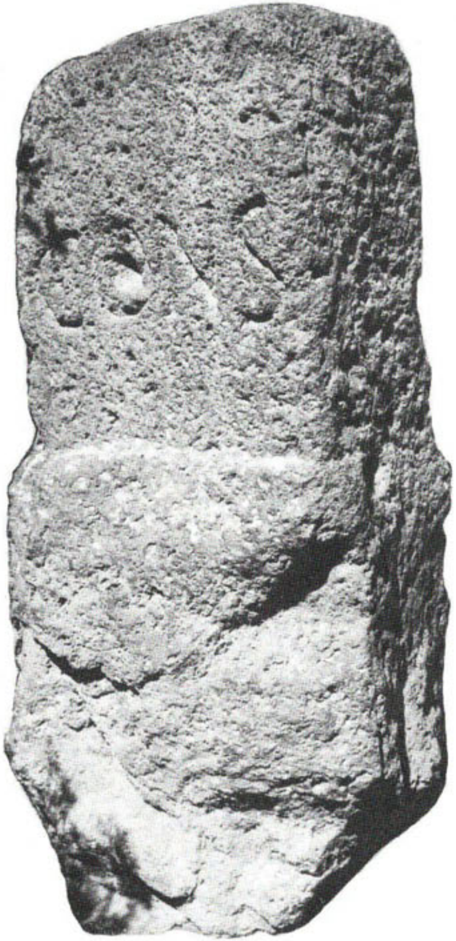
10. Tegula, CIL X 8044,9



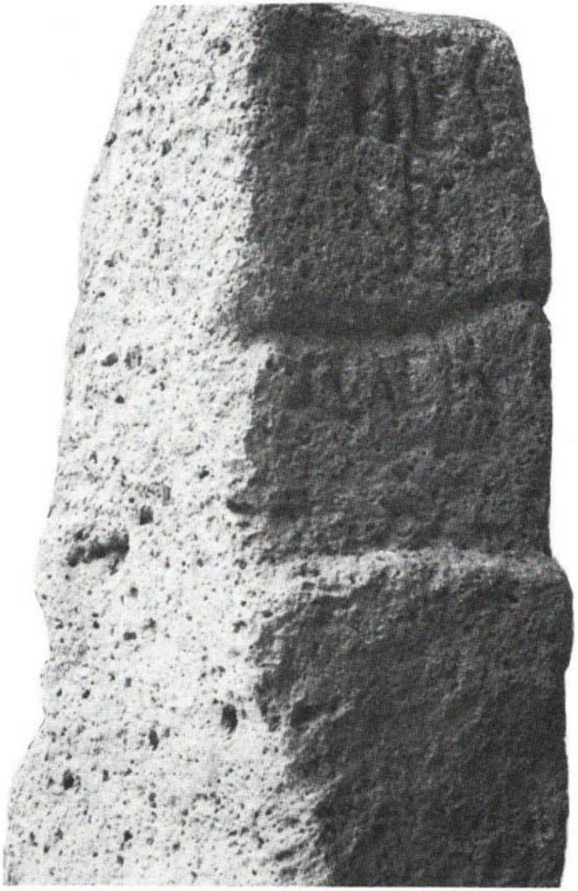
11. Tegula, *Romae. A. Annio Eroti, (ex of.) Cattianensi*


D · M · S
GALLICANO FIDE
LISSIMO QVI FVIT VI
LICVS AFINIANIS
VIX · ANN · XLV ·

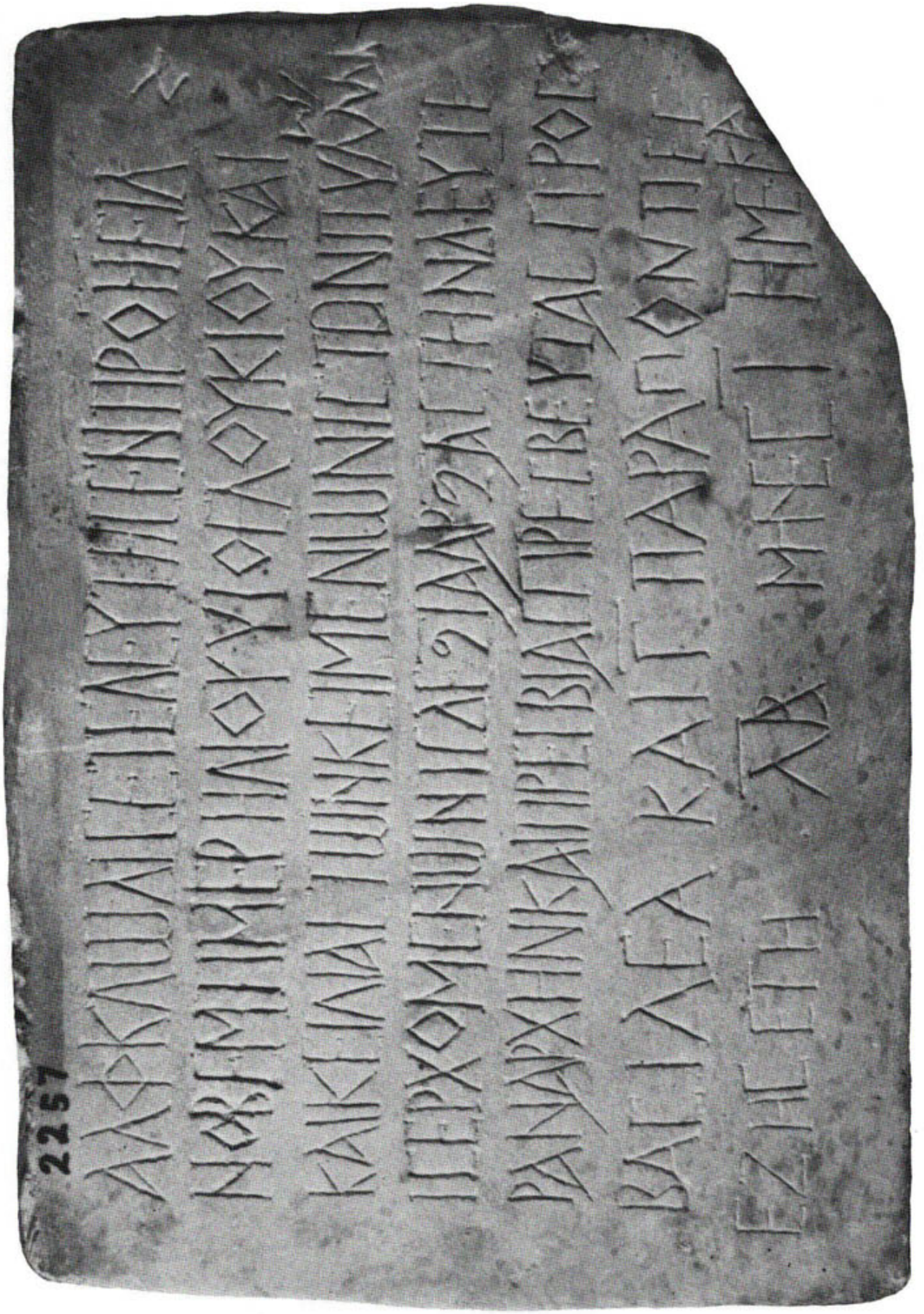
12. CIL X 7041



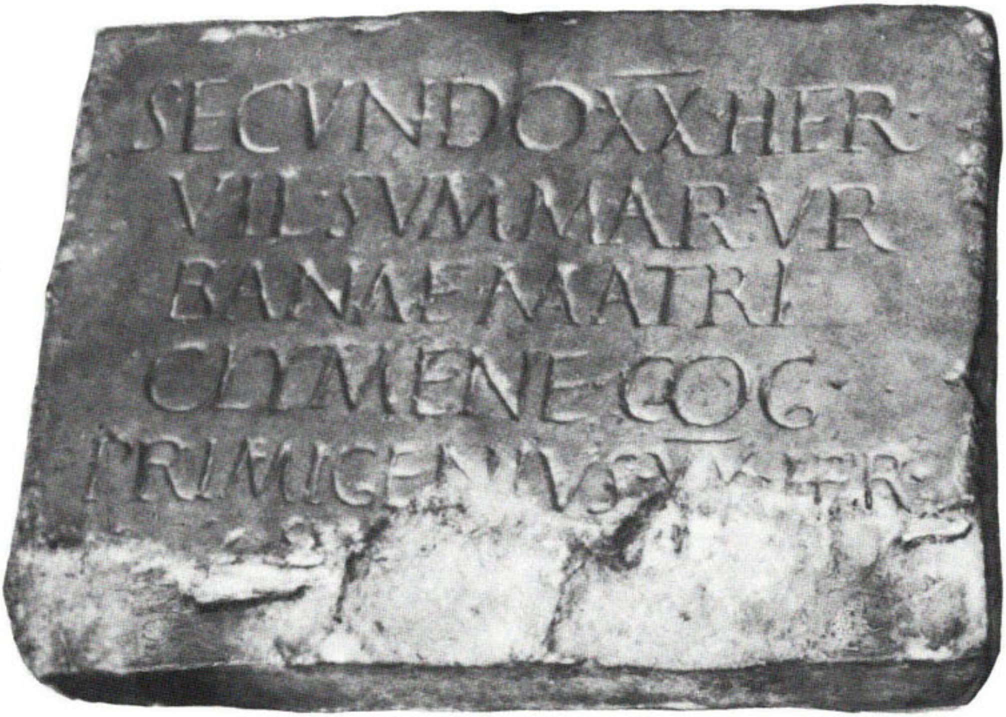
13. CIL X 7022



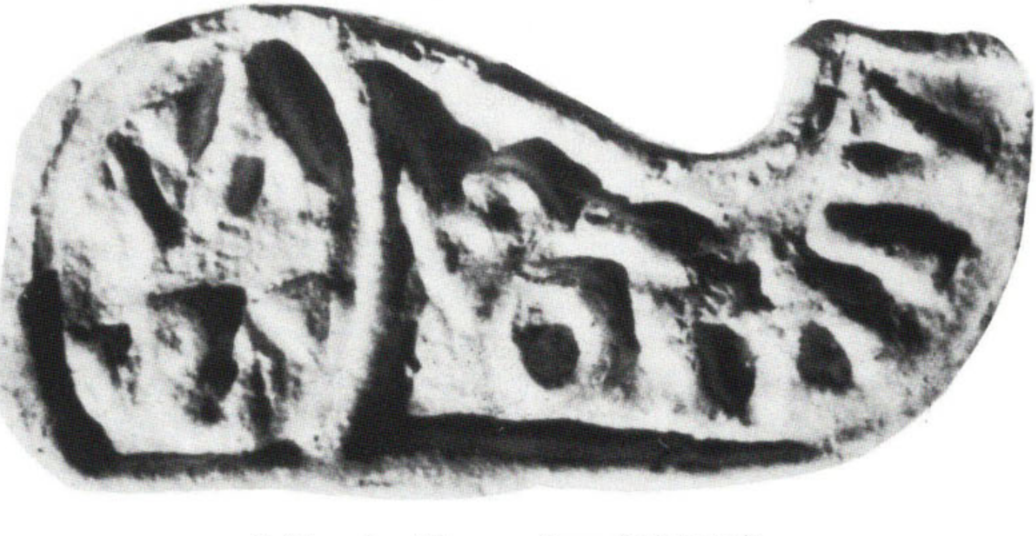
14. CIL X 7022



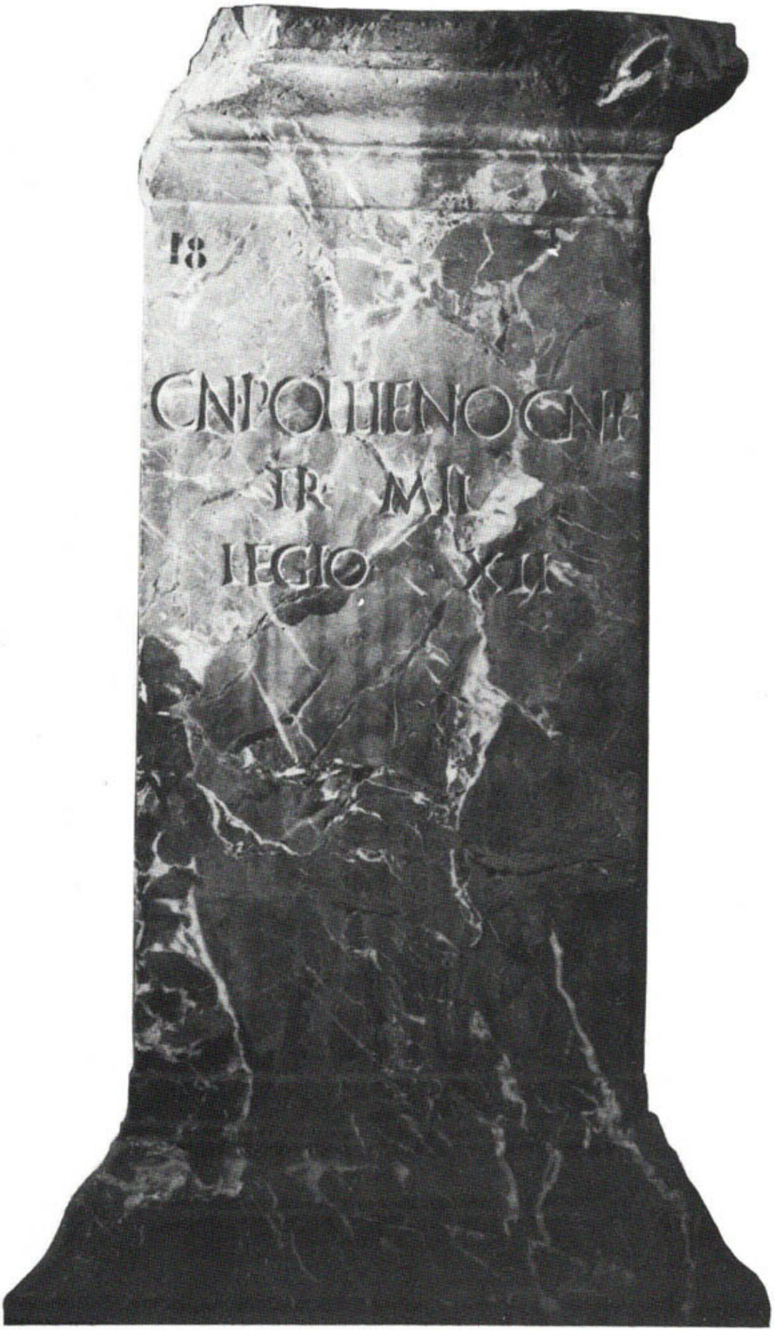
15. Iscrizione funeraria di Akrai, IG, XIV 235


SECVNDO XX HER
VIL SVMMAR VR
BANAE MATRI
CLYMENE COC
PRIMIGENIVS

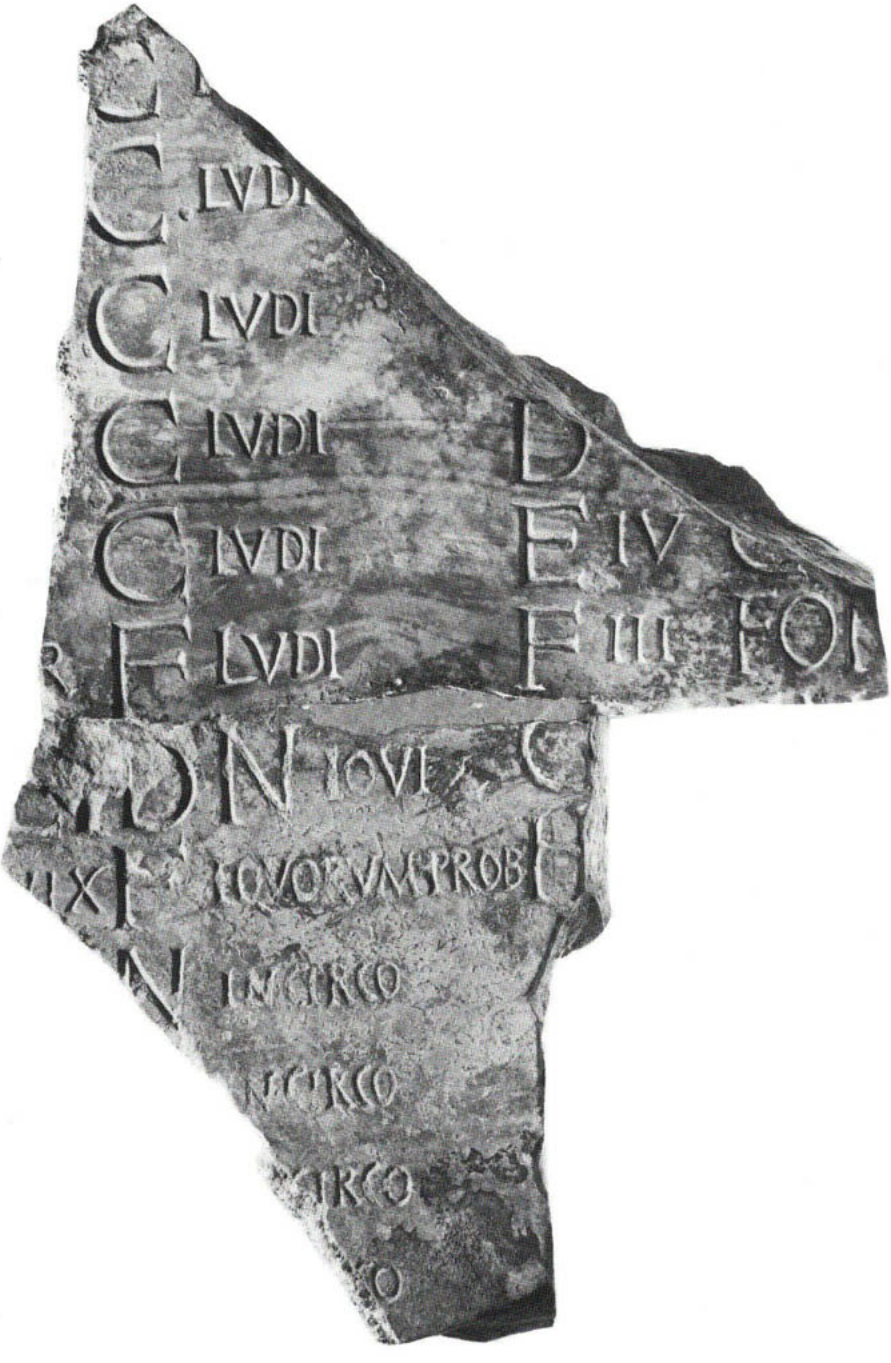
16. CIL X 7347 = ILS, 1559



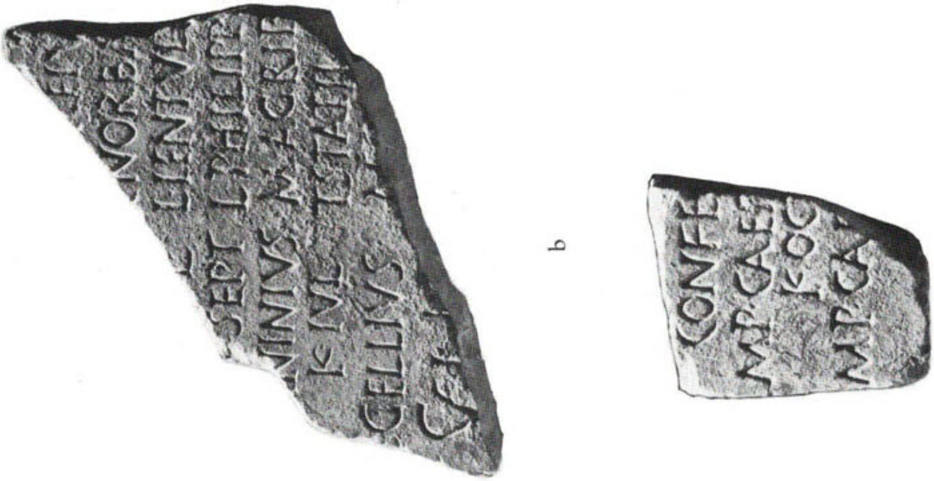
17. *Signaculum* di bronzo, a forma di *planta pedis*


18
CN·POLLIENO·CN·F
TR MIL
LEGIO XII

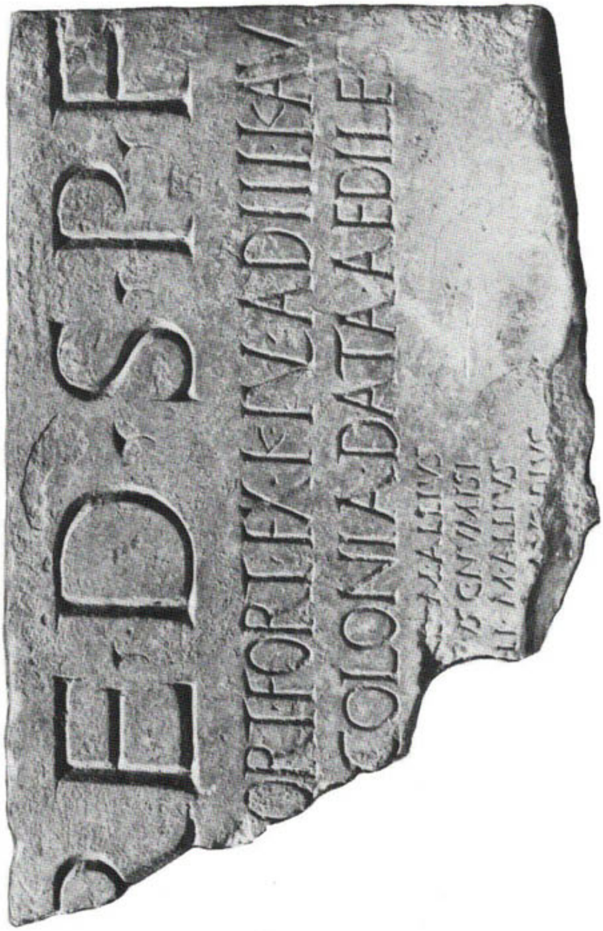
18. CIL X 7349


C LVDI
C LVDI
C LVDI D
C LVDI E IV
F LVDI F III FON
N IOVI C
EQVORVM PROB
N IN CIRCO
CIRCO
CIRCO

19. Frammento di Tauromenium, Cron. di arch., 3, 1964, 38

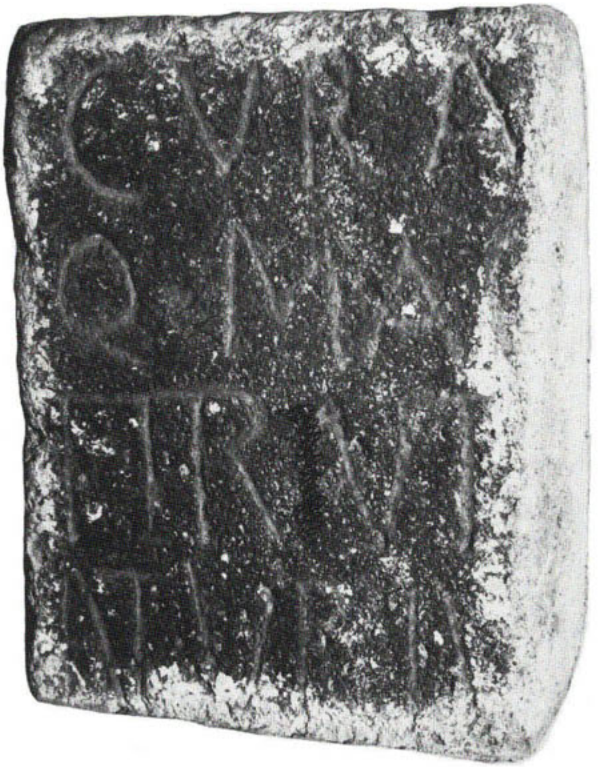


b

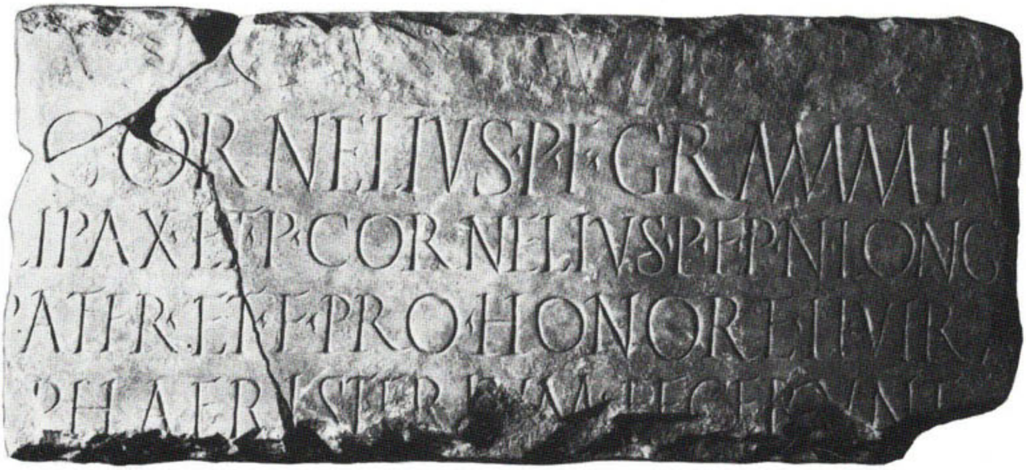


a

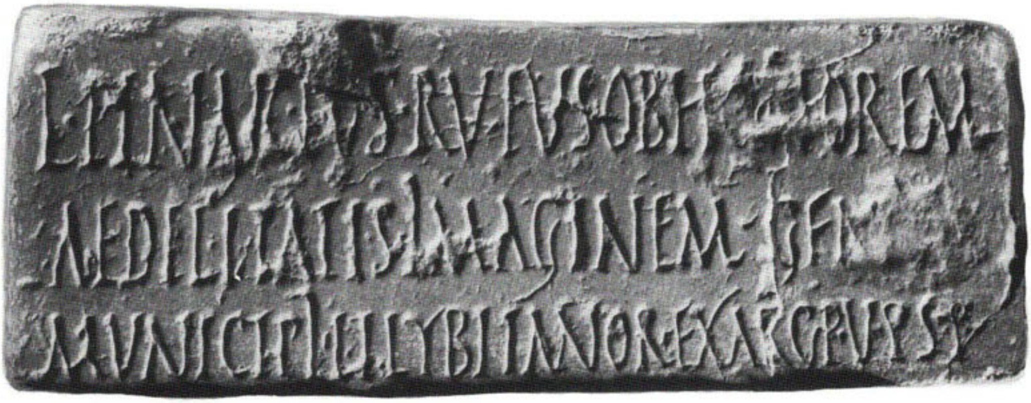
20a.b. Frammenti di Tauromenium, dto.



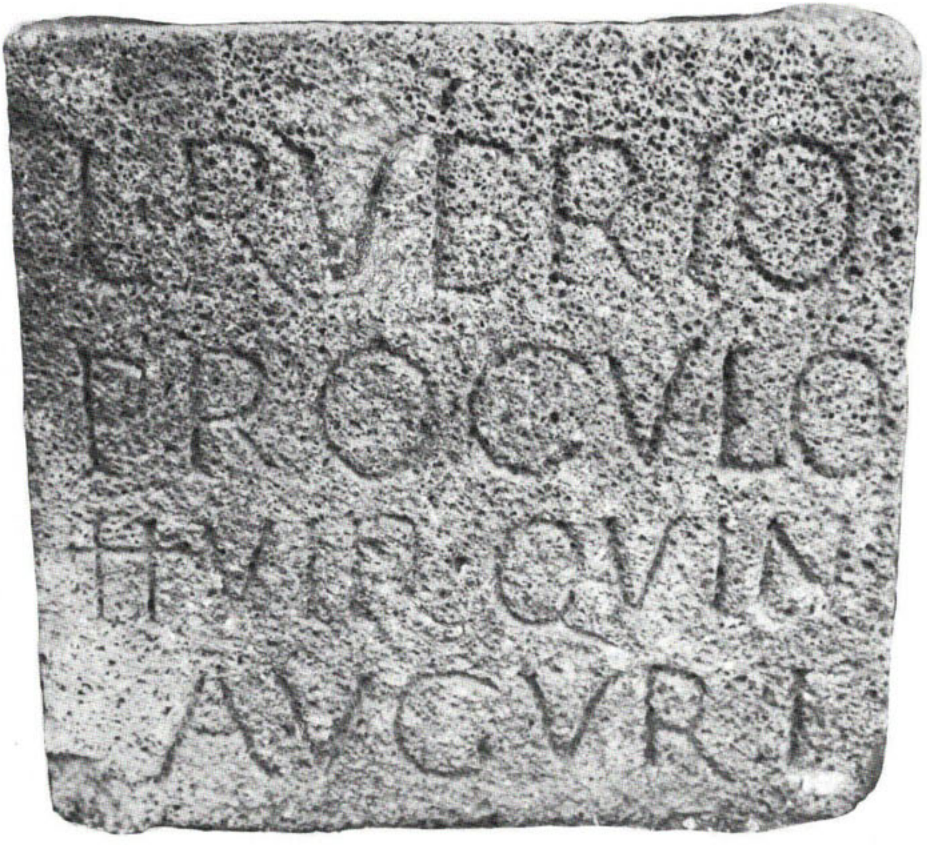
21. CIL X 6999



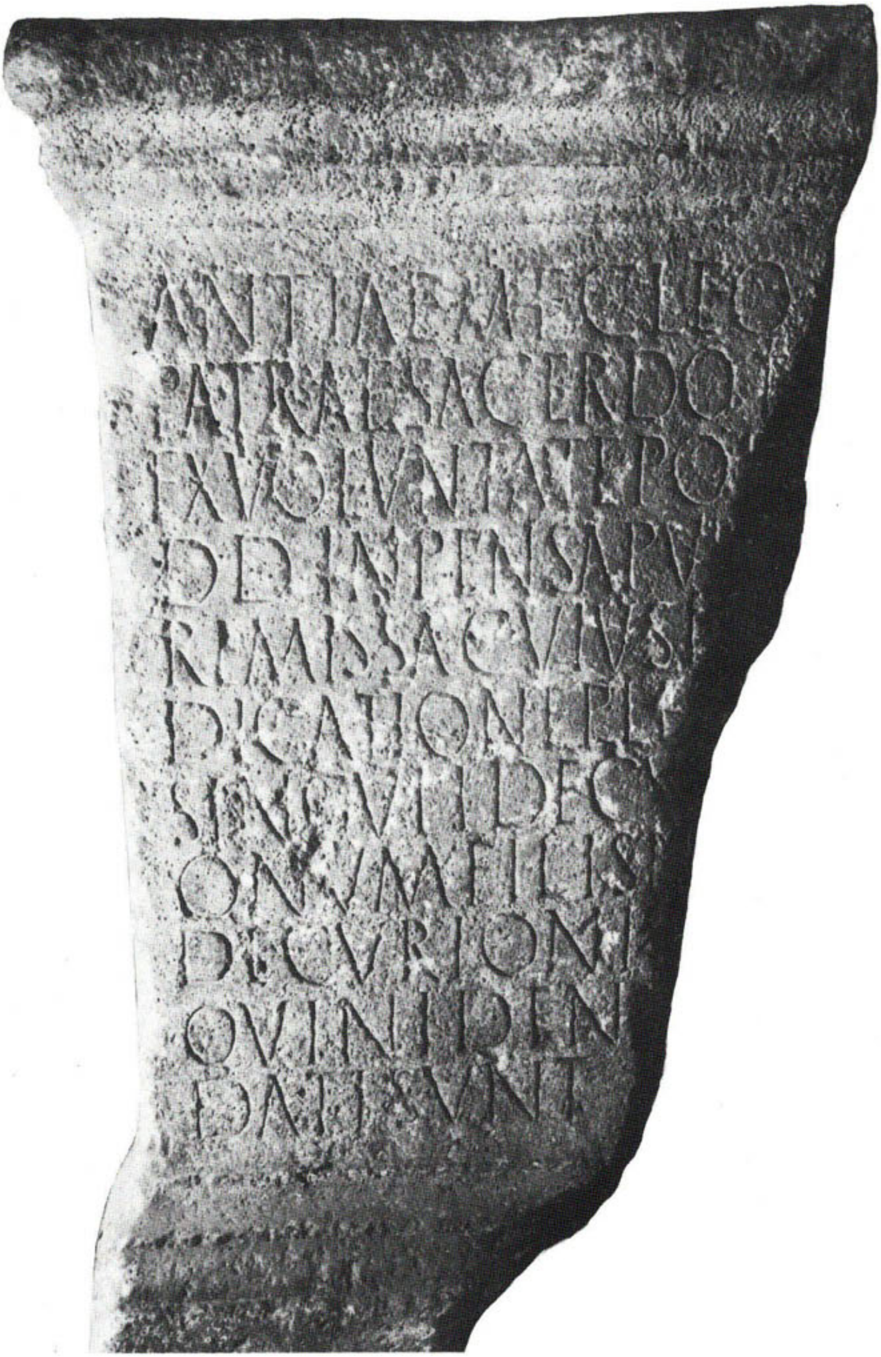
22. CIL X 7004 = ILS, 5663



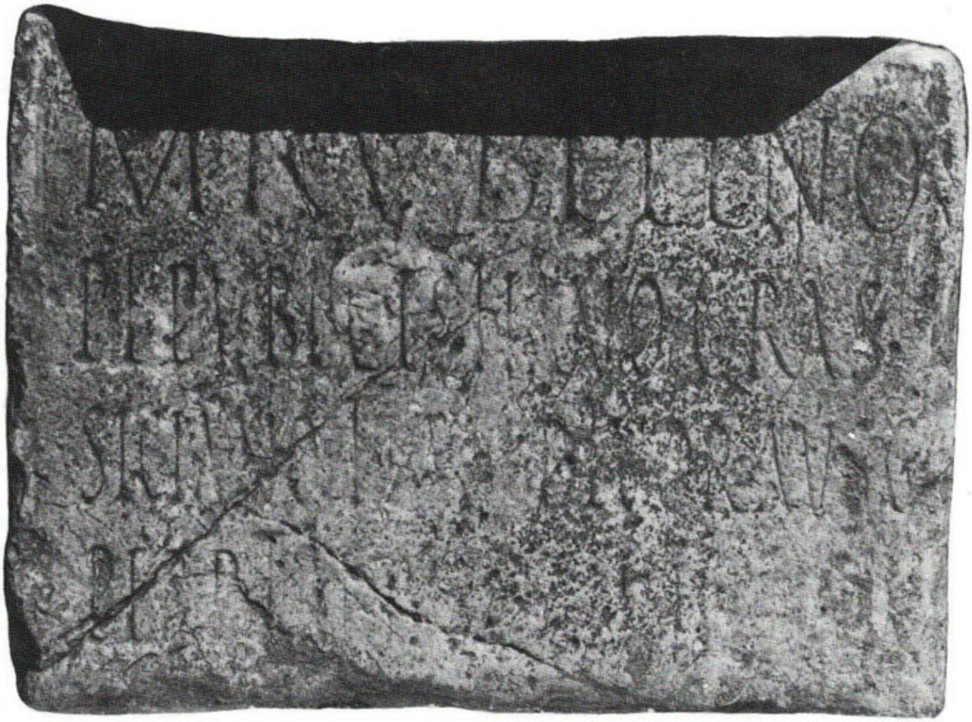
23. ILS, 6768


L·RVBRIO
PROCVLO
IIVIR·QVIN
AVGVRI

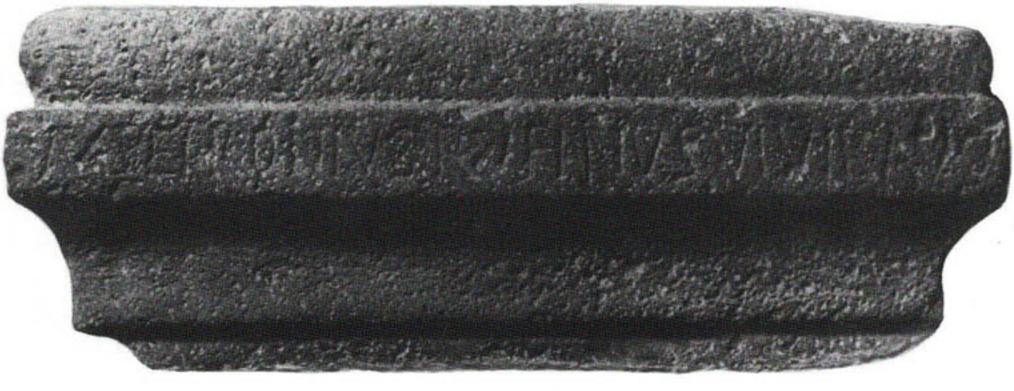
24. CIL X 7028


ANTIAE M F CLEO
PATRAE SACERDO
EX VOLVNTATE PO
D D INPENSA PV
REMISSA CVIVS
DICATIONE PL
SING VIII DEC
ONVM FILIS
DECVRIONI
QVINI DEN
DATI SVNT

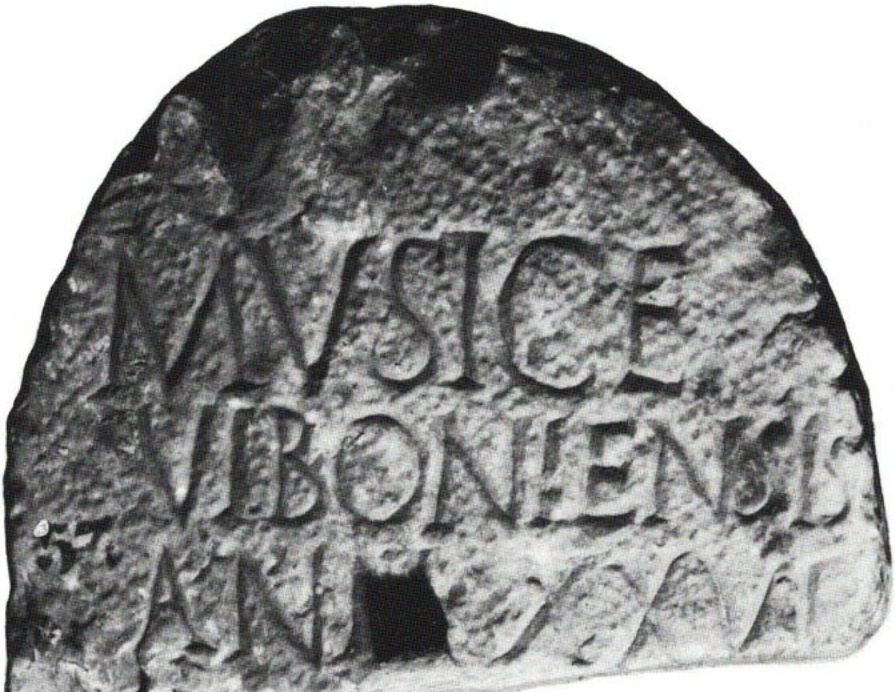
24 bis. CIL X 7352



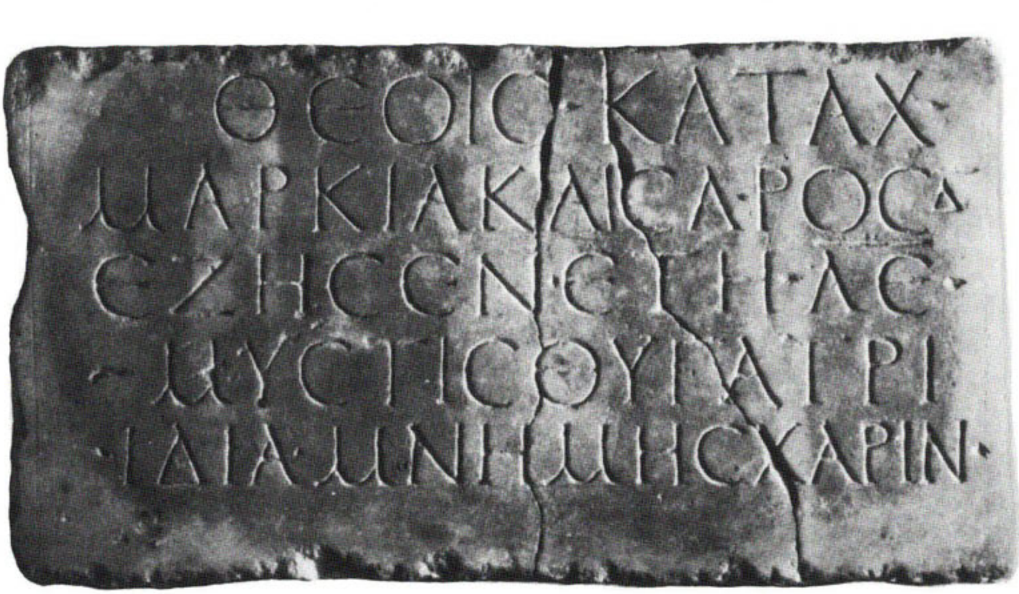
25. CIL X 7212



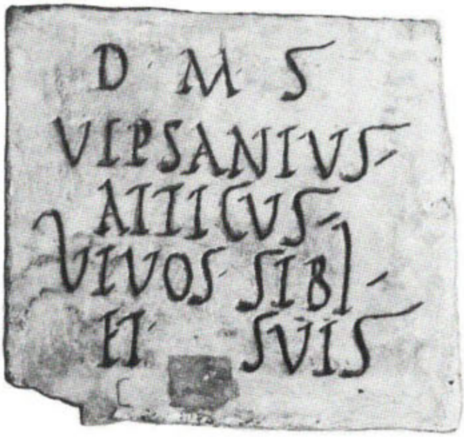
26. CIL X 7027


MVSICE
VIBONIENSI
AN

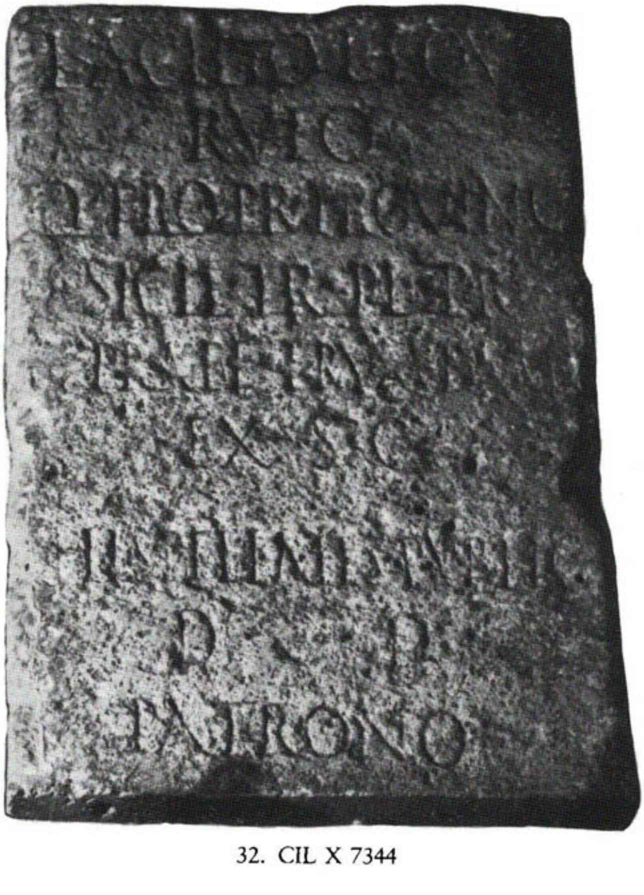
27. CIL X 7365


ΘΕΟΙϹ ΚΑΤΑΧ
ΜΑΡΚΙΑ ΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ Δ
ΕΖΗϹΕΝ ΕΤΗ ΛϹ
ΜΥϹΤΙϹ ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ
ΙΔΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗϹ ΧΑΡΙΝ

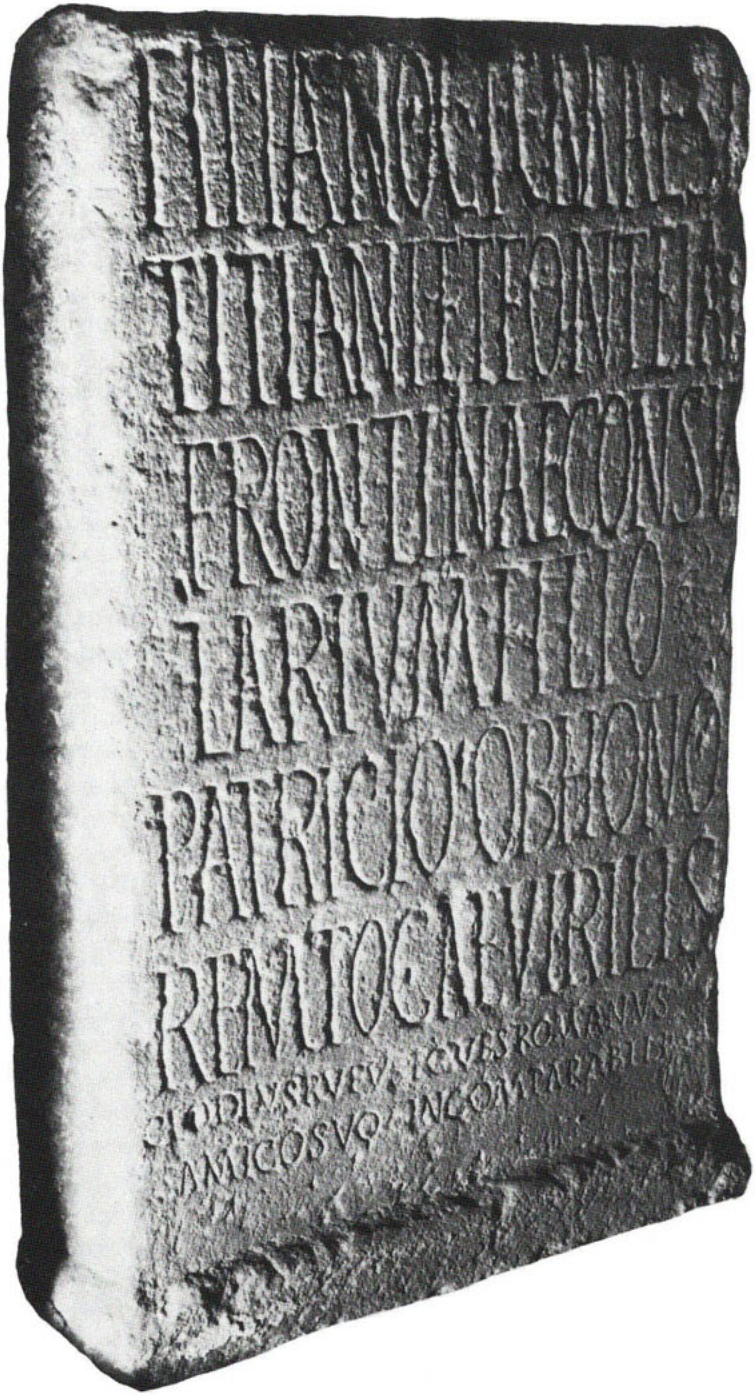
28. IG, XIV 272


D M S
VIPSANIVS
ATTICVS
VIVOS SIBI
ET SVIS

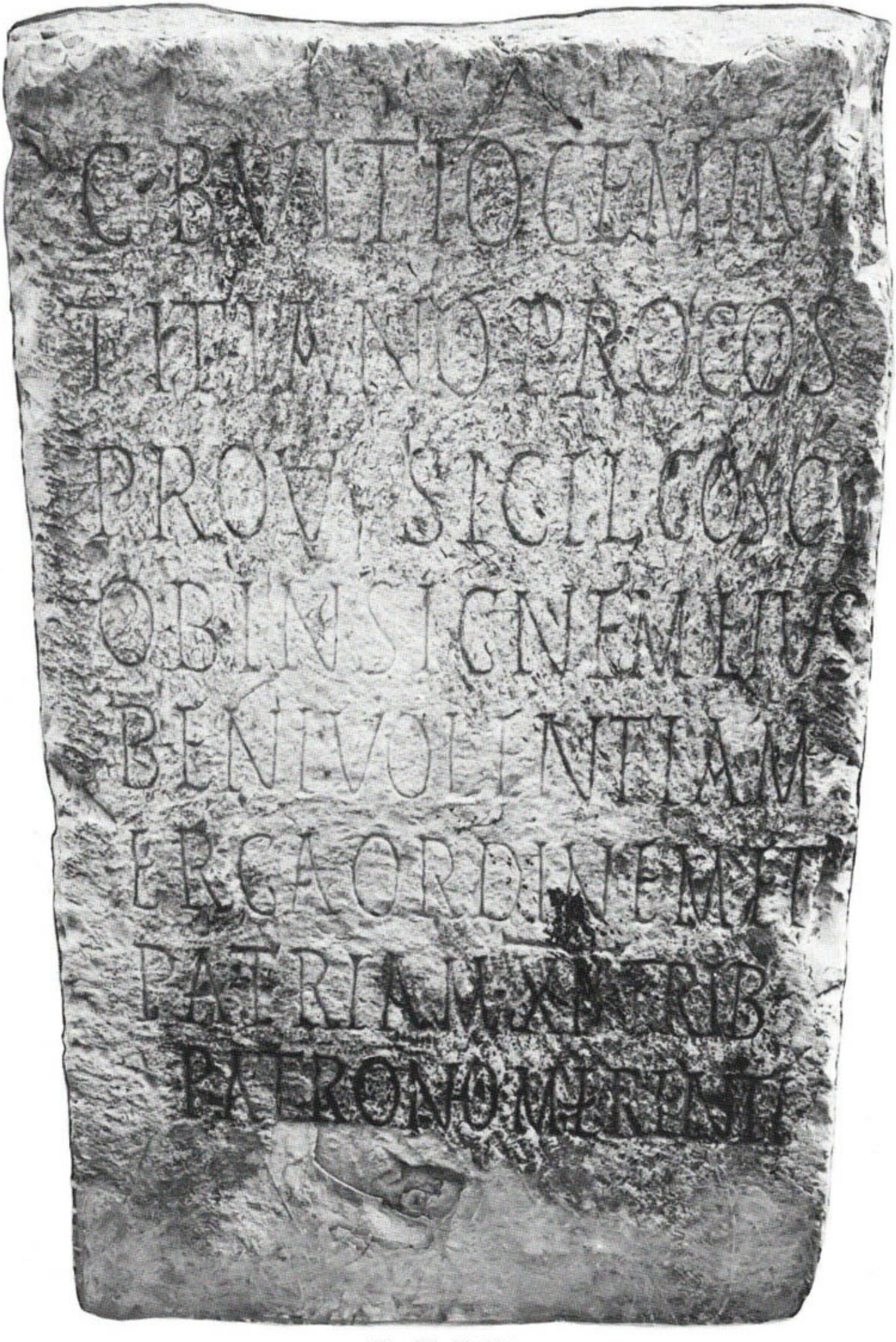
29. CIL X 7101



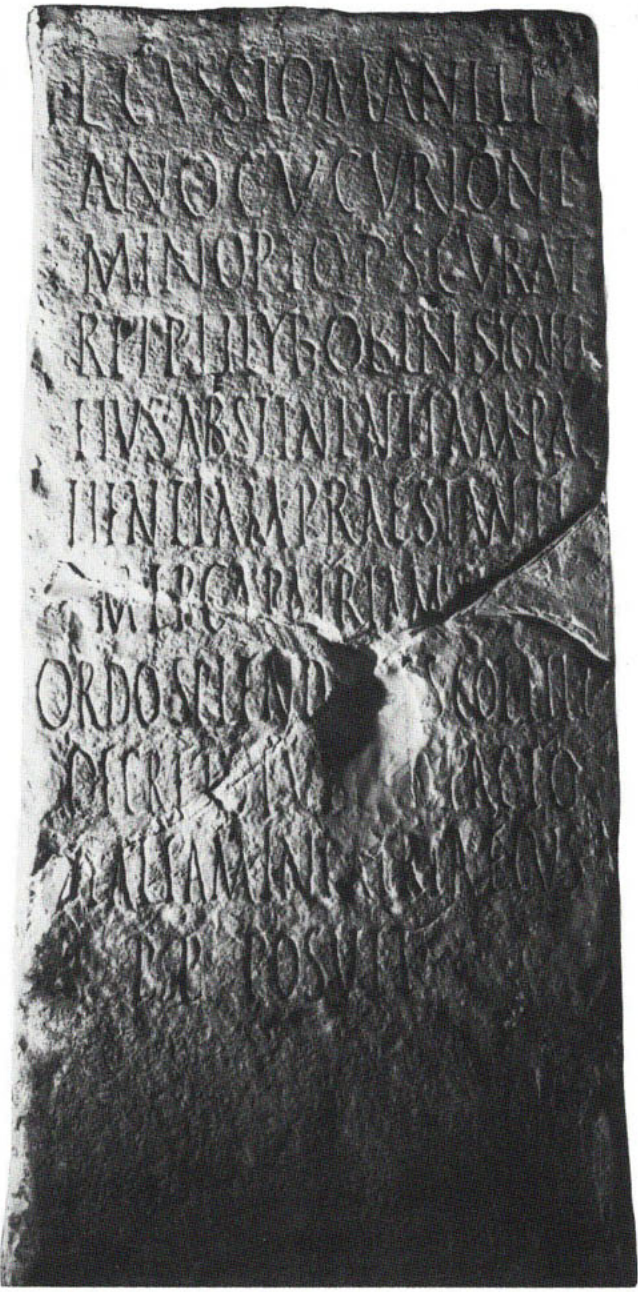
32. CIL X 7344


TITIANI ET FONTEIA
FRONTINAE CONSV
LARIVM FILIO
PATRICIO OB HONO
REM TOGAE VIRILIS
ROMANVS
CLODIVS RVFVS EQVES
AMICO SVO INCOMPARABILI

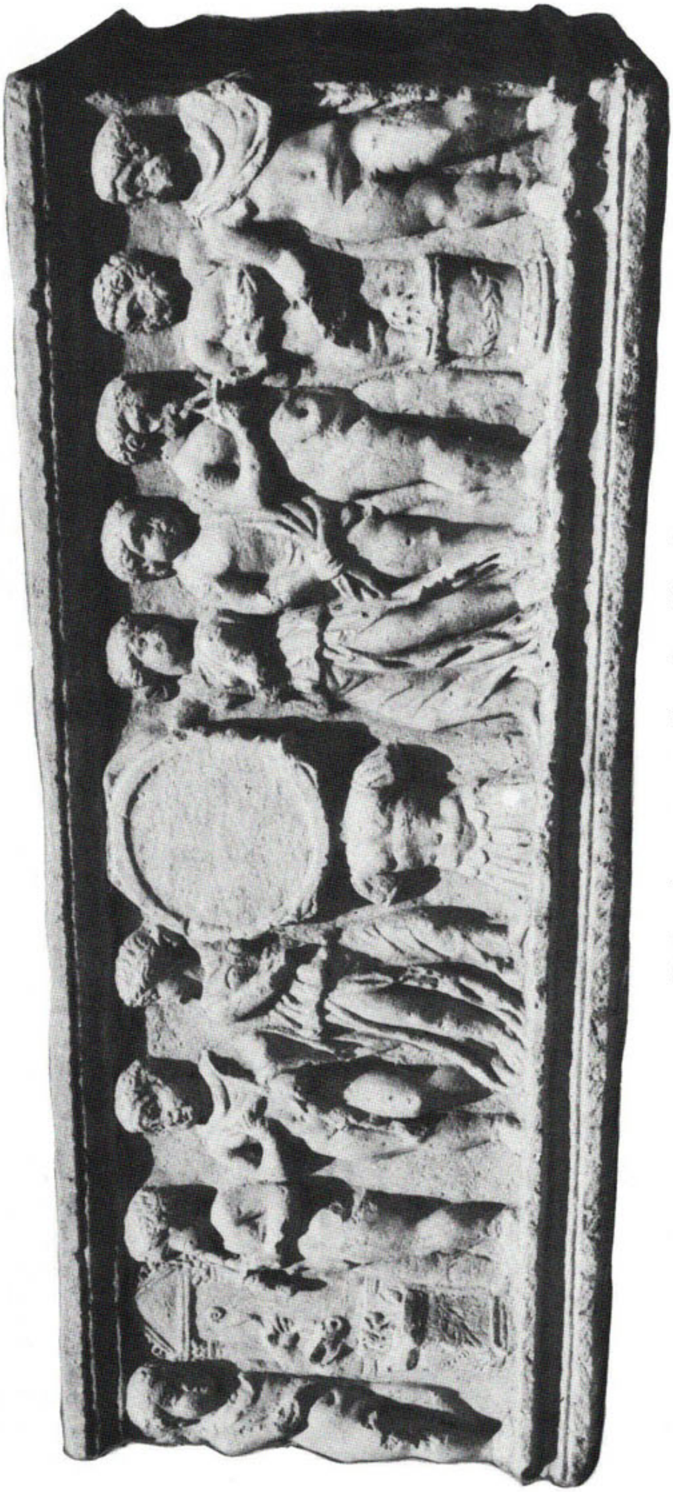
31. CIL X 7346


C·BVLTIO GEMIN
TITIANO PROCOS
PROV SICIL COS C
OB INSIGNEM EIVS
BENIVOLENTIAM
ERGA ORDINEM ET
PATRIAM XII TRIB
PATRONO MERENTI

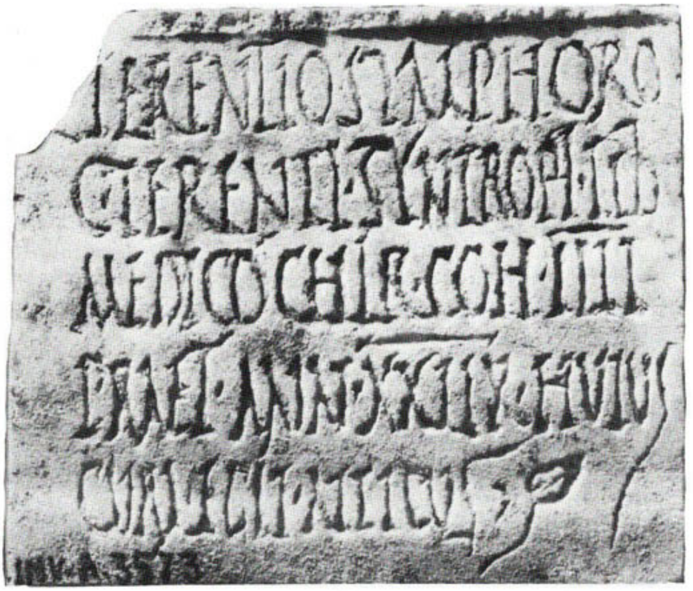
33. CIL X 7233



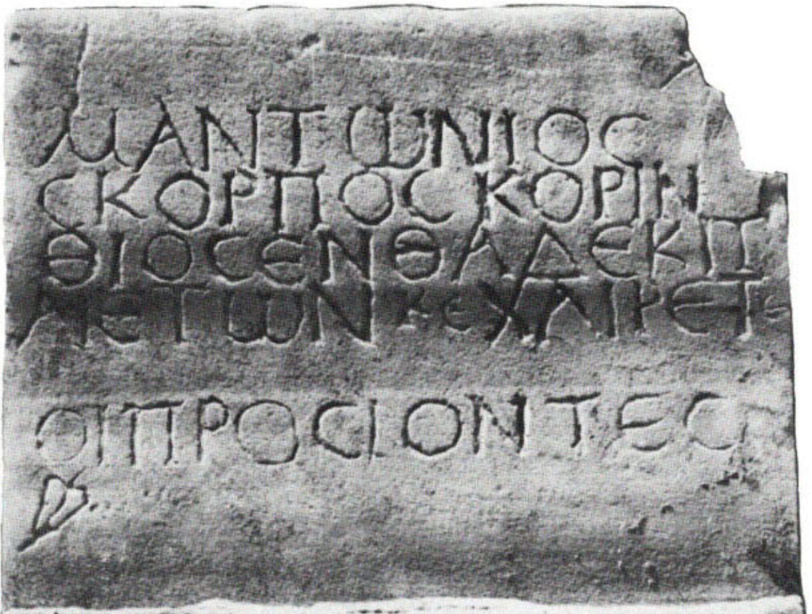
34. Una dedica a Mazara, cf. L. BIVONA, Lilibeo, Marsala 1984, Regione Siciliana, 148



35. Sarcofago con scene di putti sacrificanti



a



b

36a.b. AÉ, 1945, 62

Indice delle illustrazioni

1 (tav. I):	CIL X 7192 = ILS, 6767
2 (tav. I):	Par. del Pass., 6, 1951, 71 n. 5
3 (tav. II):	Par. del Pass., 6, 1951, 69 n. 2
4a.b (tav. III):	Iscrizione rinvenuta nella villa di Piazza Armerina
5 (tav. IV):	Tegula, *A. Anni Erotis*
6 (tav. IV):	Tegula, *Anniorum*
7 (tav. V):	Tegula, *ex of. Porciana*
8 (tav. V):	Tegula, *ex of. Gellii Pelori*
9 (tav. VI):	Tegula, *ex praediis M. Aureli Commodiani*
10 (tav. VI):	Tegula, CIL X 8044,9
11 (tav. VII):	Tegula, *Romae. A. Annio Eroti, (ex of.) Cattianensi*
12 (tav. VII):	CIL X 7041
13 (tav. VIII):	CIL X 7022
14 (tav. VIII):	CIL X 7022
15 (tav. IX):	Iscrizione funeraria di Akrai, IG, XIV 235
16 (tav. X):	CIL X 7347 = ILS, 1559
17 (tav. X):	*Signaculum* di bronzo, a forma di *planta pedis*
18 (tav. XI):	CIL X 7349
19 (tav. XII):	Frammento di Tauromenium, Cron. di arch., 3, 1964, 38.
20a.b (tav. XIII):	Frammenti di Tauromenium, dto.
21 (tav. XIV):	CIL X 6999
22 (tav. XIV):	CIL X 7004 = ILS, 5663
23 (tav. XV):	ILS, 6768
24 (tav. XV):	CIL X 7028
24 bis (tav. XVI):	CIL X 7352
25 (tav. XVII):	CIL X 7212
26 (tav. XVII):	CIL X 7027
27 (tav. XVIII):	CIL X 7365
28 (tav. XVIII):	IG, XIV 272
29 (tav. XIX):	CIL X 7101
30 (p. 52 n. 256):	V. GENTILI, Arch. stor. sirac., 7, 1961, 23
31 (tav. XX):	CIL X 7346
32 (tav. XIX):	CIL X 7344
33 (tav. XXI):	CIL X 7233
34 (tav. XXII):	Una dedica a Mazara, cf. L. BIVONA, Lilibeo, Marsala 1984, Regione Siciliana, 148
35 (tav. XXIII):	Sarcofago con scene di putti sacrificanti
36a.b (tav. XXIV):	AÉ, 1945, 62

Towns of Sicily during the Roman Empire

by R. J. A. WILSON, Dublin

Contents

I. Introduction 93

II. The *coloniae* 101

- 1. Taormina (Tauromenium) 101
- 2. Syracuse (Syracusae) 111
- 3. Catania (Catina) 123
- 4. Tindari (Tyndaris) 136
- 5. Termini Imerese (Thermae Himeraeae) 144
- 6. Palermo (Panhormus) 153
- 7. Marsala (Lilybaeum) 158

III. The Augustan *municipia* 167

- 1. Messina (Messana) 167
- 2. Lipari (Lipara) 170
- 3. S. Marco d'Alunzio (Haluntium) 174
- 4. Castel Tusa (Halaesa) 176
- 5. Agrigento (Agrigentum) 177
- 6. Noto (Netum) 185
- 7. Segesta (Segesta) 185
- 8. Centuripe (Centuripae) 187

IV. Other Towns 189

Conclusions 199

List of Illustrations 204

The present survey attempts to review the evidence, architectural, archaeological, and epigraphical, for the principal towns of Sicily during five and a half centuries, from the reign of Augustus to the Byzantine conquest of A.D. 535. It does no more than touch on material relevant to the period of the Roman Republic, except where buildings underwent structural alteration during the Empire, and the towns which have produced abundant evidence of the third, second and first centuries B.C. but which were abandoned before the beginning of the first century A.D. (such as Megara Hyblaea, Selinus, and

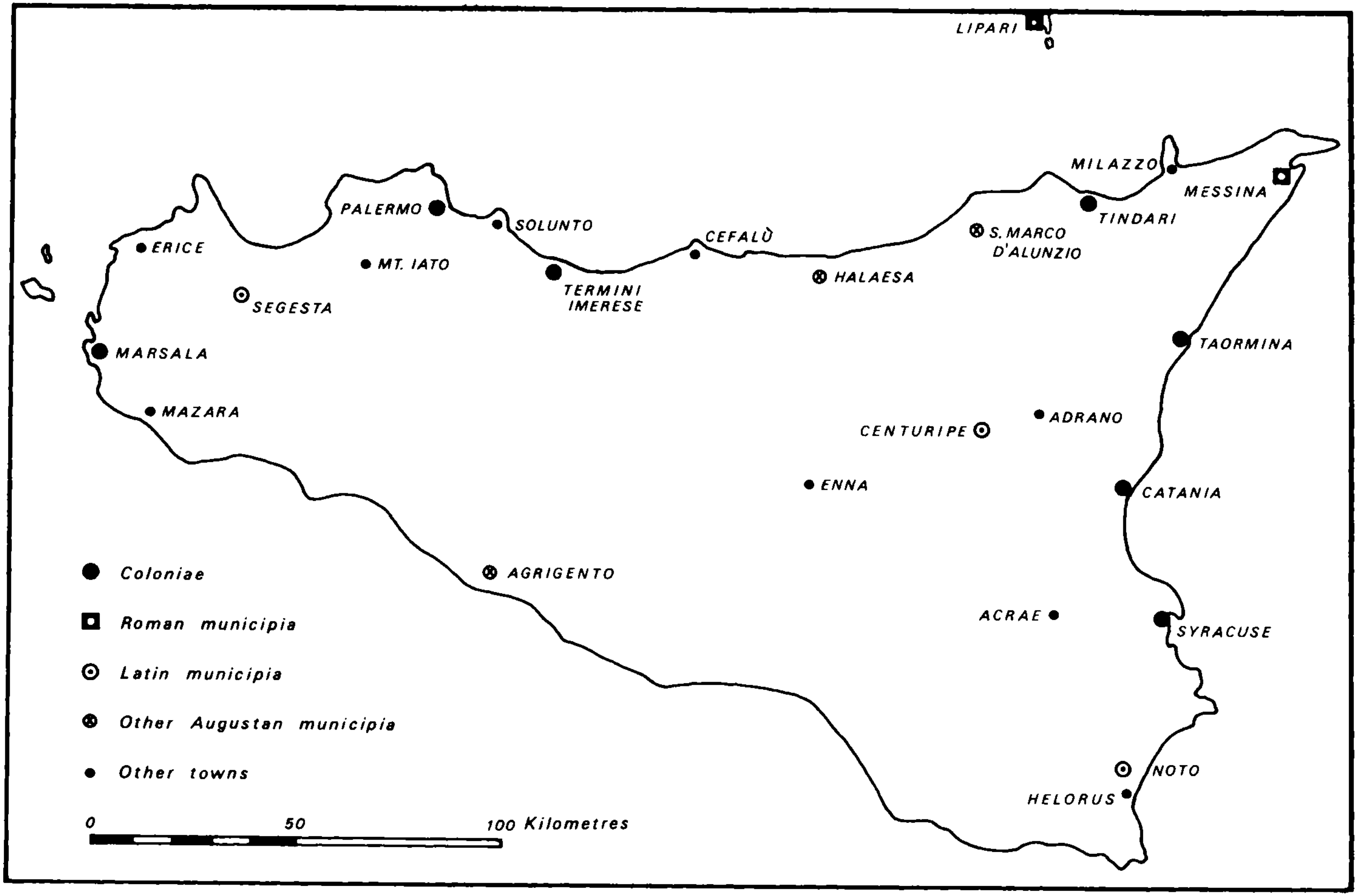

LIPARI
MILAZZO
MESSINA
TINDARI
S. MARCO D'ALUNZIO
CEFALÙ
HALAESA
SOLUNTO
PALERMO
TERMINI IMERESE
MT. IATO
ERICE
SEGESTA
MARSALA
MAZARA
TAORMINA
ADRANO
CENTURIPE
ENNA
CATANIA
AGRIGENTO
ACRAE
SYRACUSE
NOTO
HELORUS
● Coloniae
◘ Roman municipia
⊙ Latin municipia
⊗ Other Augustan municipia
• Other towns
0
50
100 Kilometres

Fig. 1. Sicily, general map showing location of the towns

Heraclea Minoa) have been omitted altogether. Omitted, too, are the numerous lesser settlements, the road-stations and market centres, which flourished under the Empire and which took on many of the functions of the abandoned hill-towns. Rather this survey concentrates on those Greek πόλεις which did survive the upheavals of the late Republic and continued as vital communities during the Roman Empire. The evidence on which it is based is rarely as precise as one would wish. Numerous structures of imperial date are still visible in several towns, but few have been the subject of rigorous study, and the chronology of each has only occasionally been confirmed by selective excavation. Much archaeological evidence remains unpublished, and I am grateful to Professors E. de Miro, P. Pelagatti, G. Voza, and V. Tusa and their staff in the Sicilian Soprintendenze archeologiche, as well as to several other excavators, for providing information in advance of their own reports. The contribution of inscriptions is disappointing. The bulk are funerary and not subject to precise dating; and of those which are more or less closely datable – the relevant number is only about seventy – very few can be identified with confidence as building slabs. Much more excavation is needed before a convincing and coherent outline can be offered of the economic history and development of the towns of the province during the Roman Empire.

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes:

ANRW = H. Temporini and W. Haase (ed.), Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt / Rise and Decline of the Roman World, Berlin – New York
AE = Année Epigraphique
Bivona, ILLMP = L. Bivona, Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1970
CIL = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
EE = Ephemeris Epigraphica
Goldsberry, Cities = M. A. S. Goldsberry, Sicily and its Cities in hellenistic and Roman times, Michigan (University Microfilms) 1979
Houel, VP = J. Houel, Voyage Pittoresque dans les Isles de Sicile, de Lipari et de Malte, 4 volumes, Paris 1782 – 1787
IG = Inscriptiones Graecae
Manni Piraino, IGLMP = M. T. Manni Piraino, Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1973
Pace, ACSA = B. Pace, Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia antica, 4 volumes, Rome and Naples 1936 – 1949; second ed. of vol. I, 1958
PIR = Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PLRE I = A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale and J. Morris (ed.), Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I, Cambridge 1971
PLRE II = J. R. Martindale, Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire II, Cambridge 1980
RE = Pauly – Wissowa, Realencyclopädie
SA = E. Gabba and G. Vallet (ed.), La Sicilia antica, 2 vols. in 5, Naples 1980

This survey was originally written in 1977, but publication has been delayed through no fault of the author until now. I have attempted to update it (in 1986) as far as possible in

I. Introduction

The organization of the Sicilian communities during the last centuries of the Republic is too well known to require detailed discussion here.[1] Of the eight *civitates* granted exemption from the tax system, three were accorded the additional privilege of a treaty with Rome (*foederatae*), namely Messina, Taormina and Noto. The other five, which were *liberae et immunes,* were Centuripe, Castel Tusa (Halaesa), Segesta, Palermo and Halicyae, of which only the last sinks into obscurity during the Empire.[2] The brunt of taxation fell on the remaining communities, and even the eight privileged cities were subject to two provisions of the Roman tax system, the compulsory purchase of a second *tributum* at unilaterally fixed prices (levied sporadically up to 78 B.C.), and the necessity to provide ships and naval crews. None of these communities were granted citizen rights. The first Sicilians to have been enfranchised seem to have been supporters of Sulla during Pompey's operations in the island in 82 B.C., and for the next four decades it was Roman policy to give citizenship to individuals, not whole cities.[3] Altogether, however, very few Sicilians were granted the honour during this period, the evidence of Cicero yielding only some fifteen names;[4] and of two possible *novi homines* in the Senate, probably neither were Sicilian Greeks by birth.[5]

---

order to take account of the work of the past decade, but such a scissors-and-paste operation inevitably has its shortcomings. I had neither the time nor the stomach to rewrite it completely.

[1] See *inter alia* T. FRANK, Rome after the Conquest of Sicily, Cambridge Ancient History VII, Cambridge 1928, 793 – 800; A. HOLM, Storia della Sicilia antica, III, Turin 1901, 132 – 181; S. CALDERONE, Problemi dell'organizzazione della provincia di Sicilia, Kokalos X – XI, 1964 – 5, 63 – 98; M. FINLEY, Ancient Sicily, 2nd. ed. London 1979, 124 – 7; G. MANGANARO, La provincia romana, in: SA II, 415 – 53, esp. 418 – 22; ID., La Sicilia da Sesto Pompeo a Diocleziano, above in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 3 – 89.

[2] Cicero ii in Verr. III.6.13: *Foederatae civitates duae sunt, quarum decumae venire non soleant, Mamertina et Tauromenitana, quinque praeterea sine foedere immunes civitates ac liberae, Centuripina, Halaesina, Segestana, Halicyensis, Panhormitana; praeterea omnis ager Siciliae civitatum decumanus est.* Noto is mentioned as a *civitas foederata* elsewhere: ii in Verr. V.22.56; V.51.133.

[3] A. N. SHERWIN – WHITE, Roman Citizenship, 2nd. ed., Oxford 1973, 306 – 7 with note 2.

[4] SHERWIN – WHITE, loc. cit.

[5] T. P. WISEMAN, New men in the Roman Senate 139 B.C. – A.D. 14, Oxford 1971, 22, with Prosopography nos. 73 and 202; A. FRASCHETTI, Per una prosopografia dello sfruttamento: romani e italici in Sicilia (212 – 44 A.C.), in: A. GIARDINA e A. SCHIAVONE, ed., Società romana e produzione schiavistica. L'Italia: insediamenti e forme economiche, Rome and Bari 1981, 51 – 77, at 72 – 4.

The status of the Sicilian towns between the death of Julius Caesar and the death of Augustus has been the subject of much dispute.[6] Caesar apparently granted the *ius Latii* to all freeborn Sicilians, and this was, according to Cicero, converted to full Roman citizenship by Mark Antony in April 44 on the dubious pretext that such had been Caesar's intention.[7] From April 44, therefore, the towns of Sicily seem to have been fully privileged communities, and indeed on coins of 44–3 issued by Palermo, Lipari, Enna and Halaesa we find the mention of *duoviri* or the title *municipium.*[8] Yet in Pliny's list of the Sicilian cities, which must be based at least in part on an Augustan source, we find only five *coloniae,* two *oppida civium Romanorum* and three towns *Latinae condicionis*; the rest are stipendiary.[9] Despite demonstrable errors in Pliny's account,[10] the importance of this source cannot be overlooked, and it must be assumed that Augustus reversed the policy of his predecessors on the question of franchise, even though Diodorus, writing under Augustus, says nothing about disenfranchisement.[11] This has led some scholars to minimize the importance of Pliny's account, and to assume that Augustus did not remove the grant of Latin rights made by Caesar. DEGRASSI, for example, pointed out that in Sicily the *duoviri* appear not only in the colonies, but also in *municipia* which are only attested as such on inscriptions or coins; he suggested that the duoviral system of the Greek cities of Sicily was modelled on that of the Greek cities of Italy, such as Sorrentum, Herculaneum and Tarentum, which were *municipia* with *duoviri* after the Social War.[12] The documents implying municipal status, however, can be placed either in the period between Antony's grant (44 B.C.) and Octavian's control of Sicily (36 B.C.) or in a period of the Empire later than the date of Pliny's source, and DEGRASSI's proposal is unnecessary.

---

[6] See especially SHERWIN–WHITE, op. cit. in n. 3, 341 and 365 note 1; P. A. BRUNT, Italian manpower, Oxford 1971, 239–41; F. VITTINGHOFF, Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften Mainz, Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftl. Klasse, 1951, 14, Mainz 1951, 70–1, 118–23; GOLDSBERRY, Cities, 498–514.

[7] Cicero, ad Atticum, XIV.12.1: *multa illis Caesar, neque me invito (etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda. verum tamen). Ecce autem Antonius accepta grandi pecunia fixit legem a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani; cuius rei vivo illo nulla mentio.*

[8] M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas, Cambridge 1946, 190–2, 195.

[9] Pliny NH III.86–94. Discussions of the Augustan settlement in Sicily include U. KAHRSTEDT, Die Gemeinden Siziliens in der Römerzeit, Klio XXXV, 1942, 246–67; G. MANGANARO in: SA II, 451–3; G. CLEMENTE, La Sicilia nell'età imperiale, SA II, 465–80, esp. 465–8; GOLDSBERRY, Cities, 498–514. It will be discussed more fully than I have room for here in my forthcoming book, 'Sicily under the Roman Empire', Warminster, Chapter One. Two classic older studies are E. PAIS, Alcune osservazioni sulla storia e sulla amministrazione della Sicilia durante il dominio romano, Archivio Storico Siciliano XIII, 1888, 113–256, esp. 89–144; and O. CUNTZ, Zur Geschichte Siziliens in der cäsarisch-augusteischen Epoche, Klio VI, 1906, 466–76.

[10] For example 'Thermae' on the north coast (Termini Imerese), which was a *colonia,* is confused with the 'Thermae' on the south coast (Sciacca), which was not: Pliny NH III. 90.

[11] Diodorus XIII.35.3.

[12] A. DEGRASSI, Quattuorviri nelle colonie romane, Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei II, 1949–50, 314–5, cf. 323–4; followed by SHERWIN–WHITE, op. cit. (n. 3), 365 note 1, and CLEMENTE, op. cit. (n. 9), 466, 468.

The five *coloniae* listed by Pliny are Taormina, Syracuse, Catania, Tindari and Termini Imerese. At Taormina, Diodorus mentions that the inhabitants were summarily deported for championing the cause of Sextus Pompey (this must have happened in 36 B.C.) and, in the same sentence, that a colony of veterans was settled there.[13] This has been taken to imply that the *colonia* also belongs to 36. Appian, however, reports that the newly released veterans after Naulochus were all sent out of Sicily, and Octavian himself did not linger long in the island that year; on balance it seems more likely that Taormina became a *colonia* only in 21 B.C. as part of the main Augustan settlement.[14] If so, presumably only the leading inhabitants were expelled in 36, not the entire population; the notion of a deserted city for fifteen years is implausible. The *colonia* at Syracuse was certainly founded in 21, and almost certainly too those at Catania, Tindari and Termini Imerese; Dio, however, only specifies Syracuse ἑτέρας τέ τινας πόλεις.[15] At these four *coloniae* there is no evidence that the existing inhabitants were expelled, but it is not known whether Augustus gave them full citizen rights when he planted his veterans among them, or whether citizenship was reserved for only selected individuals and the bulk of the population had a separate administration alongside that of the Roman *colonia.*[16] One other Augustan *colonia,* Palermo, is attested by an inscription, even though it does not appear in Pliny's list: either Pliny has made a mistake, or else it was founded at a date later than Pliny's Augustan source, but before the death of Augustus.[17]

---

[13] Diodorus XVI.7.

[14] A date of 36 B.C. is supported by KORNEMANN, RE IV (1900), col. 526 s.v. coloniae; BRUNT, op. cit. (n. 6), 597; VITTINGHOFF, op. cit. (n. 6), 120 note 8; GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 236; G. MANGANARO, Tauromenitana, Archeologia Classica XV, 1963, 16 (but there is no evidence to suggest that the new colonists were proletarians, not veterans: BRUNT, op. cit., 237, note 1); and GOLDSBERRY, Cities, 637. A foundation in 21 B.C. was supported by MOMMSEN (CIL X, 2, p. 718), and followed by ZIEGLER (RE V A, 1 [1934], col. 28–32, s. v. Tauromenium), DEGRASSI (Memorie dell'Accademia dei Lincei XIII, 1967–8, 28), HOLM (op. cit. in n. 1, 430 note 6), KAHRSTEDT (op. cit. in n. 9, 255), and others. Appian: B.C. V. 129.

[15] Dio LIV.7.1. It is unnecessary to follow those scholars (BELOCH, KORNEMANN, CUNTZ, WILLERS and DE SANCTIS: references are in MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 14, 16 note 15) who assume that because Dio makes no exception for Taormina in his account his date must be wrong and all five *coloniae* were founded in 36 B.C. Nor is there any evidence that Tindari was made a *colonia* later than 21, after having been a ***municipium*** (so MANGANARO, op. cit. [n. 1], 452).

[16] BRUNT, op. cit. in n. 6, 241, thinks the former (cf. Augustus' treatment of Patras [Patrae] in Greece, where colonists and existing inhabitants shared the same privileges: Pausanias VII.18.5). Examples of the latter at Valentia (CIL II, 3739, 3745), and in Asia Minor (e.g. S. MITCHELL, Iconium and Ninica. Two double communities in Roman Asia Minor, Historia XXVIII, 1979, 409–38). For Roman policy in general towards native populations when veteran *coloniae* were founded, see B. M. LEVICK, Roman Colonies in southern Asia Minor, Oxford 1967, 68–72; L. J. F. KEPPIE, Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy, London 1983, ch. 4 and 5.

More problems surround the identification and status of the *municipia* of Augustan Sicily. Two places in Pliny's list, Messina and Lipari, are singled out as *oppida civium Romanorum*. The precise meaning of this term has been hotly disputed, and Pliny is demonstrably inconsistent in his use of it in the various provincial lists where it occurs.[18] For the Sicilian towns it probably indicates the grant of a charter as a full *municipium civium Romanorum*, probably in 21 B.C. at the same time as the foundation of the *coloniae*, although there is no secure external evidence to confirm this. GRANT has suggested that a coin of Lipari mentioning, in Greek, the *duoviri* C. Marcius and L. Ausonius, was issued in c. 36 B.C. to celebrate her retention of municipal status, after Octavian had stripped the rest of the island of this privilege;[19] but the coin might equally well belong to the period 44 – 36 when other Sicilian cities struck issues to commemorate Antony's grant. Lipari was probably awarded this special status since her people, having hastily defended themselves against a possible invasion by Sextus Pompey, were subsequently removed to Naples and so took no part in the struggles of 38 – 36. Messina also resisted Pompey in 40 but later succumbed.[20] Both places are anyway likely to have had a strong Italian element in their populations during the late Republic and to have been obvious candidates for full Roman status, although neither is specifically mentioned by Cicero as having contained a *conventus civium Romanorum*.

Three further places in Pliny's list, Segesta, Centuripe and Noto, are described as being *Latinae condicionis*, which probably means that they were Latin-status *municipia* with the *ius Latii*.[21] Segesta is called a *municipium* on an inscription found there of uncertain date. It commemorates C. Julius Longus, *duumvir,* who also appears on coinage which has been ascribed to the period 44/3; but the dating of both coin and inscription is uncertain, and it is unclear whether the man held office during the Triumviral period or after the Augustan reorganization.[22] A later coin issue, from Segesta, with the head of Augustus, with its legend in Greek,[23] does not mention municipal status. Centuripe's position as a *municipium* by the early second century is confirmed by the presence of *duoviri* on an inscription of that date, and of Augustales on another stone.[24] About Noto we have no information.

---

[17] CIL X, 7279, col. Aug. Panhorm. (cf. 7286 col. Panhormit.). Strabo (VI.2.5) also names it as a *colonia*, so that its foundation must have been before A.D. 18 (the *terminus ante quem* on internal evidence for Strabo's work; cf. F. LASSERRE, Strabon devant l'Empire romain, ANRW II. 30.1, Berlin and New York 1982, 867 – 896, at 869, n. 4), but a Tiberian foundation is unlikely: VITTINGHOFF, op. cit. (n. 6), 120 note 9; BRUNT, op. cit. (n. 6), 597. If the foundation was after 21 B.C., the most likely date is 14 B.C., the only year after 21 when Augustus is known to have made land settlements (KEPPIE, op. cit. in n. 16, 83 – 6): so S. C. STONE, Sextus Pompey, Octavian and Sicily, AJA LXXXVII, 1983, 11 – 22, at 22, n. 96. But other colonies settled in that year (e.g. Patras, Beirut) are included by Pliny as such. BRUNT (op. cit. in n. 6, 238, 240, 264, 597) thinks the Palermo *colonia* was founded between 8 B.C. and A.D. 14, but if a veteran colony this is unparalleled. A *colonia civica* seems improbable, and no certain honorary *colonia* is known before Claudius. On balance I think Palermo was settled with the rest in 21 B.C. and that Pliny has made a mistake.

[18] Cf. SHERWIN – WHITE, op. cit. in n. 3, 344 – 50.

[19] GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 195.

[20] GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 199 assigns a coin of Sisenna (*proconsul*) and L. Statius Flaccus and P. Cotta Bal. (*duoviri*) as its 'foundation issue', but the link with Messina is unconvincing. E. GABRICI, La monetazione del bronzo della Sicilia antica, Palermo 1927, 162, no. 337, assigns it to Palermo. For Lipari, Dio XLVIII.17.4.

[21] Pliny NH III.91. I here follow SHERWIN-WHITE, op. cit. (n. 3), 233, 337, and BRUNT, op. cit. (n. 6), 584 – 8, 602 – 7, in accepting that a grant of *ius Latii* was accompanied by

There are, however, four further candidates for municipal status under Augustus which do not appear as either Latin or Roman *municipia* in Pliny's list: either he is in error, or their elevation to municipal status occurred later than the date of Pliny's source. The four towns are S. Marco d'Alunzio (Haluntium), Castel Tusa (Halaesa), Marsala (Lilybaeum) and Agrigento (Agrigentum). The evidence for the first two is unequivocal: there are inscriptions set up to Augustus by the *municipium* from both places.[25] In the case

---

promotion of the community to the rank of *municipium.* For a more negative view, which emphasizes the lack of explicit evidence for this link, as well as the fact that the *ius Latii* could be awarded to communities without the title of *municipium,* see F. MILLAR, The Emperor in the Roman World, London 1977, 398–406.

[22] AE 1945, 64; *C. IVLIO C. F. LON[go] DVVM. VIRO MVNICIPIVM H [c. p.* For the coin, GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 190, who ascribes it to Palermo, without being aware of the Segesta inscription.

[23] GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 335.

[24] CIL X, 7004 (= BIVONA, ILLMP, no. 3) and G. LIBERTINI, Nuove indagini sulle costruzioni presso il Mulino Barbagallo. Campagna di scavo 1950–1951, Notizie degli Scavi 1953, 365 (= AE 1955, 193). The ἀποικίαν Κε[ντοριπίνων of a Greek inscription (Rendiconti dell Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli XXXVIII, 1963, 23 = Revue des Études Grecques LXXXVIII, 1965, 197–9 = AE 1966, 165) may belong to early in 44 B.C., immediately after Caesar's granting of *ius Latii* to the Sicilians, in which case Caesar probably intended the Sicilian communities to be *coloniae Latinae* with *quattuorviri* on the same model as his settlements in Narbonensis from c. 45; but within a few months Antony had converted the *ius Latii* to full citizenship, which explains why all the other coins and inscriptions attributable to the period 44–36 B.C. have the title *municipia* with *duoviri* rather than *quattuorviri* as magistrates. MANGANARO (in: Rendiconti ... di Napoli, loc. cit.) originally dated the inscription to post-36, and thinks that Centuripe was an Augustan *colonia Latina,* but such a status as late as 21 B.C. (the presumed date of the main Augustan settlement in Sicily) is most improbable. GOLDSBERRY, Cities, 507–9, however, accepts MANGANARO's date and assumes that Segesta and Noto were likewise *coloniae Latinae*; she further hypothesizes that since Segesta is a *municipium* on AE 1945, 64, it was promoted to full Roman status during Augustus' reign, but there is no evidence for this. G. MANGANARO, Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion, e il P. Oxy. 1241, Parola del Passato XXIX, 1974, 389–409, at 399, has now suggested that the Centuripe inscription belongs to the second century B.C., without explaining why the city is an ἀποικία at such a date.

[25] CIL X, 7463 and 7458. From Haluntium there is also a Greek inscription, IG XIV, 367, erected by τὸ μουνικίπιον τῶν Ἁλοντίνων. M. T. MANNI PIRAINO (IGLMP, 68–9, no. 44) ascribes it to the second century A.D., but the honorand, Gn. Pollienus son of

of Castel Tusa there is supporting evidence from a coin naming M. Pacceius as DVVMVIR AVG(*usti*) DES(*ignatus*).[26] At Agrigento a coin commemorates Sextus Rufus as DVVMVIR and L. Clodius Rufus as proconsul. The mention of the *duumvir* implies municipal status, and if this is a 'foundation-issue', as GRANT believes, Agrigento's award of this status must have been after 2 B.C., as Augustus is described as P(*ater*) P(*atriae*).[27] The Marsalan coin also mentions a proconsul (Q. Terentius Culleo) but not *duoviri*; municipal status is, however, probable.[28] Presumably all had the *ius Latii* rather than full Roman franchise.[29]

The rest of the cities and communities listed by Pliny appear to have been left without any special privileges.[30] But the granting of municipal status

---

Pollienus, lacks a *cognomen*, as does the Gn. Pollienus son of Gnaeus at Termini Imerese (CIL X, 7349–7350), so neither are likely to be later than the mid first century A.D. (as also pointed out by G. ALFÖLDY in Gnomon XLVIII, 1976, 512). The two are probably father and son; and if the Termini Imerese inscriptions are Augustan, as seems likely, then the Haluntium stone may belong to the period 44–36 B.C. (so too G. MANGANARO, Per una storia della Sicilia romana, ANRW I.1, Berlin and New York 1972, 457 with note 79).

[26] GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 195–6, who suggests that such a title was appropriate only for an issue celebrating municipal status (an unsupported contention). For a more recent brief discussion of the difficult coinage of this period, MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 25, 457–61. GRANT also assigns a "foundation issue" to Haluntium, a coin naming SEPT ET BALB as *duoviri* and L. Seius as proconsul (if the same man as the L. Seius Tubero who was *cos. suff.* in A.D. 18 and legate of Germany in A.D. 16, then the coin must be c. 12/14), but the evidence for ascribing it to Haluntium is slight. MANGANARO, ibid. 460, assigns it to Palermo, following GABRICI, op. cit. in n. 20, 156, no. 123.

[27] GRANT's view (op. cit. [n. 8], 198), for which evidence is slight, is that the naming of a proconsul on Roman city-currency usually occurs only on foundation issues. The mention of δυοῖν ἀνδρῶν on another inscription (P. GRIFFO, Contributi epigrafici agrigentini, Kokalos IX, 1963, 177–84) belongs (pace GRIFFO) to the period 44–36, as rightly noted by G. MANGANARO, Iscrizioni latine e greche dal nuovo edificio termale di Taormina, Cronache di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte III, 1964, 38–68, at 55; so probably too does IG XIV, 954, referring to μουνι]κ̣ιπίωι τῶν Ἀκραγαντί[νων (cf. J. DE WAELE, Acragas Graeca I, The Hague 1971, 37–8). See also note 350 below.

[28] For Marsala's coinage A. CUTRONI TUSA, Le emissioni monetali di Lilibeo, Sicilia Archeologica XI, no. 38, 1978, 54–8, at 56–7. CIL X, 7223 mentions a statue of the Genius Municipi Lilybitanorum, but this may of course be later than Augustus. CIL X, 7237 mentions a tribe of Jupiter Augustus, which might have been named in Augustus' honour as a result of municipal elevation.

[29] Pace GRANT, op. cit. (n. 8), 189–199 and MANGANARO, op. cit. (n. 1), 452, who presume the latter; however BRUNT, op. cit. (n. 6), 605 prefers the former, at least for Agrigentum (and cf. ibid, 241). All except Haluntium are known to have had *conventus civium Romanorum* under the Republic, but that is not relevant to their status under Augustus; nor is the fact that these cities coined in Latin under Augustus, while Latin-status Segesta had at least one contemporary issue with a Greek legend (above, note 23).

[30] I do not accept the alternative view that Augustus did not revoke Caesar's grant of *ius Latii*, which rests partly on the lack of a specific mention of such action in the sources, and partly on the unnecessary suggestion of K. J. BELOCH a propos of Pliny NH III.91: *intus autem Latinae condicionis Centuripini, Netini, Segestani, stipendiarii Assorini* etc. BELOCH postulated (Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt, Leipzig 1886, 327)

continued after Augustus, and other places are known to have achieved it at some unknown period later in the Empire. Inscriptions make it clear that Gozo was a *municipium* by the mid second century, and the presence of decurions in neighbouring Malta presupposes the existence of a charter there too.[31] The same is true also of Solunto (PA), where an inscription of A.D. 202/5, the last datable document from the hilltown, was set up 'by decree of the decurions', and the same formula has also been restored on a fragmentary inscription from Adrano.[32] The hill town of Tripi (ME), where a *duovir* is attested, has also to be included in this class,[33] and if a mutilated tombstone from Cefalù (PA) does indeed refer to a *sevir Augustalis,* then that town too was presumably granted municipal status, as these officials of the imperial cult are not normally found outside chartered communities.[34]

Such evidence as there is, therefore, would seem to point to an extension of municipal rights even to remote, outlying towns of the province: but there are too few inscriptions to document the process in detail (but cf. below, p. 101). We do not know if any of the Latin-status *municipia* applied for full Roman municipal status, and only Marsala is known to have been promoted from *municipium* to *colonia.*[35] We do not even know for certain that all the Augustan *coloniae* were veteran settlements, although this seems likely, as there are no military tombstones except at Termini Imerese.[36] We know very

---

that the phrase *Latinae condicionis* applied not only to the three communities listed immediately after it, but also to all the *stipendiarii* as well, the distinction being that the first three were tax-free (*immunes*), the rest not. Beloch's solution has been highly influential: it was accepted by V. M. Scramuzza, Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, III, Baltimore 1937, 348, note 7, and more recently by Manganaro, op. cit. (n. 1), 452 and Clemente, op. cit. (n. 9), 466–7. But the Latin of Pliny is perfectly straightforward and requires no such desperate emendation, and the use of the term *stipendiarii* elsewhere by Pliny to mean unprivileged communities as opposed to those with Roman or Latin status also argues against Beloch's interpretation.

[31] Gozo: CIL X, 7507, recording a *patronus* of the *municipium* who was a *flamen* of the deified Hadrian, cf. 7503–6, 7508. Malta: CIL X, 7495, 8318.

[32] Solunto: CIL X, 7336 = Bivona, ILLMP, 63–4, no. 48, but see also the discussion by Manni Piraino, IGLMP, 144–7, no. 114. Adrano: G. Manganaro, Iscrizioni di Adrano, Parola del Passato XIV, 1961, 126–135, who dubiously restores $D^{R}[$ as *d(ecu)r(ionum) [d(ecreto)*.

[33] F. Villard, Tripi. Ricerche ad Abacaenum, Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 50. *Duoviri* need not, however, automatically imply chartered status, at least in Gaul, where *duoviri* seem to have been the chief magistrates of the tribal *civitates* (cf. CIL XIII, 1050).

[34] Cefalù appears in the lists of L. R. Taylor, Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: a Chronological Study, Transactions of the American Philological Association XLV, 1914, 231–253, and of R. Duthoy, Recherches sur la répartition géographique et chronologie des termes Sevir Augustalis, Augustalis et Sevir dans l'Empire romain, Epigraphische Studien XI, 1976, 143–214, on the strength of CIL X, 7456: *OPPIVS VALEN ... AVG III ET ...* (= [*Sevir*] *Aug.* for third time?). For a *sevir Augustalis* in a place other than a chartered community, cf. CIL XIII, 7271 and Bonner Jahrbücher CLXXII, 1972, 229 (*civitas Mattiacorum*).

[35] CIL X, 7205 and 7228.

[36] Some were certainly military: Augustus, Res Gestae 28.

little too about either the extent or the administration of the *territoria* of these chartered communities. Major redistributions of land, for example, must have been carried out for administrative purposes on the disappearance of some of the former Greek πόλεις: the territory of Heraclea Minoa, for instance, abandoned not later than 20 B.C., was presumably divided between the cities of Marsala and Agrigento.[37] Each chartered community must have controlled a number of *vici* in its territory, some of which, such as Mazara near Marsala, were flourishing communities in their own right,[38] but none of their own magistrates, the *magistri vici,*[39] are attested in Sicily during the Roman Empire. Nine λαυράρχοι at Taormina, documented in a Greek inscription datable to the period 42 – 36 B.C.,[40] were responsible for the villages in the city's territory, but it is not known if a similar system continued after the establishment of the Augustan *coloniae*. We also know nothing about the organization of the communities without municipal status, the *oppida* and *civitates stipendiariae* of Pliny's list.[41] Though technically *vici* in Roman law, they presumably continued to be self-governing units with their own council and magistrates, just as they had been for many centuries. But to what extent such communities under the Empire retained the same Greek constitutions which had operated during the Republic, while their chartered neighbours adopted the municipal system of the Roman west, is at present uncertain, for there are virtually no inscriptions of undoubted imperial date from such communities.[42] One possibility is that the Greek constitutions still in use in the *civitates stipendiariae* at the time of Augustus' death did not remain for long, and that the half a dozen individual towns already noted which received municipal status at some stage later than the death of Augustus received it not as a result of individual petition but as part of a block grant of *ius Latii* given to the Sicilian communities by some later Emperor. There is no evidence for any such wholesale grant, but such a hypothesis does help to explain both why such a remote and apparently unlikely candidate for municipal honours as Tripi (Abacaenum) has produced an inscription mentioning *duoviri,* and why inscriptions documenting the continued use of a Greek constitution by the *civitates stipendiariae* during the Empire are wholly absent. If such a wholesale conferment of *ius Latii* did occur, perhaps Vespasian is the most likely emperor to have granted it: he was similarly generous to the Spanish provinces, and is known to have shown interest in Sicily.[43] Such a hypothesis, however, must remain pure speculation until further epigraphic evidence is forthcoming.

---

[37] Unless the town of Sciacca (Thermae Selinuntinae, cf. Strabo VI.2.9; later Aquae Larodes, cf. Antonine Itinerary 89.4, or Aquae Labodes, cf. Tabula Peutingeriana VI.1) was an independent city with a *territorium* of its own after the demise of Selinus, on which see J. Bovio Marconi, Inconsistenza di una Selinunte romana, Kokalos III, 1957, 70 – 8. On the abandonment of Heraclea Minoa, a site which has produced no Italian sigillata pottery, see E. de Miro, L'Antiquarium e la zona archeologica di Eraclea Minoa, Rome 1965, 7; Id., Heraclea Minoa. Risultati archeologici e storici dei primi scavi sistematici nell'area dell'abitato, Kokalos XII, 1966, 221 – 33, at 224, 233.

[38] See below, pp. 193 ff.

[39] e. g. CIL IX, 3574; CIL III, 7466 and 7536.

[40] G. Manganaro, op. cit. (n. 27), 53 – 68.

[41] The opinion of V. M. Scramuzza, op. cit. (n. 30), 347, that all the *oppida* of Pliny's list were *municipia,* can be discounted.

[42] But cf. the Greek inscription from Malta, set up to the deified Augustus by the πρῶτος Μελιταίων: IG XIV, 601, cf. Acts of the Apostles 38.7, τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου: Malta did not become a *municipium* until later (see note 30 above). An inscription from S. Fratello dedicated by ὁ δᾶμος to all the gods has been assigned to the second century A.D. on the basis of letter forms which are much more likely to belong to the hellenistic period: IG XIV, 359 and M. T. Manni Piraino, Revisioni epigrafiche siceliote, in: Kokalos XVII, 1971, 178 – 9. On the date of IG XIV, 311 from Solunto, also disputed, see below, p. 191.

II. The coloniae

1. Taormina (Tauromenium): Figure 2

Originally established by Dionysius I of Syracuse in 396/5 B.C., the city of Taormina is situated on a four-spurred rocky plateau 206 m. above sea-level, with spectacular vistas extending southwards to Etna and Catania, and northwards towards Messina and the Italian mainland. This unrivalled position of great natural beauty no doubt made it a popular resort in antiquity (as indeed it is today), but its prosperity was based above all on agriculture, particularly the vine, and on the limestones and breccias of the local quarries. Little is at present known about the topography of the town in the hellenistic period (two temples and a building interpreted as a gymnasium are the only notable survivals from this period), but its prosperity in imperial times is amply demonstrated by the numerous brick-faced concrete monuments which still survive in an impressive state of preservation.[44]

Of these the most spectacular is the theatre, carved out of a hillside and enjoying the magnificent natural backcloth of mount Etna and the sea (fig.

---

[43] He settled colonists in the territory of Palermo and Segesta: Liber Coloniarum I.211.13 ff.: *territorium Panormitanorum imp. Vespasianus adsignavit militibus veteranis et familiae suae ··· item Segestanorum ut supra.* For Vespasian's grant of *ius Latii* to Spain, cf. Pliny NH III.30 and the discussion of SHERWIN – WHITE, op. cit. (n. 3), 360 – 7 (see also E. FERENCZY, Rechtshistorische Bemerkungen zur Ausdehnung des römischen Bürgerrechts und zum *ius Italicum* unter dem Prinzipat, ANRW II.14, Berlin and New York 1982, 1017 – 1058, at 1040 – 1).

[44] Foundation date: E. R. BENNETT, La fondation de Tauromenion. Diodore XIV.59.1 – 2 and XVI.7.1, Revue des Études Grecques XC, 1977, 83 – 7. Agriculture and quarries: pp. 212 and 222 of this volume. Temples: M. SANTANGELO, Taormina e dintorni, Rome 1950, 60 – 62. Gymnasium: P. PELAGATTI, Fasti Archeologici XXII, 1967, 2968 and excavations currently in progress. The painted stucco mentioning Fabius Pictor comes from here: G. MANGANARO, second work cited in n. 24.

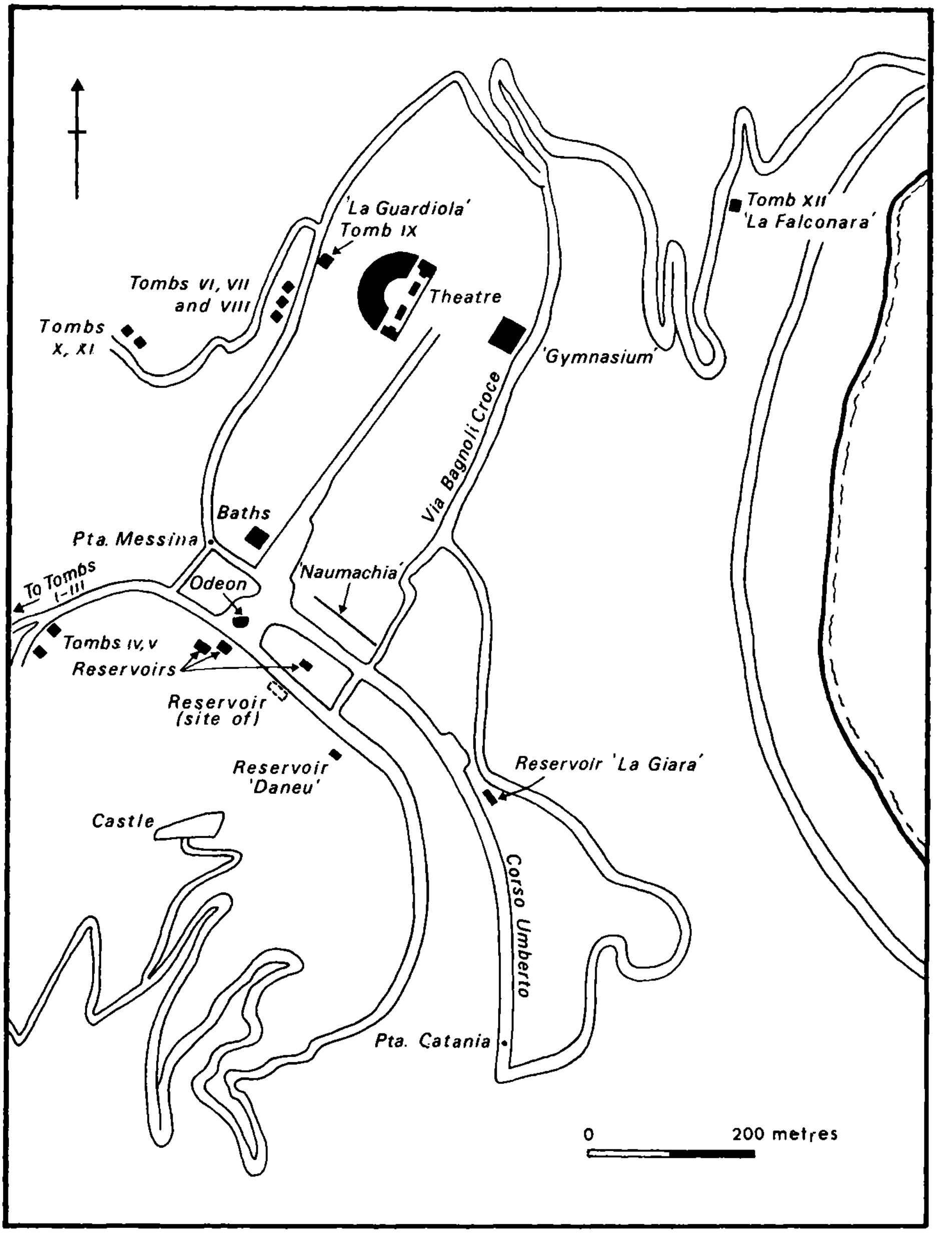

'La Guardiola'
Tomb IX
Tombs VI, VII and VIII
Tombs X, XI
Theatre
'Gymnasium'
Tomb XII
'La Falconara'
Via Bagnoli Croce
Baths
Pta. Messina
To Tombs I-III
Odeon
'Naumachia'
Tombs IV, V
Reservoirs
Reservoir (site of)
Reservoir 'Daneu'
Reservoir 'La Giara'
Castle
Corso Umberto
Pta. Catania
0
200 metres

Fig. 2. Taormina, general plan

3).[45] The architect, usually concerned to enclose the theatre with a solid rear wall, has here made concession to the setting by opening three gigantic arches in the *scaenae frons* (pl. I. 1). The *frons* wall itself was relieved by a series of niches, and adorned by the customary marble columnar facade. There was originally a second tier of columns, decorating the upward continuation of the *scaenae frons*, but little survives today. This backcloth is flanked on either side by two rectangular barrel-vaulted halls, each about 15 m. by 5 m.

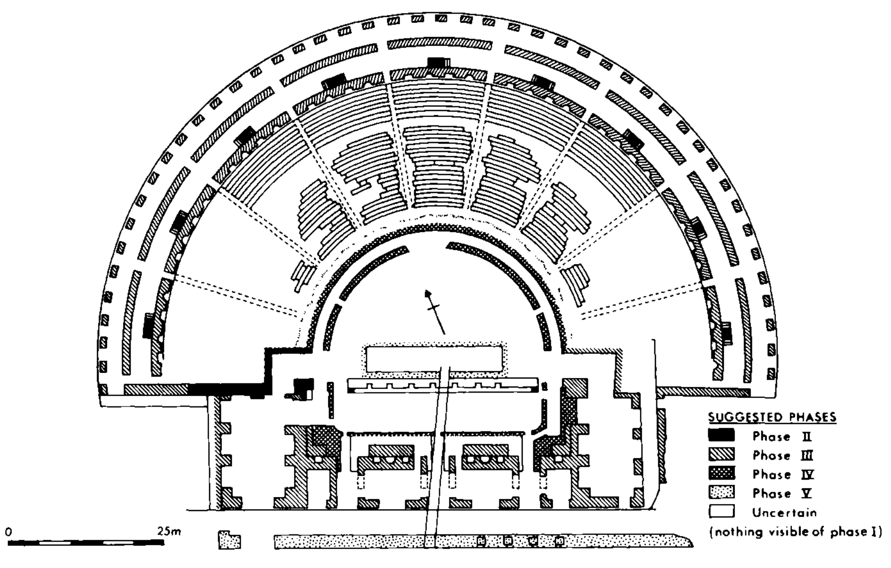


Fig. 3. Taormina, plan of Roman theatre

---

[45] The theatre has never received the full study it deserves. The most useful discussions to date are: SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. infra (n. 66), 37–43; E. PETERSEN, Das Theater von Tauromenion, MDAI(R) III, 1898, 234–6; H. BULLE, Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern, Munich 1928, 206–8; G. LIBERTINI, Il teatro di Taormina, Bollettino del Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico 1930, 1–11; M. SANTANGELO, op. cit. in n. 44, 35–57; G. LUGLI, L'architettura in Sicilia nell'età ellenistica e romana, Atti del VIII° Congresso Nazionale di Architettura 1950, Palermo 1956, 89–92. M. E. BLAKE, Roman Construction from Nerva through the Antonines, Philadelphia 1973, 263, follows LUGLI. Cf. also M. BIEBER, Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum, Leipzig 1920, 61–2; EAD., History of the Greek and Roman Theater, Princeton 1961, 183–4 with figs. 635–9 and frontispiece. P. RIZZO,Tauromenion (Taormina), Riposto 1928, 315–44, is unreliable. The account here is based partly on these works, partly on my own observations. A fuller description of this and nearly all other structures mentioned in this survey will appear in a book on Sicily during the Roman Empire, currently in preparation. Cf. also O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche ed edifici per lo spettacolo nella Sicilia di età imperiale, below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 346–413.

internally. They are bonded with the *scaenae frons* and contemporary with it, but the west hall abuts the *parodos* wall of an earlier phase of the theatre. This earlier theatre was entered through an arch, partially blocked when the hall was built, which led immediately to a short vaulted passage giving access to the orchestra, an arrangement used too in the theatre at Syracuse and elsewhere. The rehandling of the corresponding entrance on the east was more drastic and the existing hall swept away all traces of the earlier structure.

At the back of the *cavea* ran an elaborate double corridor, the outer barrel-vaulted (pl. II. 2), the inner cross-vaulted. The rear wall of the theatre is pierced by a continous arcade of 46 arches. In the dividing wall between the two corridors were ten doorways, each facing a corresponding gap in the innermost wall which gave direct access to the seating. This wall, on the side facing the auditorium, was relieved by a series of niches which some have claimed held sounding-boards for improving the acoustics;[46] more probably they were designed to articulate what would otherwise have been a monotonous blank wall. Within the inner portico are the remains of nine double stairways which must have provided access to the seats in an earlier phase of the building, for it is clear that the stairways were demolished and buried beneath floor level when the double corridor was built.

At some stage later than the major phase of rebuilding the theatre was converted into an amphitheatre, by cutting back the front seats and inserting a semi-circular vaulted service-corridor (pl. I. 2). The arena wall which faced the latter continued in front of the side halls, and the main arch of the eastern hall was completely blocked at this time. Subterranean facilities were reached by a passage two metres wide running from behind and beneath the *scaenae frons* and approximately at right-angles to it. The passage must have opened into a room in the centre of the arena, later removed and replaced by a larger storage area, irregularly constructed of rough limestone pieces, which was tacked onto the broken ends of the brick access passage.

The Roman theatre at Taormina is thus a complex series of structures belonging to at least five phases. Of the hellenistic theatre, perhaps belonging to the third century B.C., nothing survives except for pieces of *opus quadratum* walling embedded in later walls, and a few seat inscriptions. The second phase saw the first Roman rehandling in brick, mostly swept away by later rebuilding: the *parodos* wall and west entrance passage, together with the stairways at the rear of the *cavea,* probably belong to this period, which is likely to fall within the first century A.D.[47] In phase three the theatre took on the impressive form that we see today, with massive *scaenae frons* and side halls; the double corridor at the rear of the auditorium is probably contemporary, but not demonstrably so. There is no reliable evidence for the date of this major rebuilding, but analogy with Roman theatres elsewhere makes the first half of the second century A.D. very probable. Certainly this is no humble provincial building: with an overall diameter of 109 metres it is smaller than the Greek theatre at Syracuse, but larger than most Roman theatres in the cities of Italy and Africa. Showing an assured confidence in the handling of brick-faced concrete which is rare, indeed unparalleled, in Sicily, the theatre may well have been the work of an architect from Rome or central Italy and the product of an imperial benefaction. If this is so, the emperor Hadrian, who climbed the Etna in 126 and is described on coins as *restitutor Siciliae*, is the most likely candidate.[48] In a fourth phase the theatre was turned into an amphitheatre (perhaps in the late second or early third century), and in the fifth and final phase, the underground facilities were enlarged, and an extra portico was added behind the *scaenae frons*. The haphazard construction suggests that this work is not before the late third or, more likely, the fourth century.

---

[46] Vitruvius V.3.6. They are present too in the large brick theatre at Nicopolis, Greece, a building of similar plan and overall dimensions.

[47] Some fragments of cornice are apparently of the first century A.D.: LUGLI, op. cit. (n. 45), 92.

Taormina also possesses a smaller theatre or odeion, 400 m. N.W. of the larger building and also of brick-faced concrete.[49] Thirteen rows of seats survive up to the corridor at the rear of the building, a later addition which provided room for perhaps three or four more rows of seating above it. Five *vomitoria*, of which two survive, assisted rapid emptying of the auditorium. The orchestra, with a diameter of 10.50 m., was flanked by two barrel-vaulted halls, 4 m. by 2.30 m. internally, of which one is intact, and the front wall of the stage also survives in part. The stage itself was wooden, its backcloth unusually provided by a pre-existing temple of hellenistic date; there was no separate rear wall. LUGLI first proposed an Augustan date for the odeion, and later suggested it was Neronian or Flavian,[50] but as the bricks used are identical to those employed in the outermost portico at the rear of the large theatre,[51] if the latter has been correctly ascribed to the Hadrianic period the odeion should be Hadrianic too (pl. III. 1).

---

[48] So LUGLI and SANTANGELO, works cited in n. 45. For Hadrian's visit, Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Hadrian, 13.3. For the coin, H. MATTINGLY, Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, III, London 1936, revised 1976, 526, no. 1831, pl. 97.5. F. COARELLI and M. TORELLI, Sicilia, Bari 1984, 361 draw attention to an inscribed stone from the theatre (CIL X, 6996), datable to A.D. 108, but this is not a monumental building inscription, and other evidence, such as the use of cross-vaulting in the corridor at the rear of the *cavea,* and the widespread use of granite and other marble in the *scaenae frons,* makes a date before late Trajanic or early Hadrianic times unlikely. The evidence (including that of the architectural ornament) will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming book (see n. 45).

[49] SANTANGELO, op. cit. (n. 44), 57–60; G. LUGLI, op. cit. (n. 45), 93–5. For recent work inside the disused church of S. Caterina, which overlies part of the odeion, see: P. PELAGATTI, L'attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia orientale, Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–7, 519–50, at 545–8, and cf. O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 364–368.

[50] Augustan date: LUGLI, loc. cit. (n. 49). Neronian/Flavian (because of the use of scored bricks, for cutting into triangles, a practice not earlier than Nero's reign in Rome): G. LUGLI, La tecnica edilizia romana I, Rome 1957, 630.

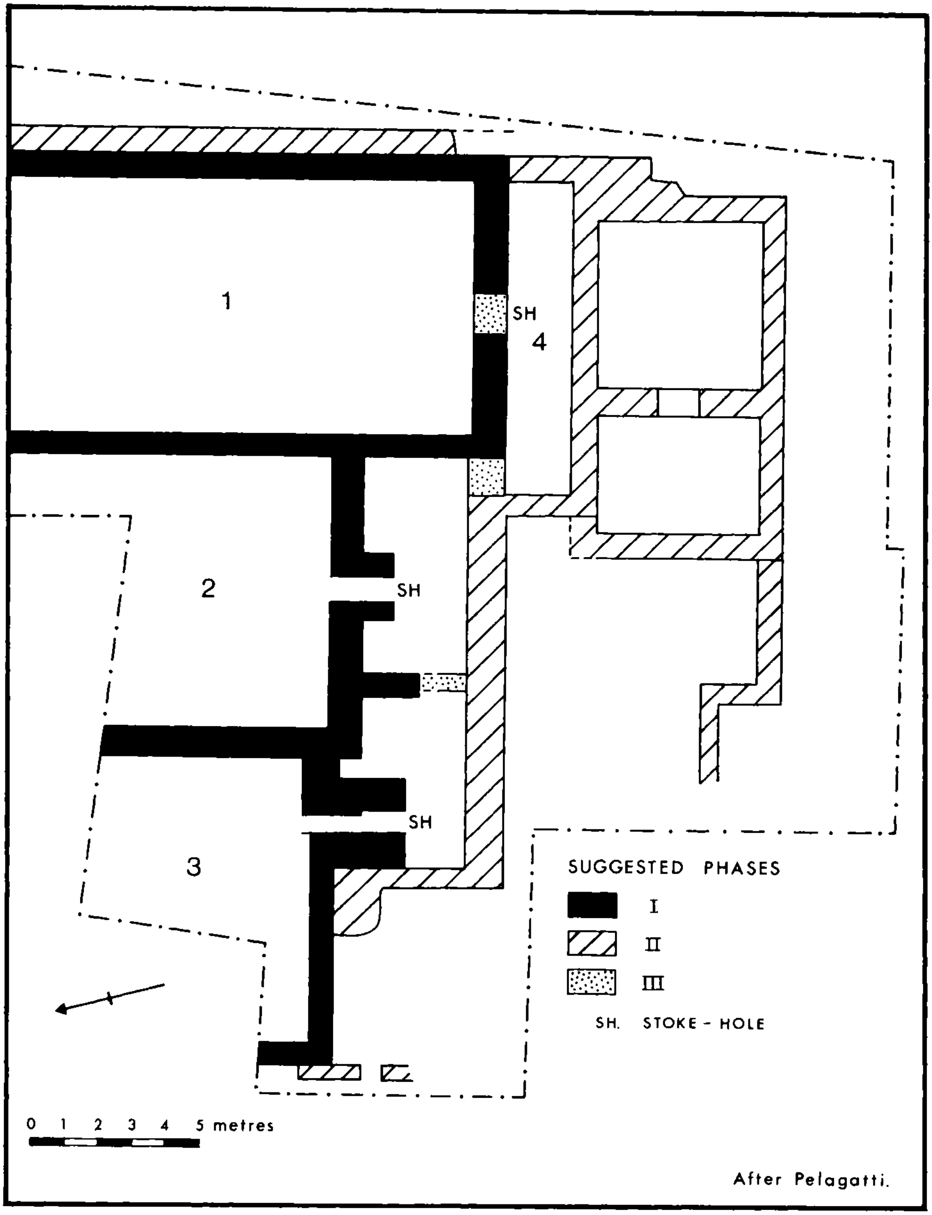

1
2
3
4
SH
SH
SH
SUGGESTED PHASES
I
II
III
SH. STOKE - HOLE
0 1 2 3 4 5 metres
After Pelagatti.

Fig. 4. Taormina, plan of Roman baths

Another public amenity of which something is known is the bath house: three rectangular heated rooms (the largest 14.40 m by 7.40 m.), also built of brick-faced concrete, were uncovered in 1964–6 (fig. 4).[52] The substantial brick walls (known as 'La Zecca') incorporated into modern houses 15 m. to the north are probably part of the same complex. Its excavator ascribed the baths to the first century A.D., and the extensive marble panelling, including the use of imported Greek marble (*fior di pesco* from Euboea) certainly makes a date unlikely before the middle of that century; in general terms, however, a second-century date seems preferable, for brick-faced bath-buildings are not commonplace in Italian cities until Trajanic and Hadrianic times, and those that are of Flavian date or earlier (such as the Central Baths at Pompeii) tend to be of the compact variety without whole batteries of heated rooms.[53] The bricks used are of different dimensions to those of the theatre and odeion; if those buildings are Hadrianic, the baths might be Trajanic or Antonine, but pottery from the foundation trenches should be able to give a firmer chronology.

The structure is currently (1986) undergoing fresh investigation, and the plan (fig. 4) now stands in need of considerable modification. Evidence has emerged for example, to the south of the stoke-hole labelled 4, for a plunge-bath (probably a cold plunge) which was filled in and blocked off when the stoke-hole was built. There was also a heated room in the area of the stoke-hole to room 2, likewise demolished when the baths were rebuilt on a larger scale and new heated rooms at 1–3 were constructed. It is now clear, therefore, that an earlier bath-house of radically different plan preceded that labelled 'phase 1' on fig. 4; further details and its chronology will doubtless emerge as work progresses.

Immediately south of the baths lay the forum of ancient Taormina, now largely under the modern piazza Vittorio Emanuele. Small-scale excavations in 1977–80 have revealed part of its eastern boundary wall, apparently part of an Augustan reorganization of the area, and adjacent flagstone paving, as well as, on the north side of the piazza, fragmentary remains of a hellenistic courtyard building tentatively identified as part of the *bouleuterion*.[54] This

---

[51] The bricks there have the same dimensions (40 cm. by 33 cm. and between 5 and 6 cm. thick) and, where visible (between the outer piers), are also scored along the diagonal.

[52] P. PELAGATTI, Scoperta di un edificio termale a Taormina, Cronache di archeologia e storia d'arte III, 1964, 25–37, and cf. O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 373–375.

[53] On the use of imported marble, J. B. WARD-PERKINS, Roman Imperial Architecture, Harmondsworth 1981, 118; cf. ID., Tripolitania and the marble trade, Journal of Roman Studies XLI, 1951, 98. Italian bath-buildings outside Rome: M. E. BLAKE, Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians, Washington 1959, 148–9; EAD., op. cit. (n. 45), 265–8. The late Roman date for the Taormina baths proposed by COARELLI and TORELLI, op. cit. in n. 48, 361, is based on a mistaken belief that marble *crustae* rather than full panelling were used as wall veneer.

[54] G. M. BACCI, Ricerche a Taormina negli anni 1977–80, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 737–48, at 738–44; EAD., op. cit. infra (n. 68), 335–44.

too was repaired in Augustan times but later demolished to make way for the baths. The fragmentary Roman calendar found in excavation of the baths was presumably affixed to some building on the north side of the forum, along with the 'Fasti consulares' of which fragments were also found (pl. III. 2). The fragments, which include the dates 7th – 18th September and 11th – 15th October, indicate that the calendar was carved before 19 B.C., because the festival of the Augustalia on 12th October, allotted in that year, does not appear as such in the Sicilian fragment. The Taormina calendar demonstrates for the first time that the *coloniae* of the Roman provinces, as well as those of Italy itself, were furnished with these documents.[55]

Taormina was well equipped for its water supply with an elaborate system of aqueducts and reservoirs. The main aqueduct started above the village of Mongiuffi, 15 km. north of Taormina, and a short stretch carried on arches of brick-faced concrete is still traceable near the source.[56] Further south its course is indicated by a rock-cut ledge cut in the hillside, but the line of the aqueduct from here to the town has not been studied. Nearer Taormina it split into at least two branches[57] and discharged into the system of reservoirs, of which six are still extant in whole or in part. One, the Piscina Mirabile, with a capacity of 3,400 cubic metres, still supplies Taormina with water;[58] another, the Giafari (3,600 cu. m.), is now buried with earth up to the beginning of the vault;[59] but a third, under La Giara night-club, is intact and now empty.[60] Like all the Taormina structures it is rectangular, brick-built, and divided by a central row of arches (here four in number) on the long axis: each half of the reservoir is roofed by a concrete barrel vault of lava *caementa*. The focal point of the whole system in its developed form must have been the vast reservoir, 122 m. long and 18 m. wide, known as the Naumachia,[61] the external brick façade of which, 5 m. high, is relieved by eighteen semicircular niches alternating with smaller rectangular recesses (pl. IV. 1). The old traditional view, that this was somehow connected with the staging of mock sea-battles, was rightly refuted by HOUEL in the eighteenth century, who suggested it formed part of a gymnasium;[62] PACE thought it was a nymphaeum,[63] but there are no holes in the façade to allow for jets of water, and no basins for the water to play into; while LUGLI, undoubtedly correctly, interpreted it as no more than the wall of the reservoir, the niches and recesses designed merely to relieve the monotony of what would otherwise have been a blank stretch of brickwork.[64]

---

[55] MANGANARO, op. cit. (n. 14), 13 – 19; ID., op. cit. in n. 27, 38 – 42. A further fragment of the calendar, referring to November and December and joining that already known, has been found more recently: G. M. BACCI, in: Kokalos XXX – XXXI, 1984 – 85, forthcoming.

[56] Unpublished.

[57] RIZZO, op. cit. (n. 45), 347 – 8, thought that there were three aqueducts all the way from Mongiuffi, but this is unlikely. The two branches nearer the town are marked on a plan of 1841: SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. (n. 66), pl. XIX.

[58] HOUEL, VP, II, 50 – 1 and pl. XCVI and XCIX (reproduced by SANTANGELO, op. cit. [n. 44], fig. 71).

[59] For the dimensions, RIZZO, op. cit. (n. 45), 351, and for a photograph of the exterior, SANTANGELO, op. cit. (n. 44), fig. 70; otherwise unpublished.

[60] Unpublished except for a brief note in Fasti Archeologici XXII, 1967, 2968; its dimensions are 12.75 m. by 7.75 m. by 7 m.

[61] The principal bibliography is: P. RIZZO, op. cit. (n. 45), 355 – 370; B. PACE, La cosidetta naumachia di Taormina, Bollettino d'Arte IX, 1930, 376 – 380; SANTANGELO, op. cit. (n. 44), 76 – 9; LUGLI, op. cit. (n. 45), 95 – 98; ID., op. cit. (n. 50), 607 and 630; N. NEUERBURG, L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei in Italia antica, Naples 1965, 109; O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 377.

The Naumachia and La Giara reservoirs are on a lower level than those of Piscina Mirabile and Giafari, which formed part of a group of four along the same contourline. They must, however, have been connected with the Naumachia, perhaps by the «*grand aqueduc qui traverse la ville au midi*» which HOUEL reported;[65] but as to the details of the working of the system, and its date, there are few clues. Some reservoirs, and probably the aqueduct, belong to the first century A.D., others were no doubt added as occasion demanded during the second century. The standard of brickwork at the Naumachia is undoubtedly inferior to that used in the baths or the theatre, and is probably not earlier than the middle of the second century; it may well be later. Despite the present imperfect state of knowledge, the Taormina Roman water supply clearly represents a considerable financial outlay as well as a substantial engineering achievement, and provides a vivid witness to the problems of life on a largely waterless rock and to the Roman ingenuity at overcoming them.

The widespread use of brick-faced concrete gives the monuments of Taormina, in contrast to those of some other cities in the island, an uncompromisingly Roman appearance, and there is little to distinguish it from any moderately prosperous town of the middle Empire in peninsular Italy. The Italian flavour is further reinforced by the presence of twelve barrel-vaulted house-tombs on the outskirts of the town, of which the best preserved (in the garden of Casa Fontana Vecchia) is 3 m. square internally and contains 27 niches for cremation urns arranged in two tiers; part of the precinct wall, with further niches, also survives (cf. fig. 5).[66] Although most are built of small irregular pieces of limestone rather than brick (only two are entirely brick-built), these tombs are clearly close relations of the well-known examples

---

[62] HOUEL, VP, II, 51 – 5, followed by RIZZO, loc. cit. (n. 61).

[63] PACE, op. cit. (n. 61), followed by NEUERBURG, ibid. The few holes visible in a handful of apses all issue from different positions and are clearly modern.

[64] LUGLI, works cited in n. 61.

[65] HOUEL, VP, II, 51.

[66] The whole group is unpublished in detail. Brief notes on some appear in SANTANGELO, op. cit. (n. 44), 71 – 2 and RIZZO, op. cit. (n. 45), 375 – 6, and there are valuable accounts by HOUEL, VP, II, 31 – 2 and 45 – 9, as well as D. LO FASO PIETRASANTA, DUCA DI SERRADIFALCO, Antichità di Sicilia esplorate ed illustrate, V, Palermo 1842, 44, with pl. XXVI. See also here, pl. IV. 2.

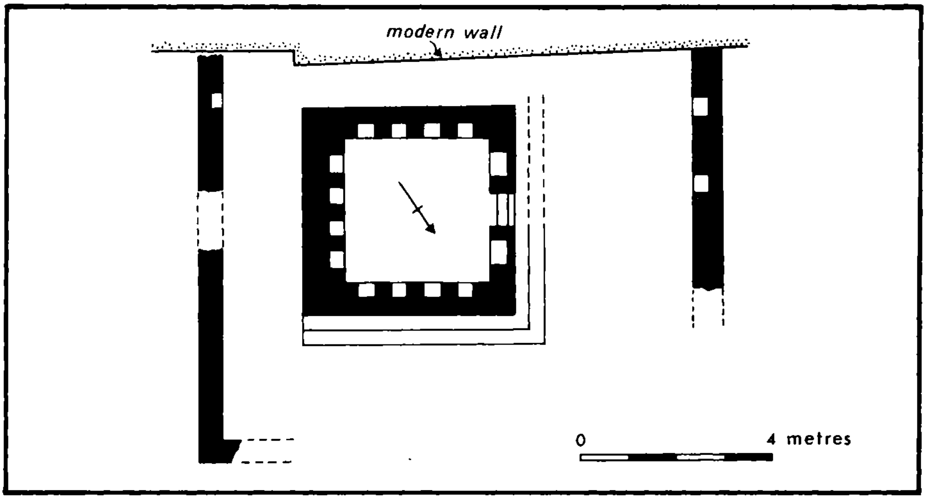


Fig. 5. Taormina, plan of Roman tomb I in the garden of casa Fontana Vecchia

in Italy, such as those at Rome and Ostia,[67] and the use of cremation at a time (probably mid first to mid second century A.D.) when inhumation was still very much the rule in Sicily[68] is further witness to the Romanized ways of the affluent Tauromenitans that built them. Yet despite the Romanization of its architecture it is significant that before the end of the second century A.D. 'the council and the people of the glorious city of the Tauromenitans' could set up an inscription at Rome, in Greek, in a terminology which ignores the existence of colonial status and a Roman constitution.[69] Evidently by then the Roman element in the population provided by the Augustan colonists had been completely eroded by intermarriage, and one must assume that the local council conducted its business in Greek rather than in Latin by the time of the middle Empire.

Of the private houses of Roman Taormina very little is known. A handful of unremarkable mosaics has turned up from time to time, but it was only in

---

[67] For the type, see J. M. C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World, London 1971, 82–91 and 132–143 with bibliography.

[68] See below, especially on the cemeteries of Lipari and Messina. The first systematic excavation of Taormina's necropolis, recently carried out in Via Guardiola, has produced evidence of 15 cremation burials of Domitianic to Antonine date; one contained a fine alabaster funerary urn: G. Bacci, op. cit. (n. 54), 745–6; Ead., Taormina I. Ricerche archeologiche nell'area urbana, Archivio Storico Messinese^{3} XXXI, 1980, 335–48, at 347, fig. 6.

[69] IG XIV, 1091; L. Bruzza, Iscrizione in onore di Iallia Bassia, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale in Roma XI, 1883, 137–45: τὴν ἐπὶ πάσῃ ἀρετῇ σωφροσύνῃ τε καὶ σοφίᾳ διαπρέπουσαν Ἰαλλίαν Βασσιάνη[ν] βουλ[ὴ] καὶ δῆμος τῆς λαμπρᾶς π[όλε]ως Ταυρομενείτων ἀνέ[στη]σεν τὴν λαμπροτάτην.

1978 – 9 that part of the plan of a town-house of imperial date was recovered for the first time. This was a spacious house with central peristyle (the columns bear sandstone capitals in the Doric order) and rooms ranged around at least three sides of it. There are black and white mosaic floors here of the second century, mostly geometric but one featuring the throttling of Lycurgus by the vine.[70] It is not, however, yet clear how long the house remained in occupation: at some stage walls were built on top of the mosaic in the eastern peristyle corridor and the floors there and in an adjacent room were patched with fragments of coloured marble; later still burials were made in the peristyle corridor. In fact, due to the dearth of scientific excavation in the town, the history of Taormina in the late Empire is obscure. No later Roman mosaics have come to light, and a solitary Greek funerary inscription of A.D. 409 tells little; epigraphic material for all periods of the Empire is scarce.[71] Taormina was not necessarily in decline, however; the town was an early bishopric, certainly by the fourth century,[72] and some of the additions in the theatre and odeion may be of this date. Byzantine gold jewellery hints at a certain prosperity among some inhabitants in the sixth century, and it was only in the ninth and tenth centuries that burials encroached on the area of the former forum.[73]

2. Syracuse (Syracusae): Figure 6

"A fine sight whether one approaches it by land or by sea",[74] Syracuse was undoubtedly during its heyday in the fifth, fourth and third centuries

---

[70] Bacci, op. cit. (n. 54), 744 – 5, and Ead., op. cit. (n. 68), 344 – 6, where the mosaics are thought to be late first century. The peristyle corridor mosaic, however (ibid. pl. CLXXIII.1), is similar to a second-century mosaic at the villa of Castroreale S. Biagio (ME) (D. von Boeselager, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien, Rome 1983, pl. XXVIII.55), and the Lykurgus mosaic is also not likely to be earlier than the second (ibid., 103 – 5). For other mosaics of imperial date at Taormina, von Boeselager, ibid. 97 – 109.

[71] IG XIV, 442. For other late Roman inscribed fragments in Greek, M. T. Manni Piraino, IGLMP, nos. 116 – 8; and cf. Notizie degli Scavi 1885, 405.

[72] Pancratius of Taormina appears in the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, a seventh-century document which draws on sources of fifth-century or earlier date: L. Duchesne and M. de Rossi, Acta Sanctorum, November vol. II, Analecta Bollandiana XVII, 1898, 421 – 47. The ninth- or tenth-century 'Life and Martyrdom of Saint Pancratius', presents Marcian, Pancratius and Cirillus as the founders of the churches of Syracuse, Taormina and Catania, sent by Peter from Antioch in A.D. 39 (F. Halkin, ed., Bibliotheca hagiographica Graeca, 3rd ed. Brussels, 1957, no. 1410), and Felix, an African bishop under Maximin (235 – 238), is supposed to have visited Christians at Taormina as well as Agrigento, Catania and Messina (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, Brussels 1898 – 1901, 2894 – 5). Both these sources are unreliable, but the repeated association of Taormina with other known centres of early Christianity in Sicily is significant.

[73] Jewellery: P. Orsi, Sicilia Bizantina, Tivoli 1942, 163 – 4. Cemetery: Bacci, op. cit. (n. 54), 742 – 4.

[74] Cicero ii in Verr. IV.52.117: *situ ... ex omni aditu vel terra vel mari praeclaro ad aspectum.*

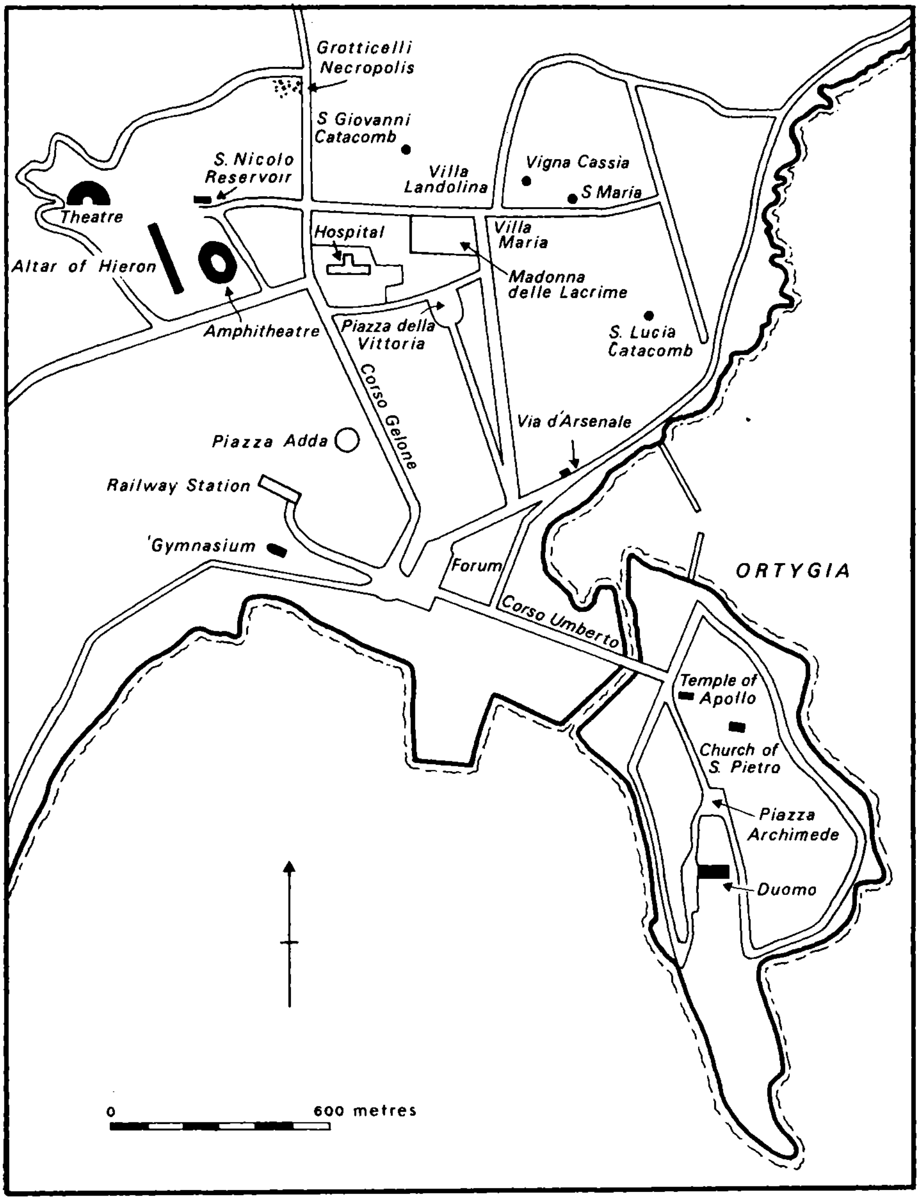

Grotticelli Necropolis
S Giovanni Catacomb
S. Nicolo Reservoir
Theatre
Altar of Hieron
Amphitheatre
Villa Landolina
Vigna Cassia
S Maria
Hospital
Villa Maria
Madonna delle Lacrime
Piazza della Vittoria
S. Lucia Catacomb
Corso Gelone
Via d'Arsenale
Piazza Adda
Railway Station
'Gymnasium
Forum
Corso Umberto
ORTYGIA
Temple of Apollo
Church of S. Pietro
Piazza Archimede
Duomo
0
600 metres

Fig. 6. Syracuse, general plan

B.C. one of the largest and most handsome cities in the Greek world. During the Republic it was still a notable place, the seat of one of the quaestors and of the praetor who governed the island,[75] and there is no reason to doubt that it continued to be one of the principal cities and the chief administrative centre of the province during the Roman Empire. The comparative lack of known fresh buildings of this date, in contrast to places like Taormina and Catania, may be the result of chance rather than a signal of decline; in any case many outstanding civic amenities had already been supplied by hellenistic kings and by benefactors during the Republic, and these were still adequate for the city's needs without total rebuilding.

One index of the prosperity of Syracuse is provided by the fluctuating size of the city from the end of the Greek classical period to the beginning of the Byzantine era. Strabo, writing early in the first century A.D., implies that the city had by then shrunk so much in size that it occupied only Ortygia and the adjacent part of the mainland,[76] but there is no support for this in the archaeological record. Excavation has clearly demonstrated that much of the northern district of the city in the area of the modern Hospital, which was first built up in the late fourth century B.C. (covering an earlier necropolis), saw major reconstruction in the second century B.C. and was intensively occupied throughout the rest of the Republic and into the early Empire; the major east-west artery in this district received its first stone paving probably in the Augustan period. Neither here nor from sporadic excavation work further south west (especially along the line of Corso Gelone) has evidence emerged of any contraction in the city's size at the time of the late Republic.[77]

The foundation of the Augustan *colonia* in 21 B.C. is likely to have stimulated building activity, on analogy with colonies elsewhere, but at Syracuse the details are largely missing. The most important fresh addition to the public buildings of the city that we know about at this time is the amphitheatre, which is almost certainly of Augustan date in its original form (pl. V. 1 – 2).

---

[75] Ibid. IV.53.118: *domus est quae Hieronis regis fuit, qua praetores uti solent.*

[76] Strabo VI.2.4.: τὸ δὲ συνοικούμενον τὸ πρὸς τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Ὀρτυγίᾳ μέρος.

[77] For a general account of the topography of ancient Syracuse, G. Voza, 'Siracusa' in SA I, 655 – 93; cf. also Id., Esplorazioni nell'area delle necropoli e dell'abitato, in P. Pelagatti and G. Voza (edd.), Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale, Syracuse 1973, 81 – 5. For important work in Piazza della Vittoria, G. Voza, Siracusa, in: Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale, addenda al catalogo, Turin 1974, 23 – 6; Id., art. cit. in n. 89, Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 7, 554 – 60; Id., L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale, Parte I, Kokalos XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, 680 – 2. For other excavations in the area see especially G. Cultrera, Siracusa, Scoperte del Giardino Spagna, Notizie degli Scavi 1943, 35 – 42; G. V. Gentili, Siracusa, Scoperte nelle due nuove arterii stradali, la Via di Circumvallazione, ora Viale Paolo Orsi e la Via Archeologica, ora Viale F. S. Cavallari, Notizie degli Scavi 1951, 278 – 96, 329, 332 – 4; Id., Saglio di scavo a sud di Viale Paolo Orsi in predio Salemo Aletta, Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 302 – 33; Id., Siracusa. Contributo alla topografia dell'antica città, Notizie degli Scavi 1956, 99 – 151; A. M. Fallico, Siracusa. Saggi di scavo nell'area della Villa Maria, Notizie degli Scavi 1971, 581 – 639; and G. Voza, L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale, Kokalos XVIII – XIX, 1972 – 3, 188 – 9.

Partly hollowed out of the ground as customary in pre-Flavian amphitheatres in Italy, and making some use of *opus reticulatum* wall-facing, otherwise a rarity in Sicily, this building is most unlikely to have been constructed in the late second or early third century A.D., the date frequently assigned to it.[78] It is, however, unlikely to be a single-phase building. There is some structural evidence to suggests that the Augustan amphitheatre was later enlarged, and that at the same time the entrance tunnels on the main axis were rebuilt. The date of these changes is unknown, but it probably falls within the second half of the first century A.D. Measuring overall 140 m. by 119 m., it is quite well preserved on the east side where the seats were cut out of the natural rock, but the western half, built of local white limestone, has been largely despoiled. A competent but unremarkable building, it has the usual entrance tunnels to the arena on the long axis, an elliptical 'service corridor' running behind the arena wall, and two elliptical internal corridors for ease of access to the auditorium. The central chamber beneath the arena was probably used for storing machinery and other gadgets. Little survives of the seating (except for the lower rows in the rock-cut portion), which was divided by staircases into 20 *cunei* and by at least two horizontal elliptical gangways. There were approximately ten rows of seats between the upper and lower gangways, and three between the lower one and the podium wall; the upper portion, which is lost, had room for perhaps fifteen rows more.

The Augustan building programme which radically altered the apperance of this sector of the Neapolis did not consist only of the amphitheatre. A short distance east of it a monumental arch, of simple, single-carriageway type, was erected in the early Augustan period, with a central passageway 5 m. wide flanked by rectangular piers,[79] and the open space south of here was provided with an elegant fountain basin over 30 m. long, with five shallow niches along the front and a wall above and behind it relieved by eleven rectangular recesses (the west end is shown on pl. V. 2).[80] If not of Augustan date this basin may be a decade or two later in the first century A.D., but there is no need to downdate it into the second or third century as has been proposed. Close by, and certainly of Augustan date, is the vast square, 125 m. by 30 m., on the west side of the Altar of Hieron, created by erecting a colonnaded portico on three sides, the Altar forming the fourth (fig. 7); in the piazza itself a pool was constructed and rows of trees laid out. These features recur in the Great Palaestra at Pompeii, also Augustan, and in the Palaestra at Herculaneum. All were probably intended principally to serve as pleasant

---

[78] G. V. Gentili, Studi e ricerche su l'anfiteatro di Siracusa, Palladio XXIII, 1973, 3 – 80, with earlier bibliography. For a rejection of his dating in favour of an Augustan one, R. J. A. Wilson, On the date of the Roman amphitheatre at Syracuse, Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Palermo 1980, 2217 – 30. Cf. O. Belvedere, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 349 – 357.

[79] G. V. Gentili, first work cited in n. 77, 263 – 77.

[80] Gentili, op. cit. (n. 78), 27 – 8, with discussion of date by Wilson, op. cit. in same note, 2223 – 4.

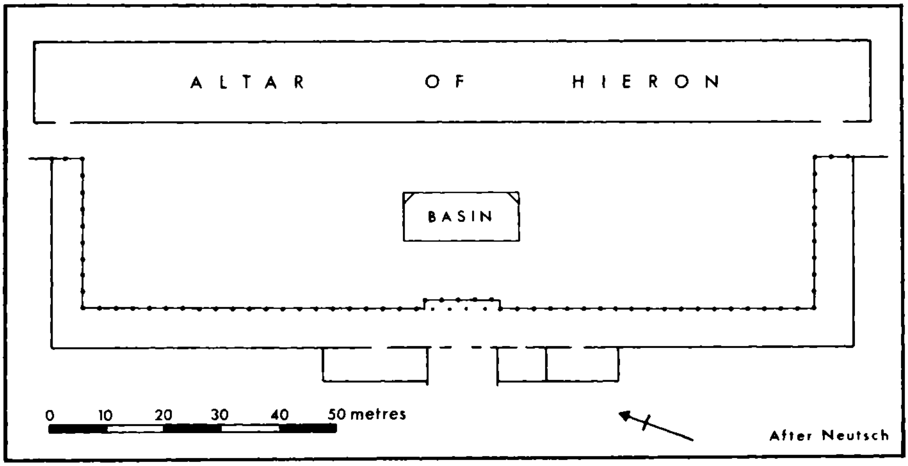


Fig. 7. Syracuse, plan of portico on west side of Altar of Hieron

public parks where townspeople could stroll.[81] A small triangular forum with a two-phase portico on its west side, uncovered in 1963 in Piazza Adda further south, was apparently built in the first century A.D. and subsequently enlarged.[82] Other hints of building activity in the first half of the first century A.D. are provided by a marble cornice from Piazza Duomo with elaborate cyma reversa B and fully developed lotus of Augustan type,[83] some fragmentary inscriptions,[84] the repair of the city walls carried out by Caligula,[85] and lead water-pipes (apparently heading for a brick-built bath-house), which bore the name of Claudius.[86]

The second half of the first century A.D. has not so far produced much evidence for building activity, except possibly at the amphitheatre, but there is no positive evidence for thinking that Syracuse was in decline: the hypothesis that the city was shaken by an earthquake around the middle of the first century A.D. is unsubstantiated and, on present evidence, implausible. The earthquake hypothesis has been advanced to explain the apparently sudden demise of the pottery industry at that time, but the tumbled mass of wasters, unfired pots and unworked clay (later cut by the catacomb builders in the S. Lucia district), which was interpreted by the excavator as the product of earthquake disturbance,[87] need have been little more than a potters' dump. There is, as far as I know, no evidence for destruction elsewhere at Syracuse at this time. Further building work was under way later in the first century and throughout much of the second century. The building of a new *scaenae frons* with marble embellishment as well as other major alterations in the Greek theatre were probably carried out in the last quarter of the first century or early in the second,[88] and the public baths on a site known as Sessanta Letti were apparently also first begun about the same time.[89] Later in the second century, in either the Hadrianic or Antonine periods, the forum was extensively remodelled in monumental form with the erection of *rosso fiorito* columns (from the Haluntium quarries) and Corinthian capitals in white marble: the 'marble style' type of the latter is best attributed to around the middle decades of the century.[90] This rebuilding of the forum may be roughly contemporary with the central part of the so-called 'Gymnasium' complex in the western outskirts of the town, an important group of buildings comprising a temple, a small theatre and surrounding porticoes on at least three sides (fig. 8).[91] Of the temple itself, which was about 15 m. square, only fragments now survive, including the lower courses of a carefully constructed *cella* wall of Syracusan limestone on a concrete podium 1.60 m. high. The latter was reached not by a broad flight of central stairs, but by a pair of narrow lateral stairways of which one remains. There is evidence among the collapsed debris for a coffered barrel-vault of basalt from Mount Etna. The rear of the temple served as the backcloth for the theatre's stage, a limestone platform with three niches facing onto the polychrome marble floor of the *orchestra.* The latter is now flooded due to a change in sea level, a factor together with luxuriant vegetation which hinders detailed study of the site today. Little survives of the limestone seating of the *cavea,* or of the colonnaded porticoes, except for the rear wall of the latter at the N.E. corner which stands 2.40 m. high. Tenon holes in the limestone blocks here indicate that it was once veneered with marble. The nineteenth-century excavators, on the basis of the structural relationship between the porticoes and the theatre, suggested there were two phases, the former being the earlier. If so, the porticoes may belong to latter part of the first century A.D., for that appears to be the date of six of the eight marble statues (perhaps representing the sanctuary's dedicators) which were found in the excavations in 1864 – 5.[92] The temple and theatre, on the other hand, which are part of a single building plan, are likely to be later in their present form, on the evidence of the probable date of the temple's marble architrave, which has a plain convex frieze and lion heads decorating the sima (pl. VI. 2). The lion heads are a familiar part of the Sicilian architectural repertoire from the archaic period onwards, but the convex frieze, possibly Syrian in origin, turns up in Asia Minor at the end of the first century A.D., and later (c. 140 A.D.) appears in Rome.[93] If the architect at Syracuse was

---

[81] Syracuse: G. V. Gentili, Siracusa, Ara di Ierone, Campagna di Scavo 1950–1, Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 333–61. Cf. Fasti Archeologici VIII, 1952, 2092 and 3775; B. Neutsch, AA 1954, 598–602. (The date is provided by material from the service well of an aqueduct channel sealed by the north portico, which yielded no pottery later than black-glaze Campana C ware). Pompeii: A. Maiuri, NSc 1939, 165–231. Herculaneum: Id., I nuovi scavi di Ercolano I, Rome 1958, 113–43.

[82] P. Pelagatti, Attività delle Soprintendenze (1961–5), Sicilia, in Bollettino d'Arte LI, 1966, 112–3 with photograph, fig. 56.

[83] Unpublished; Syracuse Museum, inventory number 34810 (here pl. VI. 1).

[84] One refers to a building 'collapsed through age': A. M. Fallico, op. cit. in n. 77, 635 note 1; another reading C. *Roscius[| procos [|Sextia Mu*[cia] | *fecerun[t* is probably also a building inscription, perhaps Augustan: G. V. Gentili, Nuovi elementi di epigrafia siracusana, Archivio Storico Siracusano VII, 1961, 22–3.

[85] Suetonius, Caligula 21.

[86] CIL X, 7140: *Ti. Cl. Caes. Aug. Germ.*, found in 1552, now lost. The pipes were heading *in balneas e coctili laterculo extructas* (ibid.). Other pipes inscribed *R. P. Syracusanorum* have been ascribed on no secure evidence to the Augustan period: P. Orsi, Fistule acquarie scritte da S. Lucia, Notizie degli Scavi 1915, 202–3.

---

[87] S. L. AGNELLO, Recenti esplorazioni nelle catacombe siracusane di S. Lucia, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana XXX, 1954, 54–60; S. LAGONA, Vasai a Siracusa in età ellenistico-romana, Archivio Storico Siracusano II, 1972–3, 96–7. See further p. 240 and n. 154 of this volume.

[88] L. BERNABÒ BREA, Studi sul teatro greco di Siracusa, Palladio XVII, 1967, 97–154, esp. 133ff.; cf. G. E. RIZZO, Il teatro greco di Siracusa, Milan and Rome, 1923, 157. The date is based entirely on the style of the fragments of marble decoration, with their exuberant leafy scrolls and rosettes and their obvious use of the drill, reminiscent of work in Rome of the Flavio-Trajanic period. An account substantially different from that of BERNABÒ BREA of the main phases of the theatre's life is offered by L. POLACCO and C. ANTI, Il teatro antico di Siracusa, Rimini 1981, esp. 201–14 for the Roman period. I do not accept the contention of BERNABÒ BREA (ibid., 142–6, dated to the late second century) that the theatre was converted to take gladiatorial spectacles, a hypothesis accepted by both GENTILI (op. cit. in n. 78, 6 and 80, n. 226) and by POLACCO and ANTI (op. cit., 203), who place this alteration in the Augustan or Julio-Claudian period (WILSON, op. cit. (n. 78), 2225). POLACCO and ANTI (op. cit., 212) date the new *scaenae frons* and the provision of marble facing for the lowest rows of seats and marble flooring for the orchestra to the late second century, on no stronger evidence than the alleged contemporary date of the amphitheatre.

[89] J. FREL, Sessanta letti, Archeologicke Rozhledy II, 1950, 108–112; but the structure with the terracotta vaulting tubes must be later, as that roofing method was not adopted in imperial Sicily until the later second century A.D. See also HOUEL, VP III, pl. CLXXXX. A bath-building of Roman imperial era with 'grandiose waterworks' has recently been uncovered between the Forum area and the south end of Corso Gelone: G. VOZA, Attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia orientale. Parte II., Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–7, 551–85, at 551.

[90] PACE, ACSA II, 349; F. S. CAVALLARI and A. HOLM, Topografia archeologica di Siracusa, Palermo 1883, 407–8; for other work in the Forum area, L. BERNABÒ BREA, Siracusa.

Scavi e rinvenimenti di antichità dal 1941 al 1947, Notizie degli Scavi 1947, 196 – 7; G. Voza, Siracusa, in: Addenda al catalogo (op. cit. in n. 77), 23 – 4, and op. cit. in n. 89, 551 – 2. For the 'marble-style' capital, cf. P. Pensabene, Scavi di Ostia VII, Rome 1973, nos. 332 – 5; J. B. Ward-Perkins, Nicomedia and the Marble Trade, Papers of the British School at Rome XLVIII, 1980, 52 with pl. XIII a.

[91] J. Schubring, Über das neue ausgegrabene römische Gebäude in der campagna Bufardeci zu Syrakus, Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, 362 – 72; Cavallari and Holm, op. cit. in n. 90, 394 – 408, where the complex is interpreted as the Timoleonteum. Other brief notes or concise descriptions include J. A. Hanson, Roman Theater-Temples, Princeton 1959, 97; M. Guido, Syracuse^4, London 1965, 82; L. Bernabò Brea, op. cit. (n. 90), 197; Touring Club Italiano, Sicilia^5, Milan 1968, 620 – 1; Coarelli and Torelli, op. cit. (n. 48), 242 – 3. Cf. also O. Belvedere, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II.11.1), 380 – 382.

[92] N. Bonacasa, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia, Palermo 1964, dates seven to the Flavian period (nos. 92 and 194 – 9), but one according to him is Augustan (no. 182), another late Hadrianic (no. 108), and a third late second century (no. 208).

[93] D. E. Strong, Late Hadrianic architectural ornament in Rome, Papers of the British School at Rome XXI, 1953, 118 – 51, at 135 – 6.

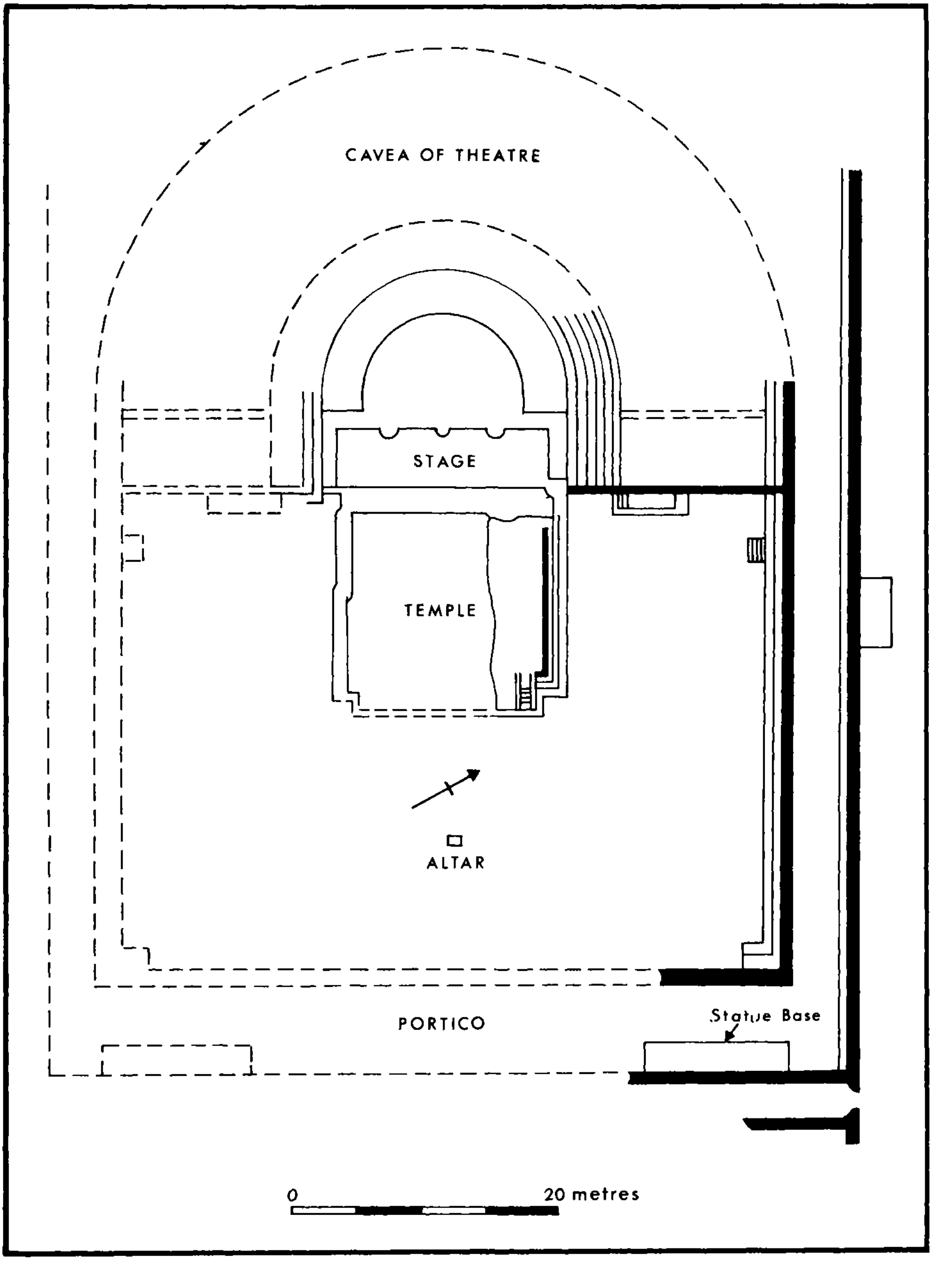

CAVEA OF THEATRE
STAGE
TEMPLE
ALTAR
PORTICO
Statue Base
0
20 metres

Fig. 8. Syracuse, plan of 'Gymnasium'

influenced by the fashions of the capital rather than directly from the east, the temple and its attendant works are unlikely to be earlier than the middle of the second century. The divinity worshipped there eludes secure identification. The intimate linking of theatre and temple suggests a cult which had a strong element of dramatic ritual. Aesculapius is one possibility, but no known Asclepieion has theatre and temple in such close proximity, and the Syracuse sanctuary mentioned by Cicero is likely on other evidence to lie on Ortygia. A mystery cult is more probable: COARELLI has recently suggested the complex was dedicated to Isis and Serapis, but none of the forty-seven identified sanctuaries of these deities had a theatre-like building, suggesting that *spectacula* were not an integral part of this cult. The Syracuse sanctuary may rather have been dedicated to the Syrian goddess, Atargatis, whose connections with dramatic ritual are well known and whose worship is attested at Syracuse; but this is not certain, and another eastern cult is also a possibility.[94]

The Syracuse 'Gymnasium' shrine is one of few major temples entirely of Roman imperial date known in Sicily. No doubt in Syracuse as elsewhere the Greek temples continued to be the focus of worship of their original gods and goddesses until late antiquity, and further buildings in honour of the same deities were considered superfluous. Only for newcomers such as the oriental deities and Christianity did fresh buildings become necessary. A rudimentary rock-cut shrine of Mithras, 13.80 m. by 5.30 m., discovered in 1931 in the S. Lucia district and tentatively dated to the third century, is one such example; and the paleochristian church of S. Pietro in Ortygia, measuring 14.25 m. by 15.75 m., and probably built in the late fourth century, is another.[95]

The town houses of Syracuse might be expected to provide more reliable indicators of the economic vicissitudes of the city during the Empire, but unfortunately all too often their excavation has been in difficult conditions in advance of modern destruction; detailed information of building phases or even of complete ground-plans has rarely been forthcoming. Wealthy dwellings have been noted from time to time, such as the one explored by ORSI with frescoed walls (late Republic or early imperial) in the region of S. Maria di

---

[94] Asclepieion: F. COARELLI, La cultura figurativa in Sicilia dalla conquista romana a Bizanzio, in: SA II, 371–92, at 381 (where the complex is dated to the late second century); cf. Cicero, ii in Verr. IV.57.127–8; de Natura Deorum III.34, and P. ORSI, Siracusa. Scoperta di due statue nella città, NSc 1901, 338–43 (ignore his dating) for the Ortygia evidence. Isis interpretation: COARELLI, loc. cit. in n. 91; but for other Isis and Serapis sanctuaries, cf. R. A. WILD, The known Isis-Serapis sanctuaries of the Roman period, ANRW II.17.4, Berlin and New York 1984, 1739–1851; and add now P. AUPERT, Un sérapeion Argien?, CRAI 1985, 151–75. The suggestion that *dea Syria* was the deity worshipped here will be discussed more fully in my forthcoming book, 'Sicily under the Roman Empire' (see n. 45).

[95] Mithraeum: G. SFAMENI-GASPARRO, I culti orientali in Sicilia, Leiden 1973, 281–90, with pl. CXII–CXVII. Church: S. L. AGNELLO, Architettura paleocristiana e bizantina della Sicilia, IX Corso di Cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1962, 70–3, with earlier bibliography. I see no reason to follow the down-dating to the seventh century proposed for this church by A. MESSINA, Le chiese rupestri del Siracusano, Palermo 1979, 20.

Gesù, and another further west which yielded a life-size marble statue known as the Venus Landolina,[96] while stray examples of floors in *opus sectile* or mosaic, such as the early third-century pavement from Piazza Archimede in Ortygia with a 'toilet of Venus' scene as its centerpiece, have also turned up occasionally.[97] Of greater significance for the overall development of the city are the indications provided by recent excavations of changes which seem to have occurred around the end of the third century A.D. In the villa Maria area, for example, an area of the city which had become an industrial and domestic quarter in hellenistic and Roman times, overlying a Greek archaic necropolis, reverted to use as a burial ground in the later imperial period when a series of hypogea were built.[98] A house on the north side of the Madonna delle Lacrime sanctuary was also abandoned towards the end of the third century and only in the Byzantine period was a new dwelling constructed at a higher level, and on a different alignment.[99] In Piazza della Vittoria the large-scale excavations of 1973–6 revealed that the hellenistic houses with plastered mud-brick walls and crushed brick floors continued to be occupied with some reconstruction until the late third century, but little remained of the subsequent late Roman rebuilding. The east-west *decumanus* on the north side of the site, already mentioned, was repaved with stone blocks sometime in the second or third century, but the road itself, and the area around it, then fell into disuse, probably in the late fourth century, and when rebuilding occurred it took place at a rather higher level and encroached on the alignment of the former road.[100] Quite when this took place must await further study of the pottery, but these last structures continued to be inhabited down into the sixth and seventh centuries. What prompted this upheaval only further work can show. It is conceivable, for example, that the initial decay of the area, apparently in the late third century, was the result of the one historical event known to have happened in Syracuse during the middle Empire, the sack of the city by Franks in 278,[101] but the extent of this raid and its consequences have not yet been detected archaeologically.

It is doubtful, however, if there was a lasting decline in Syracuse's fortunes, even if the size of the city did contract slightly at this time. The most striking testimony to the populousness of late Roman Syracuse is the enormous catacomb system, rivalled in extent and complexity only by that of

---

[96] P. ORSI, Siracusa. Casa romana nel predio Cassola, Notizie degli Scavi 1902, 402–8; ID., Notizie degli Scavi 1925, 310.

[97] For the *opus sectile,* G. V. GENTILI, Siracusa. Contributo alla topografia dell'antica città, Notizie degli Scavi 1956, 106; for the 'toilet of Venus' mosaic, VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 149–54.

[98] A. M. FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 77, 581–3.

[99] Information from Dr. G. VOZA.

[100] G. VOZA, op. cit. (n. 89), 555.

[101] Zosimus I.71.2: καὶ Φράγκων ... μοῖρά τις ἀποστᾶσα ... Σικελίᾳ προσχοῦσα καὶ τῇ Συρακοσίων προσμιξᾶσα πολὺν κατὰ ταύτην εἰργάσατο φόνον. Panegyrici Latini VIII.18.3 (ed. MYNORS): *recursabat quippe in animos illa sub divo Probo paucorum ex Francis captivorum incredibilis audacia et indigna felicitas, qui ... ipsas postremo navalibus quondam victoriis nobiles ceperant Syracusas ...*

Rome.[102] The building of the catacombs began in the third century, but they were greatly expanded in the fourth, when the whole of the vast S. Giovanni group, as well as the Villa Maria sector, were laid out for the first time. It was also after the Constantinian Peace of the Church that the S. Lucia and Vigna Cassia catacombs, which had both been begun around 220 A.D., had further sectors added, and earlier pagan hypogea in the area of the villa Landolina were re-adapted for Christian use. At the moment we know much more about late Roman Syracusans in death than in life, as few fourth- or fifth-century dwellings have been excavated; but a house off the Corso Gelone with peristyle and apsed hall was put up not earlier than the mid fourth century, and a house near the modern railway station had some undistinguished geometric mosaics which are likely to have been laid in the fifth century.[103] Some public building in the late Roman period is suggested by capitals in Syracuse Museum,[104] and restoration of the theatre's *scaenae frons* probably took place in the 380's, when the building was adapted for water spectacles.[105] But although the known evidence for late Roman building activity does not at present amount to much,[106] Syracuse was still reckoned as a *civitas splendida* in the mid-fourth century, if we can believe the 'Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium': written probably in 388/9,[107] this ranks Syracuse seventeenth among Roman cities in the entire Empire.

---

[102] For a brief general account in English, J. STEVENSON, The Catacombs, London 1978, 131–8. For a summary of work done up to 1960, with full bibliography, O. GARANA, Le catacombe siciliane e i loro martiri, Palermo 1961, 39–54. On chronology, S. L. AGNELLO, Problemi di datazione delle catacombe di Siracusa, Scritti in onore di G. Libertini, Florence 1958, 65–82. The standard work is still J. FÜHRER and V. SCHULTZE, Die altchristlichen Grabstätten Siziliens, Berlin 1907. Other important articles on individual catacombs: S. L. AGNELLO, Recenti esplorazioni nelle catacombe siracusane di S. Lucia, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana XXX, 1954, 7–60 and XXXI, 1955, 7–50; ID., Nuovi ipogei scoperti nel cimitero di Vigna Cassia, Notizie degli Scavi 1955, 221–58; ID., Lavori di sistemazione nelle catacombe siracusane di Vigna Cassia, Archivio Storico Siracusano II, 1956, 45–64; G. AGNELLO, Nuovi ritrovamenti nella catacomba di S. Maria a Siracusa, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana XLIX, 1973, 7–31; ID., Gli ipogei della villa Landolina a Siracusa, Archivio Storico Siracusano new series IV, 1975–6, 21–8; S. L. AGNELLO, Nuova planimetria dell'area cimiteriale dell'ex Vigna Cassia in Siracusa, Atti del IX Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana (Roma 1975), Vatican 1978, 5–10. The well-known Adelphia sarcophagus, eloquent testimony to the wealth of one Syracusan family, was found in the S. Giovanni catacomb: S. L. AGNELLO, Il sarcofago di Adelfia, Vatican 1956, and cf. WILSON, Trade and Industry etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), pl. IV. 6.

[103] For the former in brief, S. L. AGNELLO, Scavi e scoperte negli ultimi dieci anni in Sicilia, Atti del II° Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome 1971, 51. For the latter, P. ORSI, Siracusa, Casa romana entro la stazione, Notizie degli Scavi 1915, 191; VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 154–60, where they are dated to the third century, which I believe too early.

[104] G. V. GENTILI, Siracusa, capitelli tardo-romani di via Arsenale, Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 383–4.

[105] The evidence, in the form of a continuous wall round the orchestra and a late Roman water-tank in the stage area, was reported by E. DRERUP, Das Griechische Theater in Syrakus, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athen XXVI, 1901, 9–32, at 29, with plan on 15; cf. also POLACCO and ANTI, op. cit. (n. 88), 213–4. For the restoration of the *scaenae frons*: CIL X, 7124 = ILS 5643 a: *Neratius Palmatus v*(ir) *c*(larissimus) *c*(onsularis) ... | *etiam frontem scaenam o*[(inscription now lost). If Neratius Palmatus is identical with the Palmatus who was prefect of Rome in 412 he will have held office in Sicily in the 380's or 390's (PLRE I, 662; PLRE II, 824).

Syracuse's fame in the Roman period was no doubt largely due to her past, and the city was a compulsory part of the Sicilian tourist itinerary.[108] The depth of Greek roots in this part of the island is witnessed both by the outward appearance of certain buildings, such as the rock-cut early imperial house-tombs with niches for cremation urns, which make concessions to the Greek tradition with their neat Doric facades (pl. VII. 1);[109] and also by the language of the inscriptions. Of the thousand-plus catacomb inscriptions known, for example, ninety per cent are in Greek,[110] conclusive evidence that this was the everyday language of the vast majority of the population. Official dedications are, by contrast, in Latin, as one would expect from the provincial capital and the headquarters of the governor; but one vote of gratitude to a fourth-century governor, Perpenna Romanus, through whose agency τόδε ἄστυ ἐκ καμάτων ἀνέπνευσε (what κάματοι are not specified), was inscribed in Greek, lip-service being paid to Latin only in the form of a Latin heading.[111] Syracuse was probably also the headquarters of the provincial council, attested in a letter of Symmachus,[112] and if αἱ Σικέλων βουλαὶ καὶ ὁ δῆμος who honoured a fourth-century Sicilian governor in Rome on a Greek inscription were acting on the instigation of the council, as seems very likely, its proceedings at that stage were very probably conducted in Greek.[113] Syracuse's continued importance in the late Empire, as well as its role as the provincial capital, is also shown by a Latin inscription recording work of the governor Flavius Busiris in the *praetorium*, the governor's palace (probably in the second half of the fifth century or early in the sixth),[114] by the fact that the head of the Sicilian church had his see there,[115] and by Athalaric's tax-remission in 526, which, while it affected the whole of Sicily, was directed to the "*honorati, possessores* and *defensores* of the city of Syracuse as well as to all provincials".[116]

---

[106] The postulation of a fourth-century bath-house on the basis of a fragmentary inscription (G. Manganaro, Ricerche di antichità e di epigrafia siceliote, Archeologia Classica, XVII, 1965, 208–10) is unconvincing. The date of what was probably a town-house with private bath suite in via del Arsenale (G. Cultrera, Siracusa. Il bagno 'Dafne', Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 114–30) is uncertain; it is not necessarily as late as the Byzantine period.

[107] Expositio ... LXV; Ausonius, Ordo, part 17 (Loeb edition Vol. I, 278).

[108] Cf. Seneca ad Marc. 17.2, 6; Ovid, Ex Ponto II.10.22–9; Cicero ii in Verr. IV.59.132, V.27.68.

[109] Cavallari and Holm, op. cit. in n. 90, 359–63 and P. Orsi, Siracusa, Ipogei in contrada Grotticelli, Notizie degli Scavi 1913, 257–75. Coarelli, op. cit. in n. 94, 378, accepts Orsi's hellenistic date and suggests the mid third to mid second century B.C. for these tombs, but both the rite of cremation and the finds within suggest an early imperial date.

[110] A. Ferrua, Sicilia bizantina, Epigraphica V–VI, 1943–4, 106–7; S. L. Agnello, Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia, Rome 1953, 12.

[111] IG XIV, 14 = CIL X, 7125, not earlier than c. 320/30 (the governor is a *consularis*).

[112] Ep. I.17: *Ambrosium de summatibus provincialis fori ad dominos et principes nostros Siciliae commune legavit variis instructum mandatis* (c. 370/9). Cf. F. Sartori, Il commune Siciliae nel tardo impero, Klio LXII, 1981, 401–9.

[113] AE 1889, 17 = CIL VI, 31961. The govenor was Betitius Perpetuus, *corrector* of Sicily A.D. 312/24 (CIL X, 7204).

3. Catania (Catina): Figure 9

Dominated to the north by the massive bulk of Etna, the fortunes of Catania have inevitably been closely linked with the mountain that has provided her with both prosperity and periodic disaster. The richness of the volcanic soil to the north and of the Simeto valley to the south presents the potential for exceptional agricultural productivity and wealth,[117] but Catania has been the victim of some catastrophic eruptions of Etna which have threatened the very existence of the city and profoundly altered the ancient topography. The most serious occurred in 1663 when much of the western and southern parts of the city were engulfed in lava, leaving the thirteenth-century Castello Ursino, until then on the sea, half a kilometre from the new shoreline. A portion of the Roman city was lost beneath the lava flow at this time, including what appears from sixteenth-century accounts to have been a circus some 485 m. long;[118] but much has in fact remained from its Roman past, and Catania rivals Taormina in the sheer wealth and outstanding state of preservation of its standing monuments of Roman imperial date. As virtually no controlled excavation, however, has taken place in the city (except in the area of the ancient necropolis and more recently in the theatre), adequate discussion of Catania's history and development is bedevilled by the absence of precise information and of a secure chronological framework.

Nothing is known of the buildings of Republican Catania, and it is possible that a comparative lack of amenities led to more extensive building and rebuilding programmes during the Empire than was necessary at better equipped cities such as Syracuse. During the course of two and a half centuries

---

[114] AE 1946, 207: *salvo d.n.* | *Fl. Gelasius Busiris v* [c or s?] *praetorium sine ullius*[| *tot diebus quibus alii mensibus*. For discussion and dating, G. CULTRERA, Siracusa. Gli antichi ruderi di Via del Littorio, Notizie degli Scavi 1940, 199–224, at 218–9; S. MAZZARINO, Per una storia della Sicilia nel 5° secolo (a proposito di una nuova epigrafe siracusana), Bollettino Storico Catanese VI–VII, 1942–3, 1–14; PLRE II, 243–4.

[115] Constantine wrote to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse, inviting him and two priests ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου to the Council of Arles: Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, X.5.23.

[116] Cassiodorus, Variae IX.10.

[117] Pliny Nat. Hist. XVIII.95; Diodorus V.2.4; Cicero ii in Verr. III.18.47, who calls it the *caput rei frumentariae*.

[118] A. HOLM, Catania antica, Catania 1925, 57: it measured 1,872 *palmi* by 384 *palmi* and had a 'gymnasium' attached (one Sicilian palm is equivalent to 26 and 28 cm. at different times, and a precise metrical equivalent is not possible.). See now J. HUMPHREY, Roman Circuses, London 1986, 576.

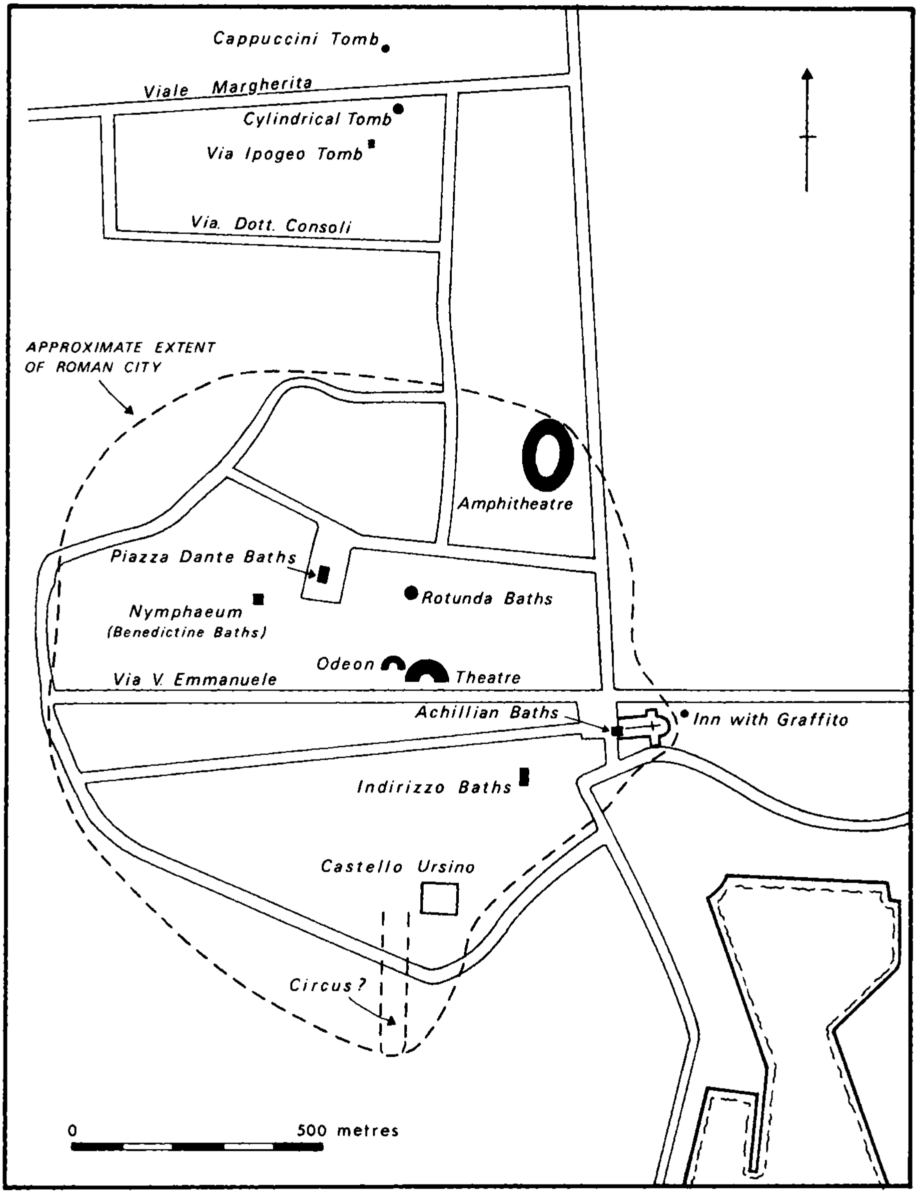

Cappuccini Tomb
Viale Margherita
Cylindrical Tomb
Via Ipogeo Tomb
Via. Dott. Consoli
APPROXIMATE EXTENT OF ROMAN CITY
Amphitheatre
Piazza Dante Baths
Rotunda Baths
Nymphaeum (Benedictine Baths)
Odeon
Theatre
Via V. Emmanuele
Achillian Baths
Inn with Graffito
Indirizzo Baths
Castello Ursino
Circus?
0
500 metres

Fig. 9. Catania, general plan

from the foundation of the Augustan *colonia* in 21 B.C.,[119] the city was provided with a new forum, theatre, amphitheatre, odeion, aqueduct and at least one set of public baths. Some details of the forum are known from the observations of a sixteenth-century scholar, BOLANO, and from a nineteenth-century survey of part of its substructures: it appears to have consisted of a central paved piazza 45 m. wide surrounded by colonnades, and with shops on at least part of all four sides.[120] The layout is similar to that of other known fora in Italy and the west in the first and second centuries, and the presence of *opus reticulatum,*[121] a rarity in Sicily, might suggest an Italian-trained architect. The Catania forum is sometimes thought to be Augustan, but the comparatively elaborate layout with substructures makes a construction date before the second half of the first century unlikely, and it may be as late as the early second century. The aqueduct was another early monument, certainly not later than the first century.[122] It ran from the *caput aquae* near S. Maria di Licodia, 28 km. to the west, where the vaulted reservoir of the spring was still largely intact in the eighteenth century. A print of that date shows long rows of arches still surviving, the piers faced in neat courses of black basalt blocks from Etna, and the *specus* above clothed in smaller, irregular pieces of basalt; but most of the aqueduct has since been destroyed, and in the few remaining fragments there has been much repatching (pl. VII. 2).

Work was also carried out during the first century A.D. on the theatre. The substantial and impressive remains of the *cavea* today (pl. VIII. 1) are probably entirely of the second century, but excavation below has found distinct remains of two earlier *caveae,* both apparently belonging to the imperial era:[123] one is presumably Augustan or Julio-Claudian, the other

---

[119] Presumably a *colonia* of veterans, but as with other Sicilian *coloniae* there are no military tombstones to prove it. The soldier of the Seventh Legion Gemina buried at Catania was not of course an Augustan settler, as the legion was raised by Galba (AE 1897, 133, recording M. Iulius Sedatus from Narbonne; for the legion, Suetonius, Galba 10; Tacitus, Hist. I.6).

[120] HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 48–9; cf. PACE, ACSA II, 356. For some examples of western fora, see M. TODD, Forum and capitolium in the early Empire, in: F. O. GREW, and B. HOBLEY, ed., Roman urban topography in Britain and the western Empire, London 1985, 56–66. Augustan dating: COARELLI and TORELLI, op. cit. in n. 48, 330.

[121] Personal observation, in the very small area still open to inspection.

[122] CIL X, 6999 gives the names of *curatores* who appear to lack *cognomina* (one is Q. Maculnius), a feature unusual after Augustus and rare after Nero (cf. R. DUNCAN-JONES, The Economy of the Roman Empire, 2nd. ed., Cambridge 1982, 363); but the reading is too lacunose to be certain. For the course of the aqueduct in detail, S. LAGONA, L'acquedotto romano di Catania, Cronache di Archeologia e di storia d'arte III, 1964, 69–86.

[123] Touring Club Italiano, op. cit. in n. 91, 533, with an account of recent work otherwise unpublished. The main account is still that of SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, 12–18, with pl. I–V, briefly summarized by HOLM (op. cit. in n. 118, 42–5) and PACE (ACSA II, 321–3). There are later notes in Fasti Archeologici V, 1950, 4204; VI, 1951, 4591; and Kokalos XIV–XV, 1968–69, 348. See also notes 125 and 127.

Flavian. Whether these in turn replaced a hellenistic and indeed classical theatre on the same site is uncertain.[124] The visible auditorium consists of a *media* and *ima cavea* divided by two horizontal gangways and by eight stairways into nine *cunei.* A vertical wall about 5 m. high separates the *media cavea* from the five rows of the *summa cavea,* which are reached by staircases at the rear wall of the theatre (pl. VIII. 2). Only the *summa cavea* is raised artificially on concrete substructures; the remainder of the auditorium rests on the natural slope of the hillside. There are three internal barrel-vaulted corridors to facilitate access to the seating, linked by flights of staircases. The whole building is constructed of concrete faced with rows of basalt blocks. Brick is used only for arches, for occasional bonding courses, and for the visible portion of the *scaenae frons,* most of which still lies buried. Much of it was stripped of its ornament in the eighteenth century, when something of the richness of its decoration was ascertained: statues of Hercules, two Muses, and a now headless woman, as well as relief friezes depicting Hercules and a gigantomachia, together with a sculptured plinth decorated with figures of Victories, trophies and female personifications were all found. Excavations in the area of the *pulpitum* and *scaenae frons* are currently in progress, and fragments of another plinth with garlands and bucrania, as well as part of a frieze depicting lictors, are among the recent discoveries. In addition there was the usual columnar screen, employing grey granite (taken in the eighteenth century to embellish the Duomo's facade), polychrome 'Africano' from Asia Minor, a pink breccia, and purple pavonazzetto.[125]

There are few clues to the date of the theatre, which is smaller (diameter approximately[126] 87 m.) than Taormina's but still a substantial building. The auditorium in its visible form is clearly the work of one period, as the identical construction method of the three internal corridors shows. Portions of brick ribbing separate the sections of basalt vaulting at intervals, a construction feature first experimented with in Rome during the later first century but not widely used until Trajan's reign. Sometime in the first half of the second century is the most likely period of construction for a building of this complexity and good standards.[127] Certainly the construction style is different from that used in the amphitheatre and the odeion, both of which are later in date. A more precise dating within the first half of the second century is more difficult, but the style of architectural ornament on the sculptural decoration of the *scaenae frons* provides some possible clues. The elongated but still rounded beads in the astragal, for example, are reminiscent of the type which first appeared in Trajan's Forum in Rome dedicated in 113, and other details such as the widely-spaced ovolo and the *cyma reversa* D fit in well with a date in the first quarter of the second century.[128] More specific evidence is provided by the scenes of trophies and captives which decorated the base plinths supporting the columns of the decorative screen (pl. IX): the type of shield, oval rather than hexagonal,[129] suggests that the trousered barbarians shown are Dacians rather than Germans, in which case the *scaenae frons*, and probably the theatre as a whole in its visible from, may be late Trajanic, with construction not finished, perhaps, until the beginning of Hadrian's reign.

---

[124] PATTI claimed he found part of a Greek theatre (PACE, loc. cit. in n. 123) and one large wall below the *cavea* may have also belonged to a Greek theatre (G. RIZZA in: Princeton Encyclopedia of classical sites, Princeton 1976, 442 s.v. Katane and in: SA I, 540). Cf. also note 135 below.

[125] For the eighteenth-century finds, see LIBERTINI, op. cit. infra in n. 128, nos. 141–9; F. FERRARA, Storia di Catania, Catania 1829, 140 (Muses, now lost); G. LIBERTINI, in: Bollettino Storico Catanese XI–XII, 1946–47, 134–41. For recent work, BACCI, op. cit. in n. 54, 746–7; G. RIZZA, Attività dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Catania. Scavi e ricerche in Sicilia negli anni 1976–1979, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 764–70, at 769–70.

[126] In the absence of a full modern survey the precise dimensions remain uncertain. In published accounts it is variously given as 44.80 m. (PACE, ACSA II, 323), 87 m. (Touring Club, op. cit. in n. 91, 533), 97 m. (or 104 m.) = 374 Sicilian palms (SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, 13) and 102 m. (COARELLI and TORELLI, op. cit. in n. 48, 330).

It was probably around the middle years of the second century that another building was erected to stage entertainments for the people of Catania. The amphitheatre, measuring overall 125 m. by 105 m., is smaller than the one at Syracuse; yet because the shape of the ellipse is wider than usual its arena is exceptionally large (71 m. by 51 m.).[130] Little survives today, except for a small portion exposed in 1904–5, but one of the internal corridors providing access to the seats can be followed in its entirety below the buildings of modern Catania. This is distinct from a service corridor immediately behind the arena wall, which the Catania amphitheatre lacks (apart from short stretches either side of the principal entrances to the arena). Little remains of the seating, the present arrangement being a fabrication of the twentieth-century restorers.[131] Round the outside of the building ran a double ambulatory corridor at ground level, the outer façade consisting of superimposed arcades, except where the amphitheatre was cut into a hillside when a solid retaining wall took its place. Built throughout of mortared basalt-rubble faced with irregularly-shaped Etnaean basalt blocks, and with vaults also entirely of the same material, the amphitheatre represents the most advanced use of developed concrete architecture in Sicily, and is structurally a more complicated and ambitious building than the one at Syracuse. The untidy standard of workmanship suggests a rather later date for it than the theatre; and if the use of alternating brick and basalt voussoirs in some arches came into fashion in Sicily at the same time as a similar technique did in mainland Italy, then the Catania amphitheatre may well have been constructed in the Antonine period.[132] There is, however, no strong independent evidence for its date.

---

[127] So LUGLI, op. cit. in n. 51, 641 and ID., op. cit. in n. 45, 101–3, but the accounts hopelessly confuse theatre and odeion (a confusion followed by BLAKE, op. cit. in n. 45, 262). E. FRÉZOULS, L'architecture du théâtre romain en Italie, Palladio XVI, 1974, 35–71, at 66–8, dates this and the Taormina theatre to post-Hadrianic times, which I believe is too late; cf. also ID., Aspects de l'histoire architecturale du théâtre romain, ANRW II.12.1, Berlin and New York 1982, 343–441, at 378–9 (where a specific date is not offered). For brick ribbing in vault construction in Rome, LUGLI, op. cit. in n. 51, 668; WARD-PERKINS, first op. cit. in n. 53, 68, 89 and 471, n. 8.

[128] SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, pl. V; G. LIBERTINI, Il Museo Biscari, Rome 1930, no. 142. A fuller discussion will appear in WILSON, op. cit. in n. 45, forthcoming. Two inscribed blocks, one of limestone in Catania Museum, the other of basalt until recently behind the Odeion, which bear the name *T. FLAVIUS IONICUS*, possibly record the benefactor of the theatre (G. MANGANARO, Ricerche di epigrafia siceliota, Siculorum Gymnasium XIV, 1961, 195–6).

[129] For this distinction, J. M. C. TOYNBEE, The Hadrianic School, Cambridge 1934, 89–90.

[130] HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 37–42, is the best general account; cf. also HOUEL, VP II, 128–34 and SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, 19–21, pl. VII–VIII. The twentieth-century excavations were reported by F. FICHERA, Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale I, 1904, 119–21 and II, 1905, 66–72. Cf. also PACE, ACSA, II, 337, n. 132 below, and O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II.11.1), 368–373.

In the absence of epigraphic evidence it is not known if this grandiose building was the result of private or imperial benefaction or whether it was built by the Catanians themselves out of civic funds: if the latter such an ambitious structure may well have stretched municipal coffers to near breaking point. In 164/6, a letter was addressed by one Julius Paternus to the emperors M. Aurelius and L. Verus (it was subsequently set down on stone), complaining that he had undertaken to build an *opus* of some kind apparently with money advanced by the provincial procurator, but that the city councillors including the *duoviri* were in disagreement with him and wanted to raise the money some other way.[133] Paternus was clearly a financial official other than the procurator; very probably he was a *curator rei publicae* which at this period was a special imperial appointment usually made to deal with individual financial problems, often irregularity or overspending.[134] There is no evidence to suggest that the *opus* was the amphitheatre but it is of interest that Catania needed such an appointment at all, perhaps not long after the amphitheatre was built. Without further evidence, however, the precise nature and significance of Paternus' activities remain obscure (pl. X. 2).

---

[131] The flat space between the seats and the arena wall may be due to stone-robbing; none appears in the sections of SERRADIFALCO, loc. cit. in n. 130, nor of HOUEL, VP II, pl. CXXXIII. As restored the vault of the main entrance to the arena projects above the seating: in antiquity of course the latter would have been carried over it at a higher level. See here pl. X. 1.

[132] So LUGLI, op. cit. in n. 45, 103–4; ID., op. cit. in n. 50, 651. COARELLI's date (*'inizio dell'età imperiale'*), in COARELLI and TORELLI, op. cit. in n. 48, 409, is too early, that of A. HÖNLE and A. HENZE (Römische Amphitheater und Stadien, Zurich and Freiburg 1981, 207) too late (c. 240 A.D.).

[133] CIL X, 7024 = AE 1960, 202. Full discussion by G. MANGANARO, Epigrafi frammentarie di Catania, Kokalos V, 1959, 145–56; cf. O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 373, 390–1 with n. 304.

[134] On this official, R. DUTHOY, Curatores rei publicae en occident durant le principat, Ancient Society X, 1979, 171–238; G. P. BURTON, The curator rei publicae: towards a reappraisal, Chiron IX, 1979, 465–87; F. JACQUES, Les curateurs des cités dans l'occident romain de Trajan à Gallien, Paris 1983 (cf. ID., Les curateurs des cités africaines au III^{e} siècle, ANRW II.10.2, Berlin and New York 1982, 62–135). Catania had another in the third century, by when the post had still not become a routine financial appointment (CIL XIV, 3593).

The third century was generally a lean time for public building in Sicily (as in Italy), but two major projects at Catania may possibly belong to this period, the Odeion and the Rotunda baths, but the chronology of both is by no means established with certainty. The Odeion, a fine example of its type, with an overall diameter of 68 m., lies next to the theatre but at a higher level.[135] Only the lower rows of seats make use of the natural slope of the hill, the upper parts being supported by a ring of seventeen vaulted wedge-shaped chambers which form the outer shell of the building. The exterior façade presents a continuous row of arches, about 4 m. high, with an unusual horizontal lintel of basalt blocks spanning each opening about 3 m. above the ground. The lowest eleven rows of the *cavea,* which are well preserved, are divided by two stairways into three *cunei,* but above the gangway the arrangements are less clear, as until recently it was covered by modern houses; these still conceal the *scaenae frons.* The construction is of basalt-faced concrete, as usual in Catania, with brick bonding courses and brick arches. The workmanship is more haphazard than in the theatre, and the construction technique in detail has little in common with that of the amphitheatre. It was probably therefore built at a different, and presumably later, period than either, probably sometime in the third century (pl. XI).

Of the Terme della Rotonda (fig. 10) only a single room, used as a church until the last war, has survived substantially intact.[136] It is a fine circular hall 11 m. in diameter with a dome of basalt *caementa* pierced by an *oculus* in the crown. The recesses on the east-west axis probably contained windows, but drastic post-Roman alterations have obscured the original arrangement. The focal point of the hall was a great niche in the south wall, flanked by marble-lined basins. These face towards the central arch in the north side of the hall which led to the barrel-vaulted room beyond, itself flanked by narrow corridors and triangular service rooms. The rest of the building is lost, and there are no inscriptions to indicate its date. It is not the earliest building on the site, however, for below Roman floor level other structures, including heated rooms at A and B, and a plunge bath at D, have been uncovered (fig. 10,

---

[135] Unpublished in detail. There are brief notes in HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 45 – 8; HOUEL, VP II, 141 – 2 with pl. CXLI – CXLII still repays study. S. MIRONE, L'odeo di Catania, Revue Archéologique LXXVI, 1920, 271 – 89, argued that the Roman building replaced one of 412 B.C. of the same size, but there is not a scrap of evidence to support such a hypothesis.

[136] Unpublished. The fullest description remains that of SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, 25. HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 34, mentions it only in passing, while G. LIBERTINI, Scoperte recenti: la trasformazione di un edificio termale in chiesa bizantina (La Rotonda), Atti del VIII° Congresso di Studi bizantini, Rome 1953, II, 166 – 72, deals only with the Byzantine transformations. See also notes in: Fasti Archeologici I, 1946, 1953; II, 1947, 2646; V, 1950, 4204. The sketch of the 1948 – 50 excavations in fig. 10 (lower) is by myself.

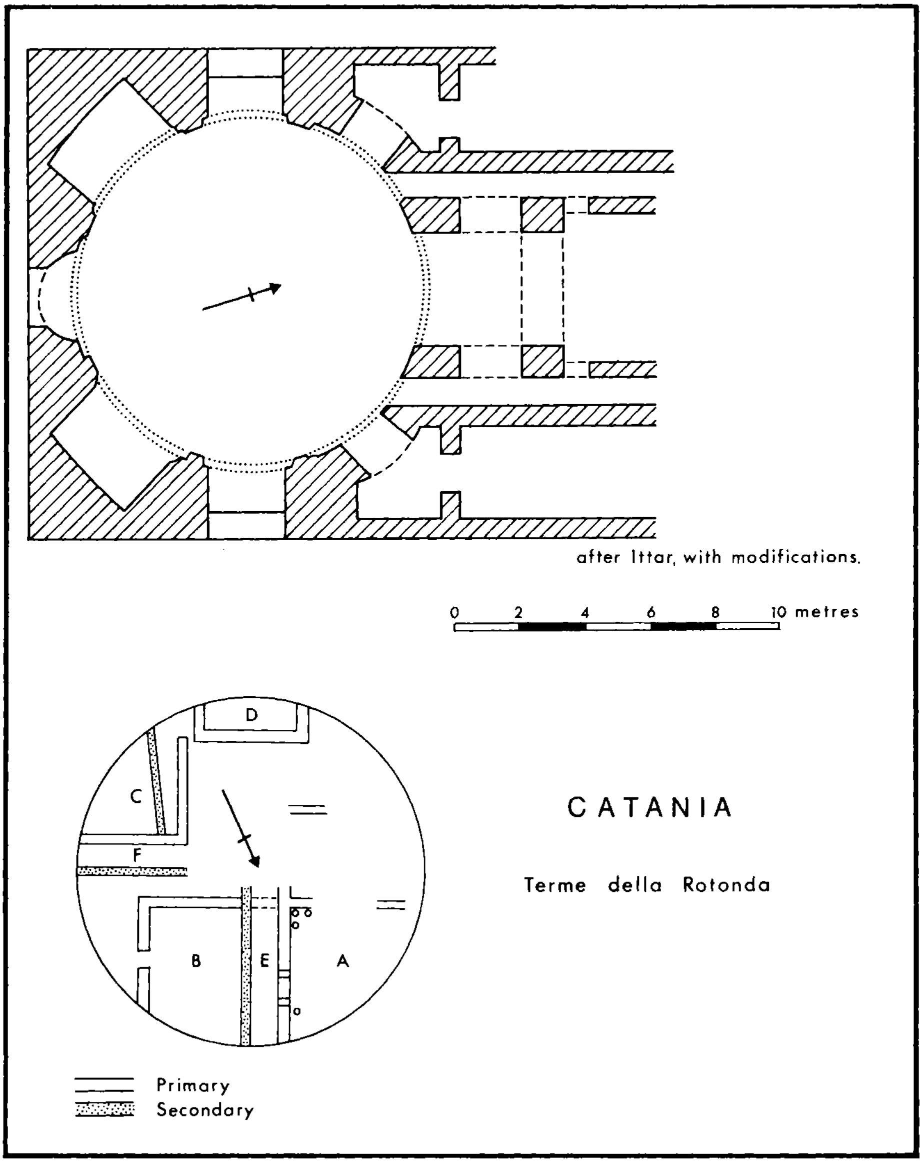

after Ittar, with modifications.
0 2 4 6 8 10 metres
D
C
F
B
E
A
CATANIA
Terme della Rotonda
Primary
Secondary

Fig. 10. Catania, plan of Terme della Rotunda, with sketch-plan (lower) of earlier structures below

lower). After their demolition secondary walls were added to form channels E and F, which formed part of the hypocaust system of the later circular hall. A white marble floor at C implies that the first bath building is not earlier than the first century A.D. and could well be later. As for the date of the standing structure, there is little direct evidence, but it is unlikely to be earlier than the third century. What survives suggests that the architect may have planned an axial building with a vista through to the apse of the circular, heated, *caldarium*. Indeed the plan, with pools either side of a focal niche and irregular-shaped service-rooms flanking the central axis, has a striking parallel in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome, where the circular *caldarium* was first introduced in an imperial bath-building of the axial type. While the circular *caldarium* was taken up again in the Baths of Constantine in Rome it was never common, and the Catania baths (if correctly interpreted) provide a rare provincial instance of its use.[137] But the Sicilian architect lacked the originality and boldness of his Roman colleagues. He was still conservative enough to

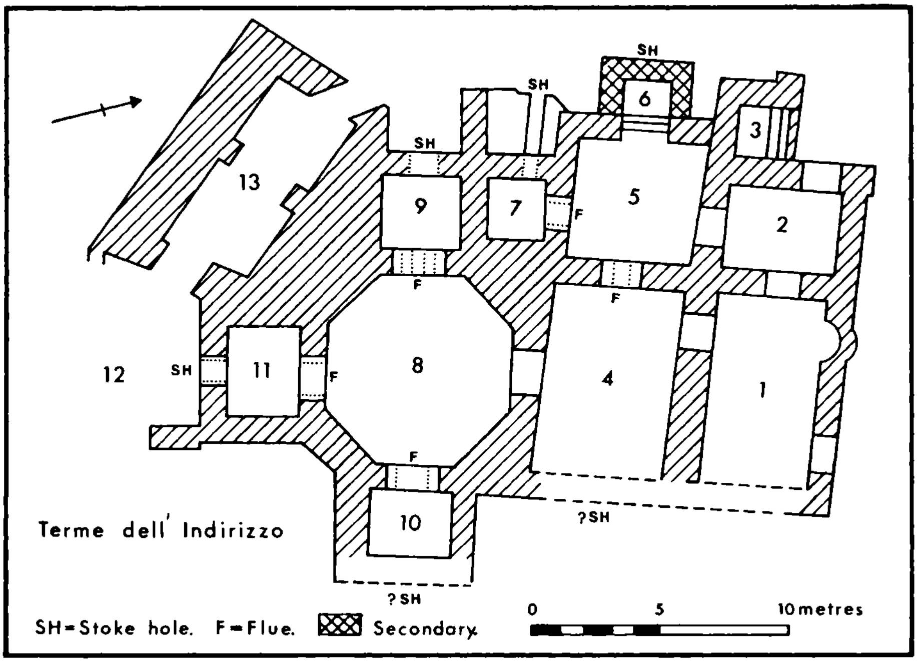


Fig. 11. Catania, plan of Terme dell'Indirizzo

enclose his circular hall in an outer frame that was square, and he felt too unsure of his materials to pierce the dome with clerestory windows, preferring instead to light the hall by a small *oculus*. This was a feature obsolete in the capital by the end of the third century,[138] although it may well have lingered on rather longer in the provinces. Sometime in the second or third quarter of the third century is perhaps the most likely period for the building of the Rotunda baths; and the similarity of construction technique to that used in the Odeion, with rather untidy rows of local basalt blocks and brick bonding courses, suggests that the Odeion is approximately contemporary.

---

[137] Caracallan baths: Ward-Perkins, first op. cit. in n. 53, 129–32; E. Brödner, Die römischen Thermen und das antike Badewesen, Darmstadt 1983, 220–29. Comparable *caldaria* in provincial axial-type bath-buildings: Lambaesis, legionary baths (D. Krencker and E. Krüger, Die Trierer Kaiserthermen, Augsburg 1929, 206–8), and Lepcis Magna, 'unfinished' baths (with a hexagonal rather than a circular *caldarium*: R. G. Goodchild, Libya Antiqua II, 1965, 15–27).

Another third-century bath-house, possibly the same as the Terme Achilliane referred to below, was built or repaired early in that century by Q. Lusius Laberius, according to an inscription now lost,[139] and another third-century inscription records the construction of a new branch of aqueduct, needed to serve the Nymphaeum which is believed to lie on the highest part of the city below the Benedictine monastery.[140] Fragmentary remains of an extensive bath building of uncertain date have turned up at the same site at various times.[141] The inscription picturesquely records in elegiac couplets the dedication to the Nymphs of something (there is a lacuna) ἀγχόθι λαϊνέης αὔλακος ὑδρο[φόρου | τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησεν ἐς ἠέρα πολλ[ὸν ἀείρας | νᾶμα φέρειν καθαρὸν ἐνναέται[ς Κατάνης, literally “near the stone water-bearing furrow” (i.e. the aqueduct) “which he made” (the name of the dedicator is lost) “having raised it high in the air, to bring pure water to the inhabitants of Catania” (pl. XII. 1).[142]

While much, therefore, can be said about the public buildings of Roman Catania, virtually nothing coherent is known of its private houses. Fragments of dwellings have been uncovered from time to time, some with brightly frescoed walls, and there are a few unremarkable mosaic pavements from the town,[143] but no clear picture has so far emerged. One small building interpreted as an inn of dubious repute had amatory graffiti scrawled on its walls;[144]

---

[138] WARD-PERKINS, first op. cit. in n. 53, 437.

[139] CIL X, 7018, found opposite the Duomo. The man is identified with Lusius Laberius Geminus Rutilianus (AE 1915, 77; PIR² V, L 436), consul at some stage in the first decades of the third century.

[140] IG XIV, 453; G. MANGANARO, Iscrizioni latine e greche di Catania tardo-imperiale, Archivio Storico della Sicilia Orientale XI, 1958, 19–24.

[141] HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 31–4; G. RIZZA, Catania. Scavi e scoperte negli anni 1975–78, Cronache di Archeologica XVIII, 1979, 103–5; F. GIUDICE et al., Catania. Scavo all'interno del muro di cinta del Monastero dei Benedettini, ibid. 129–41.

[142] Another fragmentary inscription, of the third or possibly the fourth century, records rebuilding of harbour works and expenditure on the city drains: MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 133, 157–8.

[143] Mosaics: VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 109–113, 131–2. Houses: HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 56–7, to which can be added an example excavated in 1982–4 in the courtyard of the former Benedictine convent, with *opus signinum* floors and frescoed walls, the last of three superimposed layers in one room being thought to be of late-second-century date: G. RIZZA, Kokalos XXX–XXXI, 1984–85, forthcoming.

[144] G. MANGANARO, La Sala 'Hospitum' a Catania nel I secolo d.c., Helikon II, 1962, 485–93; for the original discovery, P. ORSI, Catania. Scoperte varie di antichità negli

Catania, in fact, as we learn from a scholiast on Juvenal, had something of a reputation for dissolute behaviour.[145] Some parts of the cemeteries on the north side of the town have been uncovered: tomb-types include subterranean hypogea, *a cappuccina* tile-built graves, and inhumations within containers made of simple stone walling.[146] Indicative of greater wealth are substantial mausolea, including examples of early imperial cylindrical base-and-canopy tombs in Via Margherita and in the Cappuccini garden, both for cremation burials, and the later chamber tomb in via Ipogeo (? c. 150/200), which had provision for both cremation and inhumation.[147]

That Catania continued to thrive in the late Empire there can be no doubt. Quite apart from the laudatory passages in the 'Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium' and in Ausonius' 'Ordo Urbium Nobilium', which bracket Catania with Syracuse,[148] there is the evidence of both fresh building activity and new inscriptions dating to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. One addition to the city amenities at this time was almost certainly the Terme dell'Indirizzo,[149] a building in an almost perfect state of preservation: only part of the east wall, together with most of the hypocaust *pilae* and the floors they supported, are missing. Room 1 was the *apodyterium* with the *frigidarium* at 2 and a cold plunge at 3, *tepidaria* at 4 and 5 with a plunge bath at 6 and possibly a *laconicum* at 7. The main octagonal room, 8, was the principal *caldarium*, and there were probably hot water baths in 9, 10 and 11. The barrel-vaulted roofs, and the dome of 8 pierced by rounded clerestory windows, are all intact. The walls are faced throughout with small blocks of local Etna basalt,

---

anni 1916–7, Notizie degli Scavi 1918, 53–61 (= AE 1919, 57). Some women's names are recorded (Prisca, Sikoulia) and there are two occurrences of ἐμνήσθη, clearly with a sexual meaning in this context. A Latin graffito reads: *XVII K*(alendas) *Septemb(res), feridius Cereris Dominae.* | *Hic sibi suabiter fece|run*(t) *tres adulescentes* | *quorum nomina lege:* | *Onesimus et L. Valerius* | *Ersianus et Filumenus.* | *Unus cum mulier*(e) *ex|tremus. Multis annis, habe, faciant* | *fo*]*rtunam* | *propitiam.* Filumenus 'enjoyed himself' with a woman; MANGANARO deduces that the other two had homosexual relations.

[145] Scholiast on Juvenal VIII.18 (about the use of Catanian pumice for smoothing *tenerum lumbum*): *Catina oppidum Siciliae usque ad probra dissolutum notatur, ut et Bibaculus: Osce senex Catinaeque puer, Cumana meretrix* (Bibaculus lived in the first century B.C.) (= Bibaculus fr. 5 ap.: J. GRANAROLO, L'époque néotérique ou la poésie romaine d'avant-garde au dernier siècle de la République (Catulle excepté), ANRW I. 3, Berlin and New York 1973, 348).

[146] G. LIBERTINI, Catania, scoperte varie, Notizie degli Scavi 1937, 75–82; ID., Necropoli romana e avanzi bizantini nella via Dottore Consoli, Notizie degli Scavi 1956, 170–189; cf. also Fasti Archeologici XIII, 1957, 4120 and G. RIZZA, Necropoli romana scoperta a Catania in via S. Euplo, Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale LIV–LV, 1958–9, 249–51.

[147] HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 59–60.

[148] Expositio ... LXV; Ausonius, Ordo, part 16.

[149] Unpublished in detail; but cf. SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, 23–4, following S. ITTAR, Raccolta degli antichi edifici di Catania, Catania 1812, and, in brief, HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 56; cf. O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 395–96. The building was restored in 1980: BACCI, op. cit. in n. 54, 747–8.

laid in rough courses with smaller basalt pieces and numerous brick fragments filling the joints between. This type of bath-building, with its stark functionalism, its profusion of vaults, and its rather loose-knit grouping of rooms with constant shift of axes, had a very wide currency in the late Roman world.[150] The slipshod construction and the piercing of the dome by windows in particular point to a date not before the fourth century. Similar standards of facing material and an even more remarkable mixture of room shapes – square, circular, octagonal and apsed – are present in a much smaller, but roughly contemporary, bath-building in Piazza Dante; this, however, probably belonged to a private house.[151] Yet another bath-house, partly underlying the Duomo, is known by its ancient name: a Greek inscription of A.D. 434 found in it commemorates the restoration of αἱ θερμαὶ αἱ Ἀχιλλιαναί which was started by one Liberalis, and completed by the governor Flavius Felix Eumathius,[152] probably Liberalis' successor. The structures recorded in the nineteenth century here (fig. 12) comprise mainly the substructures which sup-

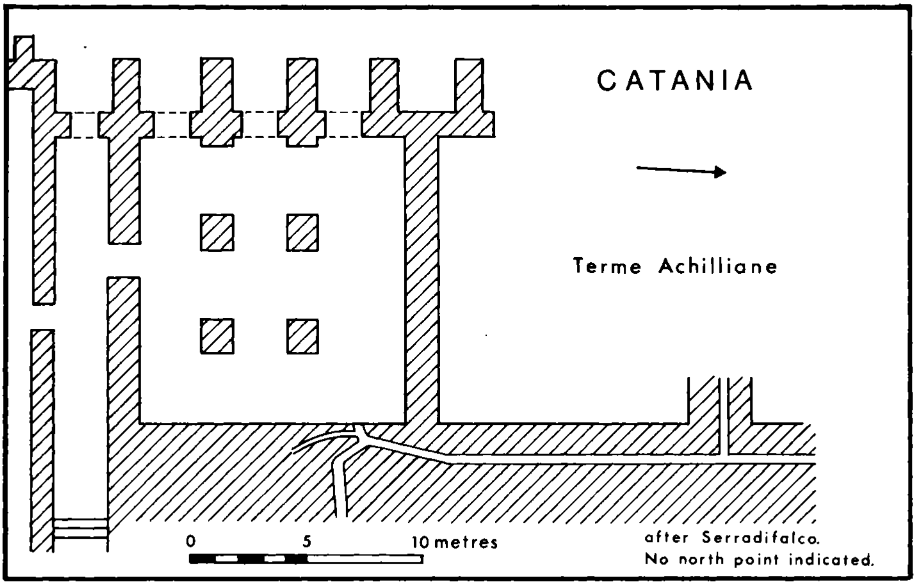


Fig. 12. Catania, plan of Terme Achilliane

ported the bathing chambers above, including a room with a vault springing from four central piers. A barrel-vaulted corridor at an upper level had stucco reliefs depicting *putti* amid a vine scroll. Further portions of this building were found further north in 1856, including a brick-faced concrete chamber with a hypocaust. Reports of the discovery of other fragmentary bath-buildings elsewhere in Catania only serve to strengthen the impression that the city was singularly well-equipped with this particular class of amenity.[153]

---

[150] Epitomized so well in the Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna: J. B. WARD-PERKINS and J. M. C. TOYNBEE, The Hunting baths at Lepcis Magna, Archaeologia XCIII, 1949, 165 – 195, at 193 – 4. Terme dell'Indirizzo: pl. XIII here.

[151] Unpublished excavation of 1959. RIZZA, op. cit. in n. 141, 105 seems to think that it was part of a large public baths, but the rooms are too small for public use.

[152] IG XIV, 455 (= AE 1959, 26), discussed by MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 140, 24 – 30. For the two men, PLRE II, 421 and 676. For the baths, HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 54 – 5; for the stucco decoration, HOUEL, VP III, pl. CXLVII. 2 and SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, V, pl. X.

The baths were not the only structures to receive attention in the late Empire. There were problems, for example, with the Nymphaeum, where the water "had become so polluted that it seemed to bring a kind of ··· to those who drank it". We learn this from the text of a Latin inscription cut on the back of the slab inscribed with the Greek couplets already mentioned (pl. XII. 2).[154] The restoration was carried out during the governorship of Flavius Arsinius by Flavius Ambrosius, who was an advocate at the provincial council in the 370s;[155] it was then "given back for the enjoyment of the distinguished people of Catania."

The theatre, too, was still functioning in the fourth and fifth centuries. Part of its lowest internal corridor was converted into a reservoir and the *orchestra* was flooded, as at Syracuse, so that water spectacles, so beloved of late Roman audiences, could be staged.[156] A dedicatory tablet to the "Genius of the splendid city of Catania" was set up there towards the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century (pl. XIV. 1),[157] and an even later inscription (probably mid to late fifth century) tells how the statues of the *flammifugas fratres,* the city's heroes and protectors, were set up again after being overthrown by an enemy, presumably during a barbarian raid.[158] It was a commendable act of civic pride, one which (since the stone was apparently still *in situ*) incidentally demonstrates that the theatre was still in use at the time. But not much later, during the reign of Theoderic (493 – 526), the *honorati possessores, curiales* and *defensores* of the city were granted permission to plunder their ruined amphitheatre for material to build the city walls, and the use of the monuments of Roman Catania as a quarry for other buildings had begun.[159]

---

[153] Other bath-buildings are recorded off Via Garibaldi (HOLM, op. cit. in n. 118, 51), in Via Vittorio Emanuele and in Via Casa di Nutrizione, very close to Piazza Dante (Fasti Archeologici XIII, 1958, 4120).

[154] CIL X, 7017 (= AE 1959, 25), G. MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 140, 19 – 24. The fourth-century mosaic with busts of the Months, now in Catania Museum, probably came from this building: G. LIBERTINI, op. cit. in n. 128, 309 – 10, no. 1516 and H. STERN, Le Calendrier de 354, Paris 1953, 210 – 12 and pl. XXXIX.

[155] Symmachus, ad Ausonium I.17. The capacity in which he assisted in the restoration, and the seniority of his position at the time, are not clear. The restoration may have occurred c. 370 or somewhat earlier (cf. PLRE I, 111, 'mid-fourth century'). Of Arsinius nothing further is known, unless he is the Arsenius, 'ex-Vicar', of Codex Theodosianus VI.4.15, A.D. 359 (so CHASTAGNOL, L'administration du Diocèse Italien au Bas-Empire, Historia XII, 1963, 370; doubted by PLRE). If he is the same man, Arsinius will have been governor of Sicily some years before 359.

[156] On these in general, B. PACE, Coregrafie in acqua, Anthemon: Scritti in onore di Carlo Anti, Florence 1955, 312 – 7. The bikini-clad girls represented on the mosaic of the Piazza Armerina villa may have been taking part in these sports. A roughly built but substantial wall, about 1 m. wide, incorporating pieces of marble decoration from the *scaenae frons* and stretches of the original *pulpitum* front, was uncovered in the *orchestra* of the theatre of Catania in fresh excavations commenced in 1980. The wall was probably built in connection with the adaptation of the theatre for water spectacles.

[157] CIL X, 7014 (= AE 1959, 23). MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 140, 5 – 10, proposed a date of c. 330 – 1; disputed by PLRE I, 614, which maintains that the presence of three *Domini Nostri* and the letter forms indicate a date of either 367 – 395 or 401 – 8.

4. Tindari (Tyndaris): Figure 13

The city of Tindari, a foundation of Dionysius I of Syracuse (in 396 B.C.), is dramatically situated on a rocky hill 280 m. above the Gulf of Patti, enjoying magnificent views over the Sicilian coastline and the Aeolian islands to the north. In contrast to the places so far described, Tindari has been the scene of careful, large-scale excavations since the last war, as a result of which a complete *insula* has been uncovered and a great deal learnt about the city's fortunes during the late Republic and the Empire. The *insula* in its visible form seems to date from early in the first century B.C., and consists of shops, two houses, and a courtyard building later converted into baths. Six shops, each about 4 m. square, face onto the *decumanus* at the northern end of the *insula,* the eastern three provided with a further room at the rear of each shop (fig. 14). Behind these is a small rectangular hall (S 7), 12 m. by 6 m. with a bench running along the south wall, and roofed by two barrel vaults side by side; it was perhaps a small warehouse or meeting hall. Brick springers and voussoirs in the central, supporting piers imply a date not before the early Empire, and this part of the *insula* must have undergone extensive reorganization at that period. It is not impossible that the rebuilding was necessary as a result of earthslip damage, since the Elder Pliny (d. 79 A.D.) records, no doubt with exaggeration, that "half the city of Tyndaris" had fallen into the sea.[160]

---

[158] AE 1956, 259 (first published by S. MAZZARINO, in: Rivista del Commune di Catania, IV, 1954); PLRE II, 759 ('late fifth/early sixth century'). The inscription records the last known governor of Sicily, Merulus, as *spectabilis,* a rank not applicable to a consular governor before the mid fifth century at least (RE III A [1929], col. 1559 s.v. spectabilis). On the 'Fratres', Amphinomos and Anapias, see Seneca, De Beneficiis III.37.2 (for a full list of references, RE 1 [1894], col. 1943 Amphinomos 5) and the general discussion of E. CIACERI, Culti e Miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia, Catania 1911, 50 – 4. The spot outside the city where they diverted a lava flow (a function inherited in modern times by S. Agata) was hallowed as the 'Campus Piorum' (Philostratos V.17, Solinus V.15), but there was no temple dedicated to them, and Claudian asks why (Carminum Minorum Opusculum XVII (L) 41 – 2; Loeb edition, II, p. 190). Cf. also IG XIV, 502, where Catania is called the "famous city of the Pious Ones".

[159] Cassiodorus, Variae III.49.

[160] Pliny, NH, II.206: see below note 178. For the *insula,* L. BERNABÒ BREA and M. CAVALIER, Tindari, Area urbana. L'Insula IV e le strade che la circondano, Bollettino

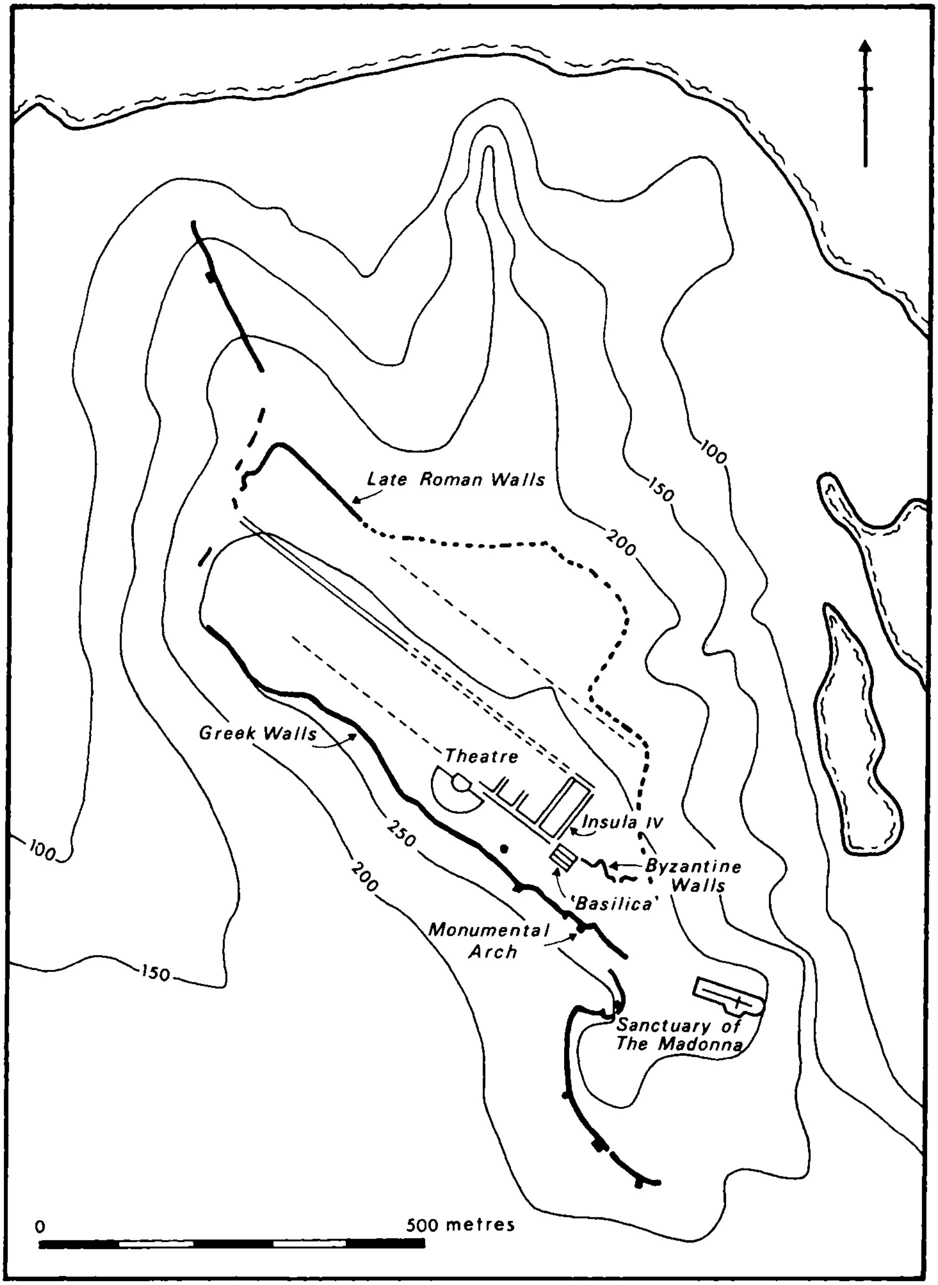

Late Roman Walls
Greek Walls
Theatre
Insula IV
Byzantine Walls
'Basilica'
Monumental Arch
Sanctuary of The Madonna
100
150
200
250
200
150
100
0
500 metres

Fig. 13. Tindari, general plan

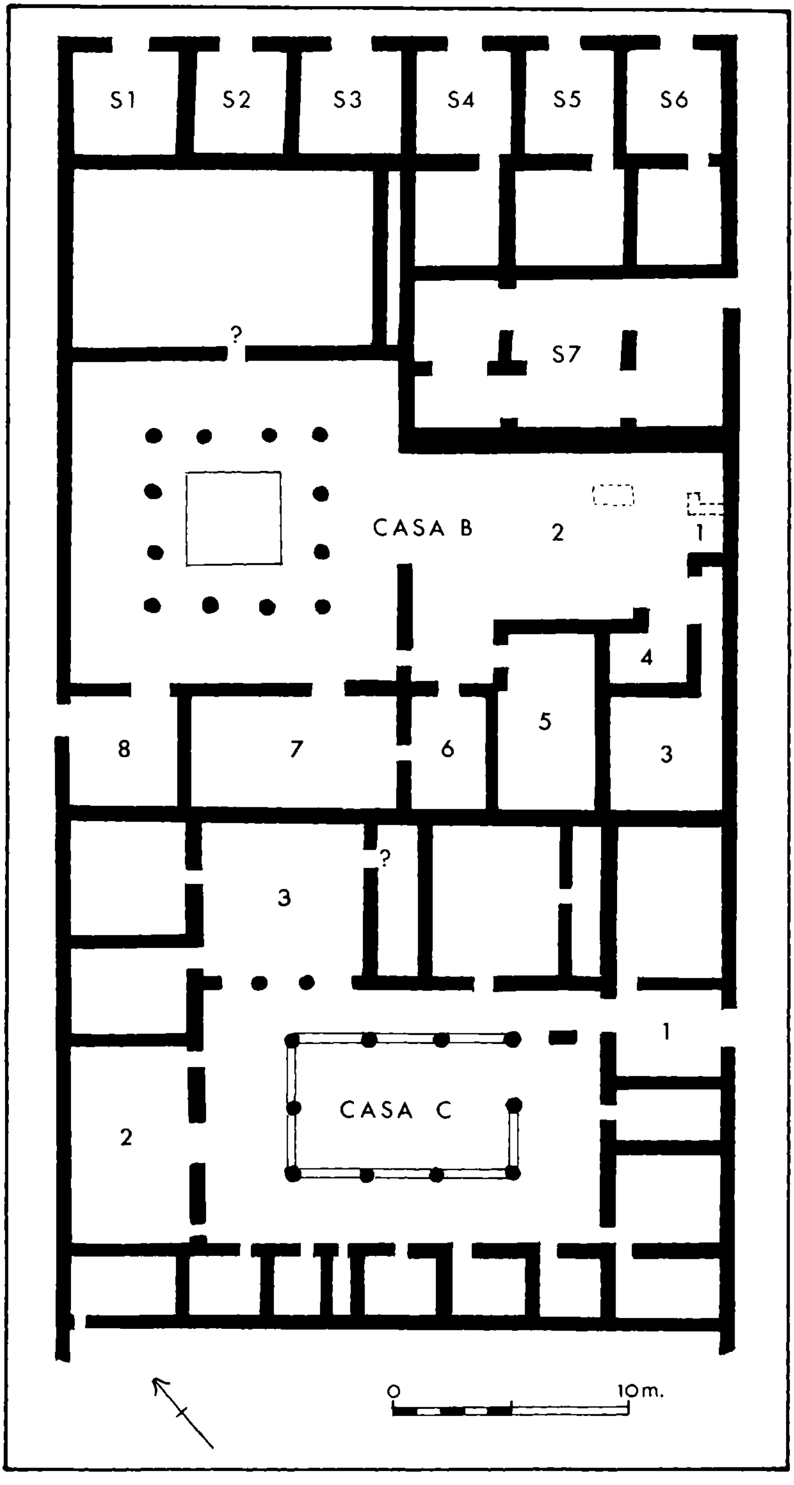

S1
S2
S3
S4
S5
S6
S7
?
CASA B
2
1
4
5
3
8
7
6
3
?
1
CASA C
2
0
10m.

Fig. 14. Tindari, plan of shops and houses in *insula* IV

Evidence for major reorganization in the mid first century A.D. was also detected in the house which lies immediately adjacent (House B). In its final form the house was entered through room 8, which led directly to a square peristyle with a cistern beneath. The surrounding corridor originally had an *opus signinum* floor which was replaced by a black and white mosaic c. 40 – 60 A.D., on the evidence of *terra sigillata* fragments found in its make-up.[161] A black and white mosaic featuring a goat (in room 5) is probably contemporary, but the superb polychrome floor mosaic comprising a rosette 'mat' and a Greek wave pattern in room 7 dates from the original early-first century-B.C. dwelling. As originally designed, the entrance to House B was clearly through the *fauces* at 1, but this was later blocked. Room 2 has superficial similarities with the Tuscan *atrium* of Pompeian type, but apparently no traces were found of an *impluvium* basin below the later black and white mosaic floor there.[162] In the reorganization, no doubt carried out when the black and white pavements were laid around the middle of the first century, this probably became the principal room (*tablinum*) of the house, facing onto the peristyle, although a larger room may have existed on the north side, where that part of the house above the shops (the *insula* is constructed on a slope) is now lost.

House C in the same *insula*, a standard peristyle dwelling entered from the street through a vestibule (1 on Fig. 14), and possessing the usual *tablinum/ oecus* (3) and *triclinium* (2), does not seem to have undergone any major structural alteration after its construction, nor was it embellished with mosaics. Both houses appear to have been continuously occupied from the early first century B.C. to the early fourth century A.D., without detectable gaps in the occupation material. Evidence elsewhere at Tindari, such as gold earrings and silver bracelets from early imperial burials,[163] a fine series of marble statues,[164] and some early-second-century inscriptions,[165] also give the impression that

---

d'Arte L, 1965, 205 – 9. Detailed dating evidence, however, has not yet been published, but some material from key deposits is on display in the site Museum. For a summary of what was known of Tindari before these excavations, G. Parisi, Tyndaris, Messina 1950.

[161] M. A. Mezquiriz, Excavaciones estratigraficas en Tyndaris, Caesaraugusta V, 1954, 95; and cf. the discussion of dating in von Boeselager, op. cit. in n. 70, 84 – 90. The cistern under the peristyle was filled up at the same time, as it contains no material later than mid first century A.D. (on display in the Museum, room 4). For the first-century-B.C. mosaic, von Boeselager, ibid., 39 – 46.

[162] Bernabò Brea and Cavalier, op. cit. in n. 160, record that there was a *lithostroton* floor below the mosaic and a cistern below that, filled in the early first century B.C. before the laying out of the house, but no mention of an impluvium as such.

[163] P. Orsi, in: Notizie degli Scavi 1896, 116 – 7; I. Marconi Bovio, Il Museo archeologico di Palermo, Rome 1969, 37 and pl. XXXIV, fig. 75. Sixty-nine inhumation and cremation burials, predominantly of the first century A.D., were excavated in 1956 on the south side of the city walls in contrada Scozzo (unpublished; material in Tindari Museum).

[164] Bonacasa, op. cit. in n. 92, nos. 38, 45, 50, 54, 70, 74, 89, 174, 177 – 9, 183 – 5, 202, 204, 210, 223 – 4 and 230.

[165] CIL X, 7472 – 3 = Bivona, ILLMP 75 – 7, nos. 64 – 5, one a dedication to Trajan in 103 (found with a statue of the emperor), the other commemorating M. Aurelius

the town was a thriving community during the period of the early Empire. On the other hand a pair of dedications of 160/1 and 166/7 record the presence of a *curator rei publicae,* Valerius Vitalis, operating at Tindari at precisely the same period as Paternus in Catania (p. 128). The fact that the city drains were not kept clean after the early second century is indicative of a decline in civic standards and civic pride.[166] Nevertheless there is no clear evidence that Tindari saw serious decline in the second century, and in the third century dedications continued to be offered to the imperial house,[167] and more building operations were in hand. It was either in the late second century or in the first half of the third, for example, that a small bath-house, perhaps for semi-public use (by a *collegium*?),[168] was inserted in the south portion of the *insula* already mentioned, in a courtyard building the earlier function of which is unclear (Fig. 15). The bath-suite, consisting of *frigidarium* (4) with plunge bath (5), *tepidaria* (6 and 7), and a *caldarium* (8) with hot plunge (9), was fitted out with floors in figured black and white mosaic and *opus sectile* (also in 2 and 3, which may have been *unguentaria*). They were proudly signed, at the entrance to the *frigidarium,* by their creator Neinas, slave of Dionysios, but their execution was hardly equal to their ambitious conception (see p. 235 with pl. VIII. 14 – IX. 15 in this volume). A building operation of more uncertain date was the conversion of the third-century-B.C. theatre into an amphitheatre.[169] As at Taormina, the front of the *cavea* was cut back and a *podium* wall and corridor behind (at Tindari not continuous) were inserted. The employment of much re-used material, including inscribed slabs in the arena wall, suggests that the conversion occurred at the earliest in the late second century, and more likely in the third century.[170]

---

before he assumed the purple (probably 140). Other second-century inscriptions are fragmentary: CIL X, 7477, and an unpublished fragment (inv. no. 406) reading *]INI PII GERM*[|]*ṆTONINI P*[. A monument of Augustan or Julio-Claudian date is attested by an elegant fragment (in the Museum) of marble architectural ornament with floral decoration and *cyma recta* close in style to Augustan work in Rome.

[166] BERNABÒ BREA and CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 160, 208. *Curator rei publicae*: CIL X, 7474 – 5 = BIVONA, ILLMP nos. 66 – 7; cf. note 134 above.

[167] CIL X, 7476, 7478 – 9 = BIVONA, ILLMP nos. 68 – 70, dedications to Severus Alexander, to his mother Julia Mammaea, and to the defied Valerian respectively.

[168] The establishment as a whole, an independent unit without access to the houses to the north, is clearly not the private bath-suite of a *domus,* but the small size of the rooms shows it is not a full-scale public bath-house either: cf. WARD-PERKINS and TOYNBEE, op. cit. in n. 150, 193 – 5.

[169] L. BERNABÒ BREA, Due secoli di studi e restauri del teatro greco di Tindari, Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte XIII – XIV, 1964 – 5, 99 – 144. Other Roman repairs to the Greek theatre included the rebuilding of the eastern *parodos* wall, on pottery evidence not later than second century A.D. (ibid. 142); vaulted substructures in the angles between *parodoi* and outer edge of *cavea,* to reduce pressure of earth on both, not later than first century A.D.; and an outer curved wall running round the top of the *cavea* (? portico).

[170] In 1971 – 2 preliminary work, including the uncovering of a long stretch of the *decumanus* and parts of other structures, including a street-corner latrine, was carried out in the north-western part of the ancient town; detailed work has not yet commenced.

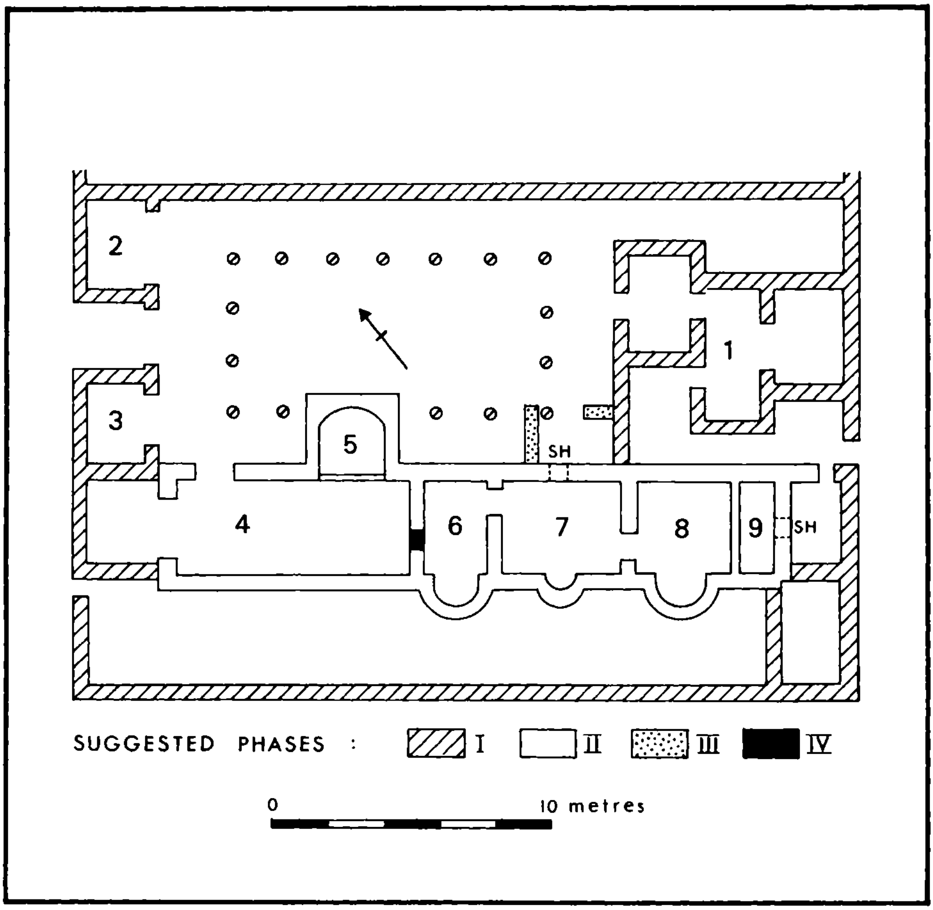


Fig. 15. Tindari, plan of baths in *insula* IV

Disaster struck Tindari early in the fourth century. A catastrophic earthquake caused widespread destruction, including the collapse of the stage building of the theatre and of the house in the *insula* already noted:[171] the fallen debris of the peristyle columns in house C provided particularly graphic testimony (pl. XIV. 2). Tindari found it hard to recover from this catastrophe. The *insula* was never rebuilt, and fourth-century inscriptions are absent from the town. But life did not cease: unpretentious buildings erected over the ruins, partly encroaching on the line of the upper *decumanus*, have yielded coins of

[171] Pottery from the destruction layer on display in the museum includes many fragments of African red slip pottery of form 50 A, some varieties fine walled, others not. The dating when the two types overlap is c. 300–325 (J. W. Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, London 1972, 73).

the middle and late fourth century.[172] More substantial late Roman dwellings, however, must have existed elsewhere at Tindari, for the remarkable fourth-century public building known as the 'Basilica' does not suggest a city in total decline (pl. XV. 1).

This extraordinarily grandiose and ambitious monument was long thought to belong to the late Republic or early Empire, displaying a combination of conservative construction methods (large blocks of sandstone) with what for Sicily at that time was the comparatively fresh innovation of concrete barrel-vaulting.[173] But it is now clear that the 'Basilica' was in part built over the ruins of an *insula* destroyed, like its neighbour, in the early-fourth-century earthquake, and examination of the building's foundation trenches in the 1960s produced fragments of African red slip lamps, showing that the date of its construction cannot have been earlier than the fourth century and is more likely to have been nearer the end of that century than the beginning.[174] There must therefore have been money around somewhere in late Roman Tindari to pay for its construction, for this is no ordinary, humble building. Measuring overall 26.30 m. long and 22.50 m. wide, it consists essentially of a central, covered hall and two side passageways. The hall, 6.50 m. wide, was spanned by nine great stone arches (two survive), and the area between each was roofed by sections of concrete barrel vaulting. The flanking passages, each 4.50 m. wide, were open to the sky; an arch at either end, a slightly pretentious touch perhaps, emphasizes that the passages are an integral part of the whole structure. The first floor room above the covered hall could be reached either from the west by a long sloping, stepped ramp, itself approached through another arched opening (pl. XV. 2), or else from the east by two broad flights of monumental stairways which adjoined each side passage at this end. At the top of these the visitor would have crossed the landing provided over the side passages at this point, and then reached, by another flight of steps, the first floor level. This complicated building was not insensitive to decorative detail: the north wall, now reconstructed to its full height of 15.30 m., is articulated with rectangular pilasters as far as the first cornice, and engaged semi-columns in the upper storey, the narrow band between the two being pierced by a series of tiny, splayed windows. The main lighting of the upper hall must, however, have been provided by skylights.

---

[172] BERNABÒ BREA and CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 160, 208 ("coins of the second Flavians").

[173] The 'Basilica' has never been the subject of a full study. The most detailed accounts are still those of HOUEL, VP I, 100–3, and of SERRADIFALCO, op. cit. in n. 66, V, 55; cf. also PARISI, op. cit. in n. 160, 112–6; Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica VII, Rome 1966, 866–7 s.v. Basilica; L. BERNABÒ BREA in Touring Club Italiano, Sicilia^5, Milan 1968, 390–1. See also next note.

[174] L. BERNABÒ BREA, Restauro della 'Basilica', Bollettino d'Arte LI, 1966, 114–5; cf. ID., Attività delle Soprintendenze alle antichità per la Sicilia orientale, Kokalos XVIII–XIX, 1972–3, 168 („*non anteriore all'avanzato IV secolo d.c.*"). Unfortunately the precise dating evidence remains unpublished: if African lamps of HAYES type II are present, the building is not earlier than the beginning of the fifth century (op. cit. in n. 171, 313–4).

The purpose of this extraordinary building is far from certain. The main ground-floor hall may on occasion have been closed off by the doors at either end, but most of the time it was no doubt used as a pedestrian precinct and shopping arcade, while the upper hall may have had some civic function. But the 'Basilica' seems to have been designed above all as a grandiose propylaea to the forum which lies on its east side, still largely unexplored.[175]

Later, probably in the fifth century, as a response to increasing insecurity in the central Mediterranean, the Greek walls were repaired and a new defence circuit was erected on the seaward side, incorporating material plundered from the theatre scene building.[176] Their precise course at the eastern end of the city is not now clear, but even if they enclosed the hill on which the Sanctuary now stands, as seems likely, the total area within the walls cannot have much exceeded 18 hectares (45 acres). This makes Tindari by far the smallest of the major Sicilian towns,[177] as there is certainly no evidence at present to suggest that occupation in the early imperial period extended outside the walls on the south. Part of the built-up area may have been lost through erosion, but hardly as great a proportion as suggested by Pliny.[178] A crudely-built wall of Byzantine date[179] indicates that by the time of the Arab sack in the ninth century the city had shrunk yet further, clinging to the highest point of the hill still occupied by the modern village and the sanctuary of the Madonna.

---

[175] It is known from trenching to have been 80 m. long and floored in concrete: L. Bernabò Brea, op. cit. in n. 173, 391. One other curious monument possibly contemporary with the 'Basilica' is what is interpreted as a monumental arch just outside the walls to the south (see fig. 13). There are two rectangular piers, each 6.40 m. long but of differing widths (1.80 m., and 3 m.), both incorporating much reused material. The elongated shape and narrow tunnel between them (2.10 m. wide) is quite unlike the planning of normal monumental arches; in fact, as the more northerly pier is itself 2.10 m. from the Greek walls, the monument seems to have been intended as a double-arched gateway, the upper part of which, on the north-east side, must have been keyed into the city walls. It lies on a narrow ridge immediately south-east of the south gate and seems to have been intended merely as a grandiose place of entry into the town, much as the 'Basilica' was designed as a grandiose place of entry into the forum. The remains are unpublished, but were noted by N. Lamboglia, Gli scavi di Tindari, La Giara II, 1953, 73 and by L. Bernabò Brea, op. cit. in n. 173, 394.

[176] L. Bernabò Brea, op. cit. in n. 169, 113, fig. 23, 115, and 142–3; Id., op. cit. in n. 173, 393–4; N. Lamboglia, op. cit. in n. 175, 70–84.

[177] Precise estimates of the sizes of Roman towns in Sicily are not easy, as a close definition of the boundaries of the occupied area is rarely possible. Syracuse in the early Empire had an extent (including Ortygia) of about 100 hectares (260 acres), Catania about 110 hectares (275 acres), Termini Imerese about 60 hectares (150 acres), Palermo about 40 hectares (100 acres: this is the area within the known enceinte, but there may have been suburban occupation), and Marsala 80 hectares (200 acres). The size of the largest Sicilian towns are comparable with the largest in north Africa (e.g. Lepcis Magna c. 120 hectares, Thaenae over 100 hectares) and are bigger than, for example, the walled areas of Ostia (69 hectares) or Pompeii (65 hectares). On the size of Roman cities in general, see R. P. Duncan-Jones, op. cit. in n. 122, 259–87 (size of African cities: 265, n. 4).

[178] Pliny, Nat. Hist. II.206, ... *et in Sicilia dimidiam Tyndarida urbem*; it is unclear whether the earthslip had happened in the distant past or only a short time before Pliny was writing.

[179] Bernabò Brea, op. cit. in n. 173, 391.

5. Termini Imerese (Thermae Himeraeae): Figure 16

Crowning a rocky promontory 113 m. high with steep drops to the sea, the city of Termini Imerese was founded in 407 B.C. after the sack and abandonment of Himera, 16 km. to the east.[180] Archaeology has yet to reveal any information about the settlement's early development, and of the Republican town only one building is known in any detail,[181] a stoa at least 150 m. long uncovered in 1876 near the Belvedere. Like the very similar one excavated more recently at Halaesa (p. 176), this was of the double-aisled type with a series of small rooms at the rear. Some of these (a and b on fig. 17) had circular bases in the middle of the floor and were probably, as at Halaesa, used as shrines. The stoa was probably erected in the second or early in the first century B.C., but it continued in use during the Empire when room e was given marble wall-veneer; the mosaic floor in the portico (m) may also be later than the initial phase of construction.[182] The stoa may well have faced directly onto the agora/forum, as at Halaesa (there is a broad terrace here with a splendid view of harbour and coastline). Immediately south, other ancient buildings are attested in the area of Piazza Duomo: an old photograph of the piazza before tarring took place shows the foundations of a circular building, perhaps a temple, and two architectural fragments believed to come from it are now in the Museum.[183] The ornamental detail of these suggests a

---

[180] ii in Verr. II.35.86: *Himera deleta, quos cives belli calamitas reliquos fecerat, ii se Thermis collocarant in isdem agri finibus neque longe ab oppido antiquo.* Cf. also Diodorus XIII.79.8. On the topography of the city, see now O. Belvedere, Osservazioni sulla topografia storica di Thermae Himerenses, Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX, 1982 – 83, 71 – 86.

[181] Cicero mentions the *curia* (ii in Verr. II.46.112) and that statues were moved to the town from Himera (ibid. II.35.86).

[182] C. Ciofalo, Termini Imerese. Scoperte nella Piazza del Duomo, Notizie degli Scavi 1878, 148 – 50. For the type (stoas with rooms), cf. J. J. Coulton, The Architectural development of the Greek Stoa, Oxford 1976, 86 – 8; cf. also discussion below on Halaesa (p. 176). Belvedere, op. cit. in n. 180, 74, suggests that it might post-date the foundation of the *colonia* in 21 B.C., but the datable Sicilian examples of its primary floors (*opus signinum* with white *tesserae* inlaid at intervals) are all earlier than the imperial period: H. Joyce, Form, Function and Technique in the Pavements of Delos and Pompei, American Journal of Archaeology LXXXIII, 1979, 259, note 86; F. Coarelli, in: SA II, 390, note 34.

[183] The photograph was in the collection of the late Dott. M. Ciofalo, who kindly showed it to me. The ornament is a provincial version of the type current in Augustan and Julio-Claudian Rome (cf. especially the style of *cyma reversa* C). For references to the building in local archival material, Belvedere, op. cit. in n. 180, 75, note 19 (he interprets it as a *macellum*). A small-scale probe west of Piazza Duomo in 1981 was

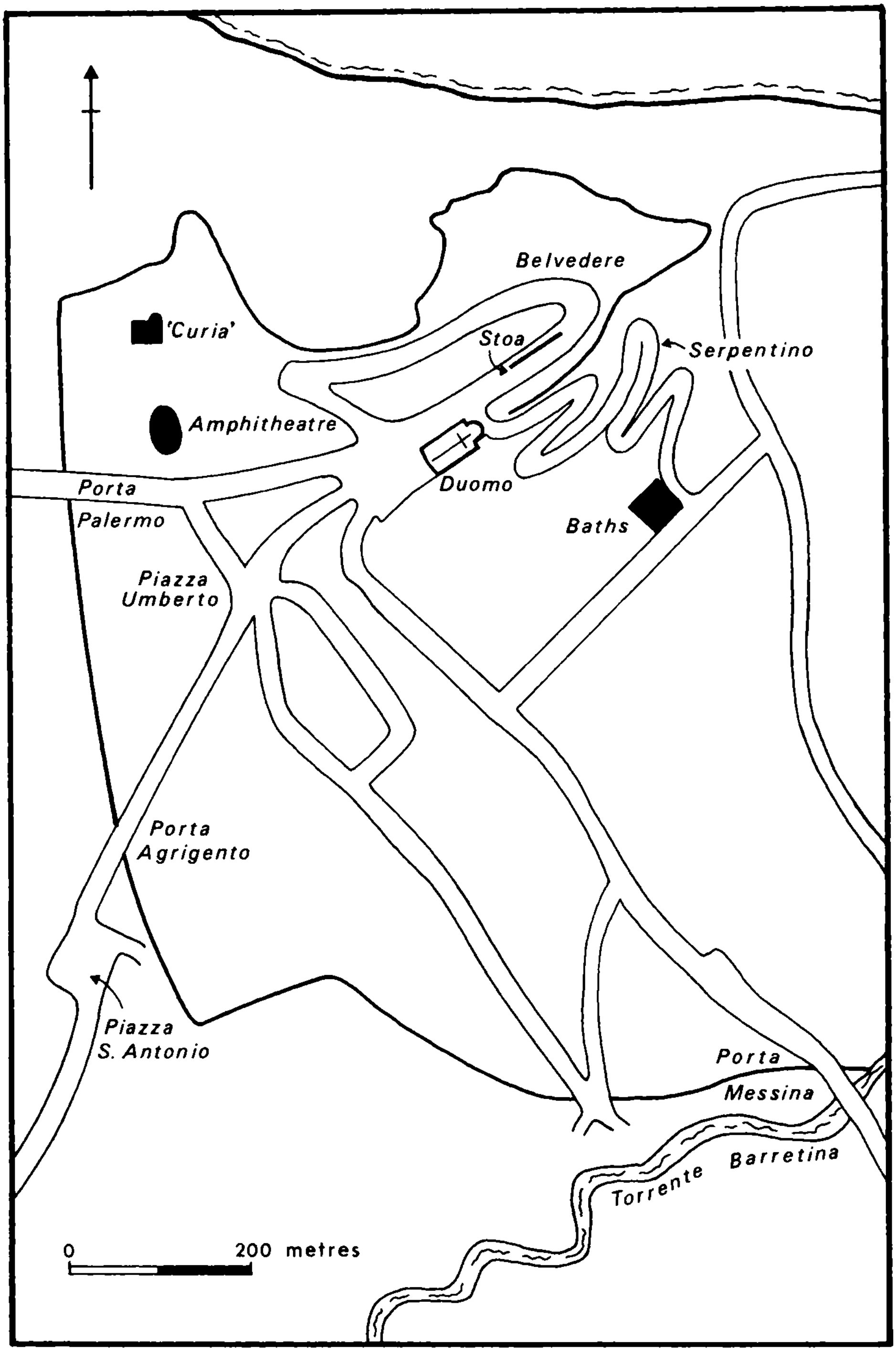

'Curia'
Amphitheatre
Belvedere
Stoa
Serpentino
Duomo
Baths
Porta Palermo
Piazza Umberto
Porta Agrigento
Piazza S. Antonio
Porta Messina
Torrente Barretina
0
200 metres

Fig. 16. Termini Imerese, general plan

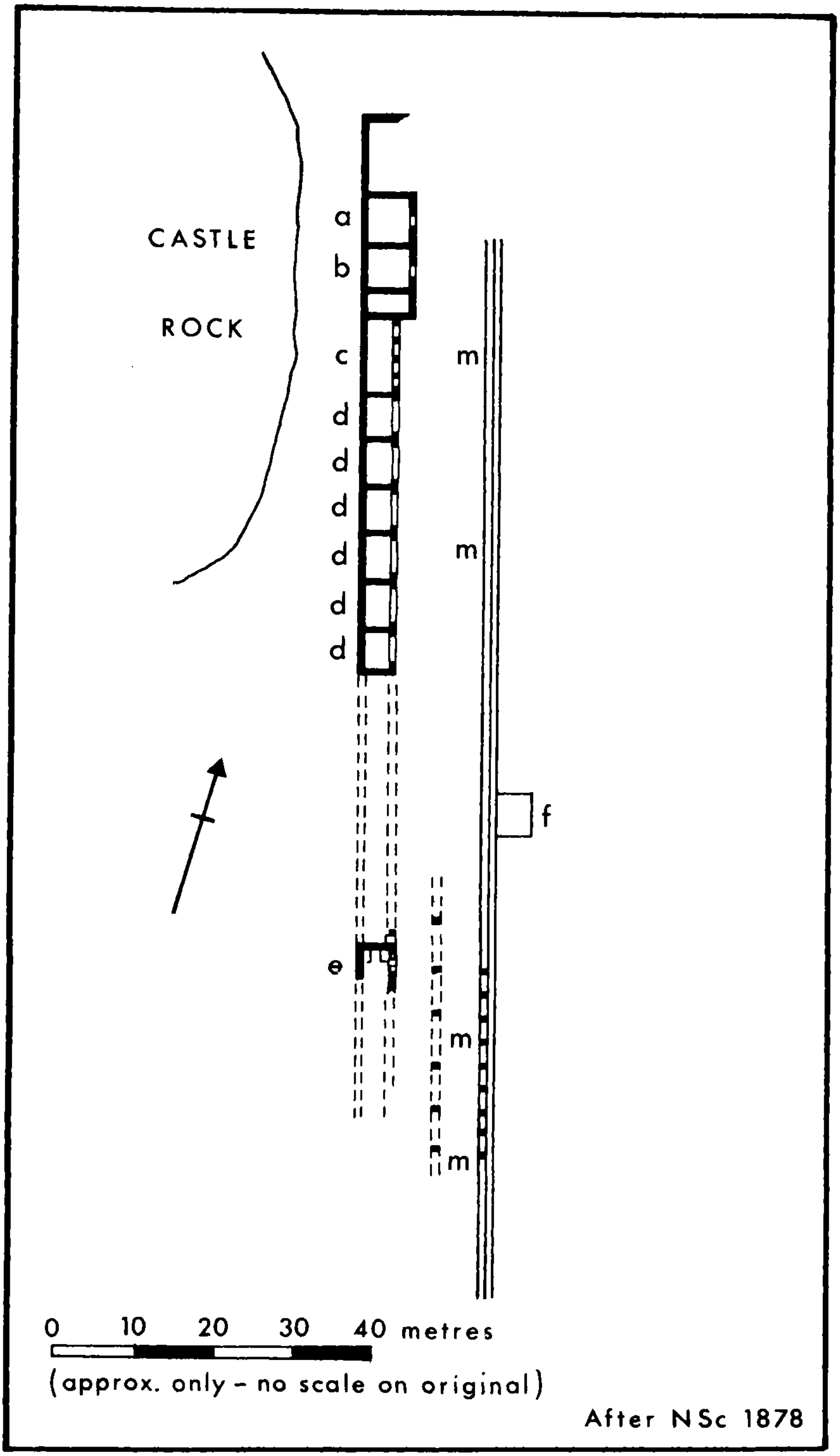

CASTLE
ROCK
a
b
c
d
d
d
d
d
d
m
m
f
e
m
m
0 10 20 30 40 metres
(approx. only – no scale on original)
After NSc 1878

Fig. 17. Termini Imerese, plan of stoa

date not later than the mid-first century A.D., and a weathered cornice from the same area, now walled up in the Duomo, is also likely to be Augustan or Julio-Claudian:[184] if so it looks as though the city centre may have seen a major rehandling at the time of the early Empire, no doubt as part of a construction programme stimulated by the foundation of the *colonia Augusta Himereorum Thermitanorum* in 21 B.C. All the other known monuments at Termini Imerese belong to the first or second centuries A.D., when vigorous efforts were clearly being made to fit out the town with a full range of amenities. The importance of its harbour, favourably situated to take maximum opportunities of trade with Italy, undoubtedly contributed to the general prosperity of Termini Imerese at this time.[185]

Particular care and expense were lavished on an aqueduct system.[186] Water was brought over a distance of 7 km. from the foothills of Monte San Calogero to the south-east, along a conduit built mostly underground but carried on arches across three minor valleys. Just before reaching Termini Imerese, however, it had to cross the Barratina valley in contrada Mazzarino, which was too deep and wide for a structure of superimposed arches. Instead the solution adopted, paralleled elsewhere in the Roman world,[187] was to conduct the water in a sealed lead pipe under pressure. Water entered the top of an imposing hexagonal tower, still over 15 m. high, on the south side of the valley, and was taken under pressure from the bottom of this tower down the hillside to the bed of the Barratina torrent, which it crossed on a *venter*

---

too limited to yield significant fresh data: ID., Termini Imerese: saggi di scavo in Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, Sicilia Archeologica XV, no. 48, 1982, 37 – 44.

[184] B. ROMANO, Antichità Termitana, Palermo 1838, 123 – 4 and pl. II.7. The date is suggested above all by the style of the *cyma reversa* B at the bottom of the cornice, of the *cyma reversa* C in the consoles, and of the widely-spaced rounded 'eggs' in the ovolo. A bust of Agrippina the Elder came from this building: BONACASA, op. cit. in n. 92, no. 69. Other early imperial building-work is implied by CIL X, 7353 (*Q. Decumius Q. F. IIvir porticus de s*[uo fecit: the lack of cognomen implies a date not later than mid first century A.D.), and by a large fragment with letter-forms appropriate to the first century A.D. reading *aedific*[|]*vivian potes*[, which presumably records other building activity: Notizie degli Scavi 1888, 480 – 1.

[185] On the harbour, BELVEDERE, op. cit. in n. 180, 82 – 5. Full title of the town: CIL X, 7345.

[186] E. BALSAMO, Un acquedotto romano in Sicilia, l'acquedotto Cornelio di Termini Imerese, La Ricerca archeologica nell'Italia meridionale (V° Congresso del 190° Distretto del Rotary Internazionale), Naples 1960, 211 – 21 (also issued in offprint form, Palermo 1960); V. TUSA, Restauri all'acquedotto Cornelio di Termini Imerese, Bollettino d'Arte XXXVIII, 1953, 270 – 3; C. A. DI STEFANO, Fasti Archeologici XXIV – XXV, 1969 – 70, 7216 (reporting excavations in 1970 which suggested that two separate sources, the Brucato and the Fridda streams, were tapped by the main aqueduct). A fresh and comprehensive study by O. BELVEDERE is due to appear soon.

[187] N. A. F. SMITH, Attitudes to Roman engineering and the question of the inverted siphon, History of Technology I, London 1976, 45 – 71; A. TREVOR HODGE, Siphons in Roman aqueducts, Papers of the British School at Rome XXXVIII, 1983, 174 – 221. For the Aspendos aqueduct, J. B. WARD-PERKINS, The Aqueduct of Aspendos, ibid. X, 1955, 115 – 23.

bridge, a single row of arches of which two and the beginning of a third survive. The water channel is here about 40 m. below the level of the top of the tower, which implies that the water was subjected to the not inconsiderable pressure of about four atmospheres. It then continued up the slope on the far side, where it discharged into another tower, still partly standing, whence it reached the town. Terracotta and lead pipes of varying diameters found in Termini Imerese distributed the water from the *castellum divisorium* to its various outlets (pl. XVI. 1).[188]

A second branch of aqueduct crossed the Barratina one kilometre upstream in contrada Figurella, where considerable remains of a double row of arches, 15 in the upper tier and 9 in the lower, still stand 14 m. above the valley bottom (pl. XVI. 2). There are differences in the style of construction here from that of the main aqueduct, and if the use of alternating block and brick voussoirs in the arches was influenced by the fashions of contemporary Italy,[189] the Figurella aqueduct may well be of Antonine date or thereabouts. The pressure tower in the Mazzarino sector carried an inscription, now lost, reading *Aquae Corneliae ductus P. XX*,[190] from which it has often been assumed that the main aqueduct belongs to the late second or early first century B.C.: the Cornelius mentioned has been identified as the P. Cornelius Lepidus who went into exile in Sicily for opposing Gaius Gracchus.[191] Such an argument is, however, to be rejected: not only is Cornelius a very common *nomen* (indeed several are recorded on inscriptions at Termini Imerese[192]) but the structural use of brick in the *venter* bridge below the pressure tower rules out a date before the Augustan period. The aqueduct may well in fact belong to Augustan times or not much later, but the Figurella branch was added in the second century probably to meet an increased demand for water, because there is no evidence that the section carrying water under pressure was giving trouble.[193]

---

[188] Examples of many terracotta pipes with diameters of 6½ cm. upwards are in Termini Imerese Museum. Many are 36 cm. in diameter, and two enormous ones (diameter 70 cm.) might have come from the pressure tower (the diameter of the vertical shaft there, down which the water passed, is 80 cm.). Several lead pipes in Palermo Museum (inventory nos. 1505 – 1511), some with turn-cocks, come from Termini Imerese.

[189] See note 132.

[190] The meaning of *P. XX* is obscure: it has been variously interpreted as standing for *primiviginti*, the decurions (ROMANO, op. cit. in n. 184, 47 – 64), the width of the aqueduct zone where farming was prohibited (so COARELLI and TORELLI, op. cit. in n. 48, 409), or the length of the aqueduct, twenty thousand feet, the approximate distance from source to tower (about 5.9 km.). At Alatri *pedes CCCXL* (CIL X, 5807) apparently refers to the difference in height between the receiving tank and the bridge over the valley below. If the same applied to the Sicilian inscription, then the reading should have been something like *P. CXX* or *CXXX*; in that case one has to postulate a missing C or CX.

[191] Valerius Maximus V.3.2 f.; a view challenged only by K. ZIEGLER, RE V, A, 2368 until LUGLI (see n. 193) proposed a date in the imperial period. V. TUSA, op. cit. in n. 186, 273 and, more recently, in: ID. and E. DE MIRO, Sicilia Occidentale (Itinerari archeologici), Rome 1983, 48, continues to uphold a date in the Republican period.

[192] E. g. CIL X, 7304 = BIVONA, ILLMP, 87 – 8, no. 76 with pl. XLVI, dated to first century B.C./A.D. (? Augustan). For four more members of the *gens Cornelia* in the town, L. BIVONA, Nuove iscrizioni di Termini Imerese (Palermo), Atti dell'Accademia di Scienze Lettere ed Arti di Palermo XXXV, 1975 – 6, 531 – 58, at 537 – 44.

Of other structures within the town the amphitheatre is the best known.[194] Comparatively small by Italian standards for buildings of this class (98 m. by 75 m.), it has an arena which is partially excavated below natural ground level, but most of the seating was raised on artificial substructures, including two elliptical barrel-vaulted corridors side by side which encircled the building at ground level. Some of the piers of these remain, as well as a portion of the arena wall, but the elliptical shape of the amphitheatre is also in part preserved by the curving façades of medieval and modern houses erected over it. It is, however, clear that the two external elliptical corridors (a feature normally found only in massive amphitheatres such as the Colosseum) are not contemporary; the inner row of piers originally had engaged semi-columns on their outer sides, a feature indicating that they formed the original exterior facade of the amphitheatre. When the amphitheatre was enlarged and the outer piers added, the semi-columns were removed and the piers patched up. The first phase may be Julio-Claudian rather than Augustan, as decorative details such as half-columns are not normally present on the earliest amphitheatres; the enlargement of the building probably dates to the second half of the first century or at the latest early in the second century. At any rate the building is not of the fully freestanding type which one usually associates with developed second-century amphitheatres like Catania's, nor, also unlike Catania's, is there any hint of marble embellishment. North of the amphitheatre a building partly excavated in 1827 was interpreted as the *curia* (despite being some 500 m. from the forum) on the basis of the large apsed room it contains, 16 m. long and 11 m. wide.[195] This and the adjacent rectangular rooms, however, more likely belonged to a spacious town-house, or else, if really public in function, the headquarters of some *schola* or guild. The date is perhaps second-century. Little is known about the Roman baths which lie beneath the modern spa building.[196]

---

[193] LUGLI (op. cit. in n. 50, 651 – 2) proposed a second-century date for both phases, separated by twenty or thirty years.

[194] O. BELVEDERE, L'anfiteatro di Termini Imerese riscoperto, in: Aparchai in onore di P. E. Arias, Pisa 1982, 647 – 60, replacing the only previous account, that of ROMANO, op. cit. in n. 184, 15 – 26. Cf. also ID., Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 361 – 362, PACE, ACSA II, 338 and A. SALINAS, Termini Imerese, antico anfiteatro, Notizie degli Scavi 1909, 330 – 1. The suggestion of a two-phase building is my own, not BELVEDERE's.

[195] ROMANO, op. cit. in n. 184, 29 – 31, and widely accepted, e.g. by C. R. CUSIMAIO, Brevi cenni in storia Termitana, Palermo 1926; Touring Club Italiano, Sicilia^5, Milan 1968, 371; V. TUSA, Thermai Himeraiai, in: Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, 1976, 909. The structure is currently (1986) being re-investigated.

[196] A. M. GARGOTTA, Su i bagni termo-minerali di Termini Imerese, Palermo 1830. The plan is very odd: the main feature was a large semi-circular barrel-vaulted corridor which linked other rooms, but is this really Roman? (HOUEL, VP, I, pl. XLVII = PACE, ACSA III, 240, fig. 47; for the plan, GARGOTTA, op. cit.).

Of private dwellings we are very ill informed. Pieces of *opus reticulatum* walling visible alongside the Serpentina, perhaps belonging to a house, cannot be later than the mid second century A.D. and are probably earlier.[197] Many finds of walls, baths, mosaics and marble have been encountered from time to time in the S. Lucia district to the east of the town centre, but no coherent information is recorded:[198] this appears to have represented an eastward expansion of the town in the first and second centuries A.D., a further sign of the general prosperity of Termini Imerese in early imperial times. The only surviving mosaic is an unambitious composition depicting fish being gathered in a net; it is probably of the late second or third century.[199] Tombs have been located outside the Porta Palermo, some with *opus reticulatum* walling, and other funerary inscriptions have been found close to the Porta Agrigento,[200] so that the boundary of the Roman town at least on the west side seems to have been approximately the same as that of its medieval successor.

This comparative dearth of detailed information about the topography of the ancient town is not matched, for once in Sicily, by a poverty of epigraphic material. There has been a rich crop of inscriptions, most of them in Latin,[201] confirming impressions gleaned from the architectural remains that Greek roots were not deep in this part of the island. Some of the stones are of Augustan date and probably count among them a few of the *colonia*'s original settlers. The legion which provided the veterans in 21 B.C., however, is unknown, since the occurrence of *legio XII Fulminata* on two inscriptions is probably fortuitous, although RITTERLING and others, including most recently BIVONA, have assumed that this was the legion which provided the Augustan settlers.[202] One inscription records the career of a man (his name is lost) who held his post in the Twelfth Legion, presumably that of *tribunus militum* or *praefectus fabrum,* as one step in a standard equestrian career which later included the command of a *cohors equitata* and the governorship of Cyprus:

---

[197] BELVEDERE, op. cit. in n. 180, pl. VI.

[198] ROMANO, op. cit. in n. 184, 35–43; Notizie degli Scavi 1879, 326–7; BELVEDERE, op. cit. in n. 180, 81–2.

[199] VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, Abb. 110; for a list of the five known mosaics from the town, and references, ibid. 210.

[200] ROMANO, op. cit. in n. 184, 73–81; Notizie degli Scavi 1902, 228. Cf. also the findspots of CIL X, 7374, 7375, 7401, 7429, 7440–2 (MOMMSEN, ad loc.) and Notizie degli Scavi 1902, 130.

[201] Approximately 208 inscriptions of Augustan date or later have been found, of which 177 are in Latin (85 %): 120 are published in CIL X, 15 in Notizie degli Scavi 1883–1902, 9 by A. FERRUA, Analecta sicula, Epigraphica III, 1941, 260–4 (= AE 1977, nos. 334–42) and 33 by BIVONA, op. cit. infra in nn. 207 and 208, and second op. cit. in n. 192 (all Latin); 29 in IG XIV and 2 in M. T. MANNI PIRAINO, Tre epitafi inediti, Kokalos XVII, 1971, 185–6, making a total of 31 in Greek (17 of these are republished by A. BRUGNONE, Iscrizioni greche del museo civico di Termini Imerese, Kokalos XX, 1974, 218–64). A full corpus of the inscriptions of the town is in preparation by L. BIVONA.

[202] RITTERLING, RE XII, 1245; and L. BIVONA, op. cit. in n. 207, 63 with other bibliography in her note 24.

he was clearly not a retired career soldier.[203] The second stone reads simply *Cn. Pollieno Cn. f. Tri. Mil. Leg. XII*: the honorand here is more likely to have been a young man of equestrian or even senatorial rank at the beginning of a promising career, than an experienced career soldier, perhaps a *primipilaris*, who held the tribunate as his last appointment before settling at Termini Imerese.[204] On the other hand another man, M. Cestius, is very likely to have been one of the original colonists. He was a career soldier who, after being *primus pilus* in a legion which is not specified, was awarded the job of *praefectus fabrum* and then a military tribunate.[205] He was also a *duumvir*, perhaps one of the first who held this magistracy in the new *colonia*. His descendants are evidently those recorded on six other inscriptions, all tombstones, which bear the *nomen* Cestius.[206]

Other stones furnish further details about leading inhabitants of the town. One inscription, probably of second-century date, mentions the careers of three magistrates: Plaetorius, who was quaestor, aedile and then *duumvir*; Galeo whom the local senate made an honorary aedile; and Proculus who was quaestor (apparently four times), deputy *duumvir*, and then *duumvir quinquennalis* before becoming military tribune in the Sixth Legion Ferrata, perhaps at the beginning of a civil service career as an *eques*.[207] Other sons of Termini Imerese who sought their fortune elsewhere included C. Popillius

---

[203] CIL X, 7351; H. G. Pflaum, Carrières Procuratoriennes Equestres I, Paris 1960–1, 7–11; H. Devijver, Prosopographia militiarum equestrium quae fuerunt ab Augusto ad Gallienum I–II, Louvain 1976–7, S 106; P. A. Holder, Studies in the *Auxilia* of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan, Oxford 1980, 246, no. E 38. His post as legate of Cyprus must have been after 27 B.C. and before 22 B.C., when Augustus handed the island over to the Senate.

[204] CIL X, 7349. In favour of the former and against the latter are the facts that (a) it would be surprising to omit the rank of *primipilaris* from the stone had he acquired it (B. Dobson, The centurionate and social mobility during the Principate, Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique, Paris 1970, 99–115, esp. 106–7); and (b) *primipilares* usually (but not invariably) went on to hold Rome tribunates rather than legionary ones (B. Dobson, The Significance of the Centurion and Primipilaris in the Roman Army and Administration, ANRW II.1, Berlin and New York 1974, 397 with n. 20). The same man was honoured by the Athenians (*Legio XII* may have been in Greece after Actium) on another inscription from Termini Imerese (CIL X, 7350). This Pollienus is very likely to be the son of the Gn. Pollienus of IG XIV, 367: see note 25 above.

[205] CIL X, 7348. The case for an early date is strengthened by (a) the lack of *cognomen* (so too the Pollienus of the previous inscription, and cf. n. 184 above); and (b) the type of career: from Claudius onwards *primipilares* did not normally hold jobs such as that of *praefectus fabrum* (B. Dobson, Praefectus fabrum in the Early Principate, in: M. Jarrett and B. Dobson [edd.], Britain and Rome, Kendal 1966, 61–84, esp. 77).

[206] CIL X, 7382–7; on the Cestii see now L. Bivona, Appunti di onomastica termitana (i Cestii, i Granii e i Vecilii), in: Scritti sul mondo antico in memoria di Fulvio Grosso, Rome 1981, 39–53.

[207] L. Bivona, Una iscrizione inedita di Termini Imerese. Nuovi magistrati nella colonia di Thermae, in: Studi di Storia Antica offerti dagli allievi a Eugenio Manni, Rome 1976, 55–66 (= AE 1976, 265). The inscription must be before 194 A.D., when *Leg. VI Ferrata* took the titles *fidelis constans*.

Priscus, soldier for nearly seven years in the Tenth Urban Cohort in Rome, who participated in the *victoria Ticiniana,* probably during the civil war of 69,[208] and L. Acilius Rufus, honoured by the people of Spello (Hispellum) in Italy on a statue base which was presumably erected at Termini Imerese because it was his home town.[209] He was quaestor of Sicily, and possibly the same as the Acilius Rufus mentioned in Pliny's letters as *consul designatus.*[210] But the most influential senatorial family known to be connected with the town was that of the Fabii Titiani who are recorded on three inscriptions. One was dedicated to the emperor Severus in 197 by Maesia Fabia Titiana and her brother Maesius Fabius Titianus, who was still a boy at the time (he is described as *clarissimus puer*); then the next year the same pair honoured Caracalla on an inscription now in Palermo but perhaps originally from Termini Imerese.[211] Later the *ordo* and *populus* of Thermae erected a statue of C. Maesius Aquillius Fabius Titianus, who is described as consul and *optimus civis ac patronus.* If this is the same man as the consul of 245, he is probably the son of the Maesius Fabius Titianus mentioned in the other two dedications.[212]

While a number of inscriptions from the town can be dated to the third century, very few belong to the late Roman period. Similarly the whole of the rich series of portrait busts and statues in the Museum has been ascribed to the first or second centuries with the exception of one unprovenanced fourth-century piece.[213] Termini Imerese was certainly a flourishing community in the early part of the Empire, but the almost total lack of evidence after the third century, especially of inscriptions, is striking. It is possible, therefore, that the town was in decline during the fourth and fifth centuries, but excavation is needed before this can be said with confidence: the town was at any rate important enough in the seventh century to rank as a bishopric.[214] Virtually no archaeological work has been conducted in Termini Imerese since before the First World War, and until that situation is rectified a coherent account of the archaeology of the town during the Roman period is impossible.

---

[208] L. BIVONA, Un 'urbanicano' a Thermae, Kokalos XXIV, 1978, 112–27. Despite being enrolled in the Maecia tribe, hitherto unattested at Termini Imerese, it seems likely that Priscus did come from the town; otherwise it is hard to explain why he was buried there. I accept BIVONA's reading of *Ticiniana* (referring to a battle near Ticinum in 69: Tacitus, Hist. II. 17.2); see her arguments rejecting the dating of the inscription to the fourth century (and reading *Liciniana*) by G. MANGANARO, Epigrafia latina, Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–7, 298.

[209] CIL X, 7344 and BIVONA, ILLMP, 67–8, no. 53. Rufus' tribe further strengthens the connection with Termini Imerese, as Quirina is not associated with citizens of Hispellum.

[210] Pliny Ep. V.20, cf. VI.13, and A. N. SHERWIN-WHITE, Letters of Pliny, Oxford 1966, 353–4 (he may have been the suffect consul of A.D. 107).

[211] CIL X, 7343, cf. 7276 (BIVONA, ILLMP, no. 18). Fabia Titiana and her son Titianus are also attested at Carnuntum (EE IV, 153).

[212] CIL X, 7345. If the same man as the Titianus who was *puer* in 197, the time-gap is too long. The alternative, that the two are identical but that the consulship was not that of 245 but an earlier, unattested one seems less likely (despite PIR^2, II.F. 322). For a new discussion of the members of this family, see L. BIVONA, Note sulla 'Gens Maesia', Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Rome 1980, 231–42.

[213] BONACASA, op. cit. in n. 92, nos. 69, 72, 84, 100, 167, 189, 191, 200, 209, 217 and 233; the unprovenanced piece is no. 209.

6. Palermo (Panhormus): Figure 18

In contrast to the cities so far described, the predecessor of Roman Palermo was not a Greek πόλις but a Carthaginian settlement, founded in the seventh century B.C. and in Carthaginian hands right up to its capture by Rome in 254 B.C.[215] A *civitas libera et immunis* during the Republic, it was almost certainly one of Augustus' *coloniae* in Sicily, possibly but not certainly created later than the main settlement of 21 B.C. (above, p. 95 with note 17). A further influx of veterans and their families was supplied by Vespasian later in the first century,[216] but our sources then fall silent until the sixth century, and little has so far emerged in the archaeological record from the city to fill the gap. In fact less is known in detail about the topography of ancient Palermo than of any other of the major towns in Sicily.[217]

The outline of the Carthaginian defensive circuit, which was presumably kept in some sort of repair during the Roman period, is clear, and a few heavily restored fragments survive; we know from Procopius that the sea came right up to the walls on the east side.[218] A good deal of material relating to the Punic and Roman Republican periods has been recovered from the vast necropolis at the west end of the town,[219] but of the buildings within the forty or so hectares enclosed within the defences hardly anything is known. The

---

[214] PACE, ACSA IV, 51: Paschalis was bishop sometime between 649 and 680.

[215] Polybius I.38.

[216] Liber Coloniarum I.211: *territorium Panormitanorum imp. Vespasianus adsignavit militibus veteranis et familiae suae.*

[217] For recent summaries, I. TAMBURELLO, Palermo punico-romana, Kokalos XVII, 1971, 81–96; EAD., Palermo antica, Sicilia Archeologica X, no. 35, 1977, 33–41, at 37–8, 40; EAD., Palermo antica, Sicilia Archeologica XI, no. 37, 1978, 30–7, at 34–6; EAD., Palermo antica III, Sicilia Archeologica XI, no. 38, 1978, 42–53, at 51; EAD., Palermo antica IV, Sicilia Archeologica XII, no. 39, 1979, 53–8, at 53; and especially EAD., Palermo dopo la conquista romana, Sicilia Archeologica XIII, no. 43, 1980, 67–74. Cf. also EAD., Palermo punico romana: la ricostruzione archeologica, in: Atti del I° Congresso internazionale di studi fenici e punici, 1979, Rome 1983, 271–7; R. LA DUCA, Il sottosuolo di Palermo, Palermo 1964, and G. M. COLUMBA, Per la topografia antica di Palermo, Centenario della nascità di Michele Amari, Palermo 1910, 395–426. For a full gazeteer, see now C. A. DI STEFANO and G. MANNINO, Carta archeologica della Sicilia: Palermo, Palermo 1983, which appeared too late for full incorporation into Fig. 18.

[218] Procopius BG I.5.13: ἐσπλεῖν τὸν στόλον ἐς τὸν λιμένα ἐκέλευεν ἄχρι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος διήκοντα.

[219] For a general survey, I. TAMBURELLO, Palermo, la necropoli punico-romana: aspetti e problemi, Archeologia Classica XVII, 1965, 293–301; and for more recent work, R. CAMERATA SCOVAZZO and G. CASTELLANA, Necropoli punica di Palermo: scavi nella zona di Corso Pisani, Sicilia Archeologica XIV, no. 45, 1981, 43–54.

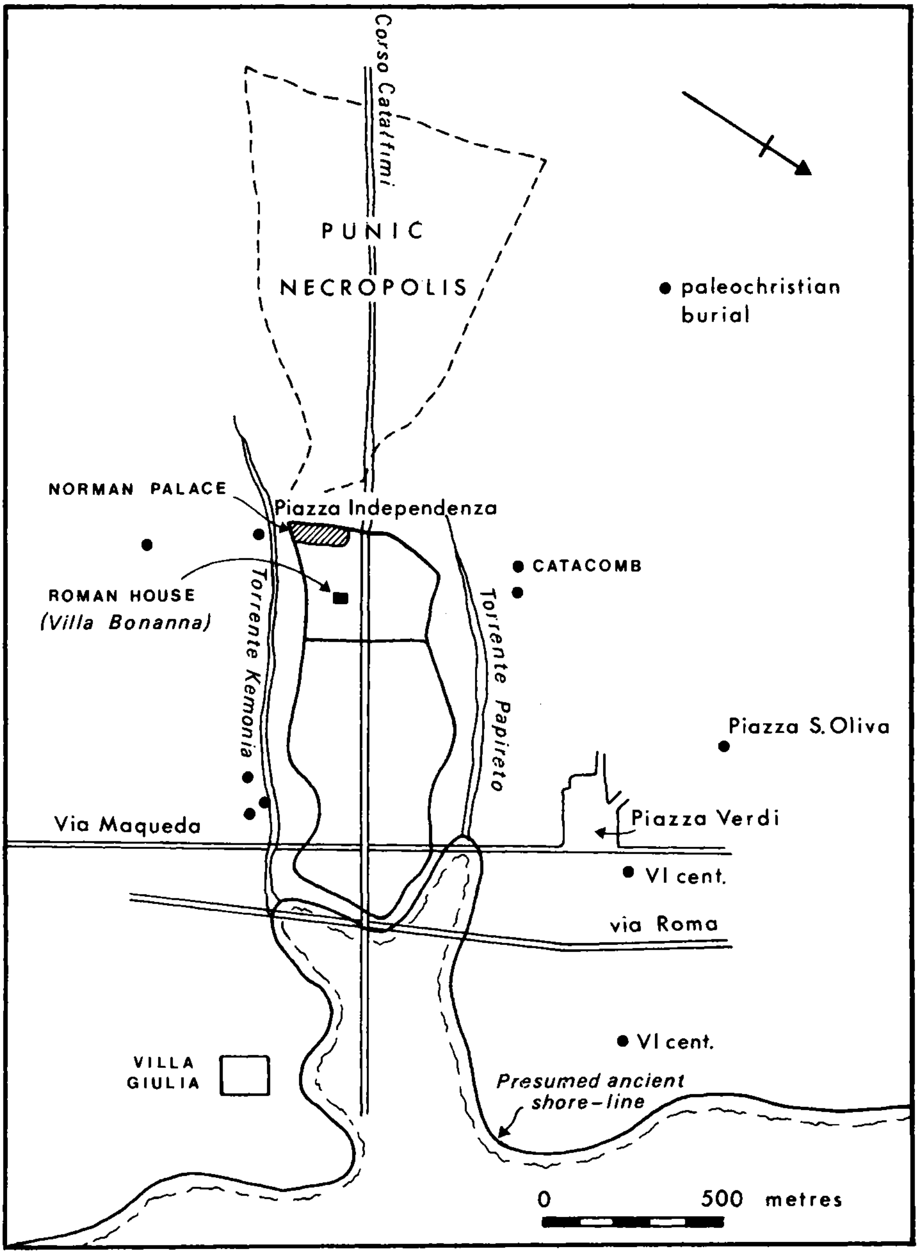

Corso Calatafimi
PUNIC
NECROPOLIS
paleochristian burial
NORMAN PALACE
Piazza Independenza
ROMAN HOUSE
(Villa Bonanna)
CATACOMB
Torrente Kemonia
Torrente Papireto
Piazza S. Oliva
Piazza Verdi
Via Maqueda
VI cent.
via Roma
VI cent.
VILLA GIULIA
Presumed ancient shore-line
0 500 metres

Fig. 18. Palermo, general plan

Palaeopolis, separated by a cross wall from the Neapolis,[220] lay on the highest ground at the west end, where the Norman castle stands, and it was here that a now vanished ruin, the 'sala verde', fired the imagination of antiquarian observers. Reckoned by some to have been the Roman theatre, it may have been a bath-building, if the hypocaust found in 1890 in the same zone belonged to this structure.[221] The remains of a temple were recorded in the nineteenth century in front of the Cathedral (N.E. of villa Bonanno), but the site of the forum is unknown, as the provenance of the inscribed imperial statue bases, some of which must have stood there, is not recorded.[222] Nor, more surprisingly, have any cemeteries of Roman imperial date been located, apart from a few burials of the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, a small catacomb outside the Porta d'Ossuna among them.[223] The huge cemetery outside the west gate, already mentioned, has yielded nothing later than a few scraps of Italian sigillata pottery; only a single burial has been ascribed to the first century A.D., and the only other tombs of early or mid imperial date are a few lead caskets. The whereabouts of the cemeteries of the second and third centuries is at present unknown.[224] If the Roman city continued to be contained within the enceinte throughout the imperial period and there was no suburban sprawl, then Palermo was the second smallest of the Sicilian *coloniae.*[225] The location of the early Christian burials close to the walls on both north and south would certainly suggest that there was no urban expansion there; on the other hand there may have been an extramural quarter in the harbour area, unless the columns, hypocausts and marble veneer reported in the region of the villa Giulia belonged to a rich, isolated *villa suburbana.*[226]

The only structures of ancient Palermo known in any detail are the parts of three Roman houses in the villa Bonanno gardens, discovered in 1868, and chiefly explored in 1875, 1904 and 1915.[227] The western half of the site

---

[220] Livy XXXIV.9: *Emporiae duo oppida erant muro divisa,* cf. Strabo III.159. For the names of the two parts of the city, Polybius I.38.7.

[221] PACE, ACSA II, 328–9 and 360.

[222] Inscriptions: CIL X, 7270–7284; temple: V. DI GIOVANNI, La topografia antica di Palermo dal secolo X al XV, I, Palermo 1889, 389, note 1.

[223] LA DUCA, op. cit. in n. 217, chs. 3–4 with bibliography there cited. For the catacomb, FÜHRER and SCHULTZE, op. cit. in n. 102, 220–36.

[224] 'Arretine': TAMBURELLO, fourth article cit. in n. 217, 51 and 53, fig. 24. First-century A.D. burial: V. TUSA, Rinvenimento di una tomba in Piazza Independenza, Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 146. The contention of LA DUCA, op. cit. in n. 219, that the Punic chamber tombs in the Piazza Independenza necropolis were reused throughout the Roman imperial period, is unsupported by the evidence. TAMBURELLO, third op. cit. in n. 217, 34, assumes that post-Roman activity in the area has destroyed all trace of the superficial layers containing the Roman imperial burials, but this too seems improbable.

[225] See note 177.

[226] A. HOLM, op. cit. in n. 1, 466; cf. also PACE, ACSA I^2, 323, note 6. For a fragmentary late Roman building with hypocaust 1300 m. N.W. of the walls, V. TUSA, Scavi medioevali a Palermo, Sicilia Archeologica VI, no. 23, 1973, 57–61, esp. 60–1.

[227] E. GABRICI, Ruderi romani scoperti alla Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo, Monumenti Antichi XXVII, 1921, 181–204.

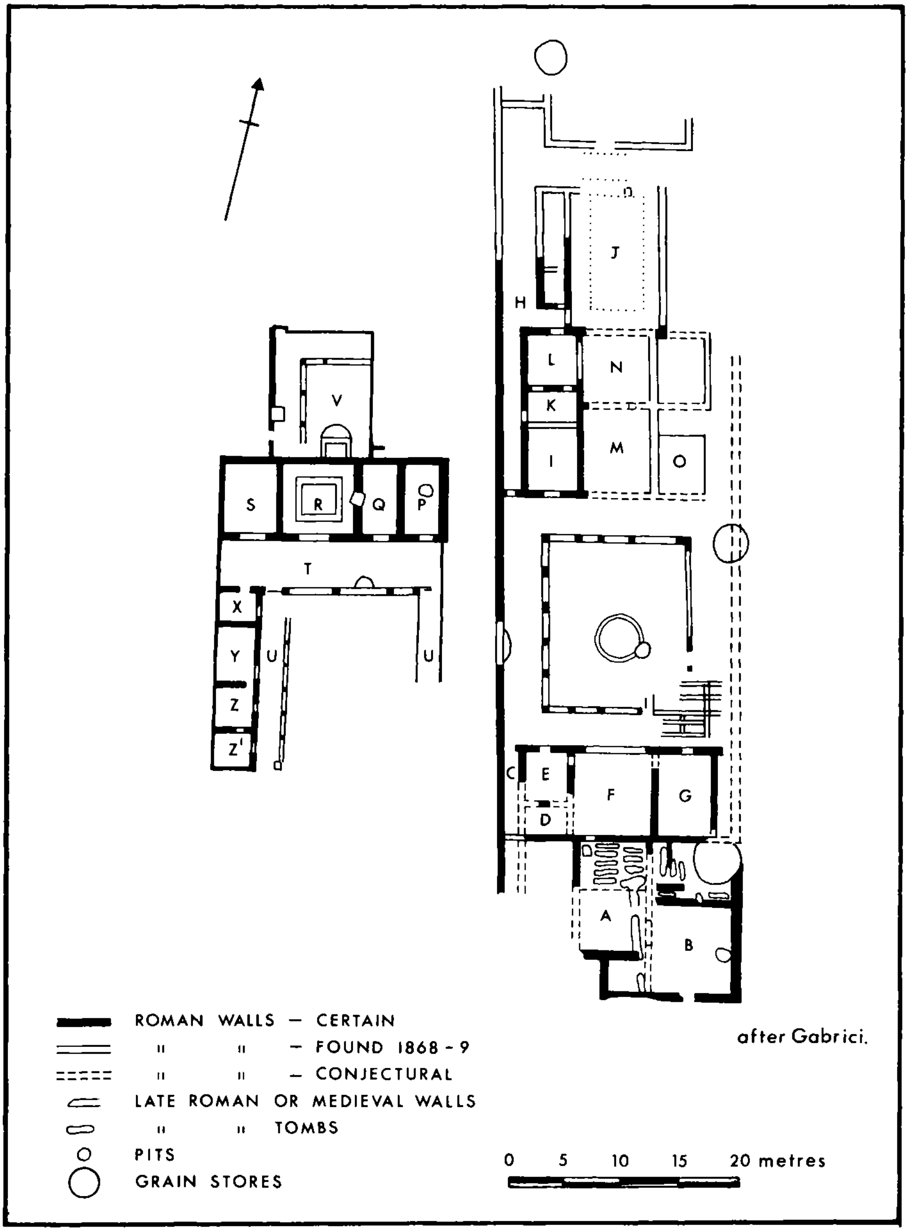

V
S
R
Q
P
T
X
Y
Z
Z'
U
U
H
J
L
N
K
M
I
O
C
E
F
G
D
A
B
ROMAN WALLS – CERTAIN
" " – FOUND 1868 - 9
" " – CONJECTURAL
LATE ROMAN OR MEDIEVAL WALLS
" " TOMBS
PITS
GRAIN STORES
after Gabrici.
0 5 10 15 20 metres

Fig. 19. Palermo, plan of Roman house in the villa Bonanno gardens

contains parts of two houses: a colonnaded court (V on fig. 19) belonging to a house otherwise still buried, and an adjacent house to the south, of which part of the peristyle and the rooms on its west and north sides have been uncovered. One room (R) contains a fine hunting mosaic, still *in situ*, probably laid in the second half of the second or early in the first century B.C. The third house, in a separate block to the east, was certainly larger and more sumptuous. In its final form it must have stretched the full width of an *insula* from street to street, but it is possible that this was the result of alterations carried out during the Empire, when what may have been once a pair of houses arranged back-to-back was made into a single dwelling.[228] The full layout in its final phase is not clear, but rooms J and M/N yielded two polychrome figured mosaics (now in Palermo Museum), one featuring Orpheus and the animals probably of the late third century, the other rather earlier (? c. 225 A.D.) the Four Seasons and other divinities.[229] In addition a mosaic of Neptune in his chariot, as well as several geometric floors, were laid in the same house, also in the first half of the third century. How long it remained in occupation is unknown. Burials dug in the southern part of the house (especially room A) yielded a Christian lamp and fourth-century coinage, so that the house was certainly in decay in the late Roman period, by the fifth or sixth century. An almost identical but more fragmentary Orpheus mosaic, clearly laid by the same workshop as the one already mentioned, has come from what must have been another Roman house in via Maqueda.[230]

The rest of our knowledge about Roman Palermo is derived from inscriptions, of which the most informative are in Latin.[231] Nemesis and possibly Ceres are honoured on a pair of first-century inscriptions, the latter erected by L. Cornelius Marcellus, the quaestor of Sicily also recorded at Agrigento (p. 183); he is probably identical with the Marcellus accused under Nero and killed by Galba.[232] A long second-century inscription praises the efforts of a *curator portensis kalendarii* and a *munerarius* in putting on a splendid programme of entertainment which had enthralled the audience for many hours

---

[228] A column belonging to an 'earlier building' was found 0.95 m. below the peristyle in 1966–7: I. TAMBURELLO, Palermo. Edifici nella Piazza della Vittoria, Fasti Archeologici XXI, 1966, 4485.

[229] Orpheus: PACE, ACSA II, 185–6; Four Seasons: R. CAMERATA SCOVAZZO, Nuove proposte sul grande mosaico di Piazza della Vittoria a Palermo, Kokalos XXI, 1975, 231–73. For these and the Neptune mosaic and other floors, see now in detail VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 171–92.

[230] ibid., Abb. 129. For further discussion of the two Orpheus mosaics, see R. J. A. WILSON, Roman mosaics in Sicily: the African connection, American Journal of Archaeology LXXXVI, 1982, 420, 428 (and ID., Trade and Industry etc., below, pl. XVII).

[231] Only about 17% of the 89 or so inscriptions of imperial date from Palermo are in Greek: 16 (15 in IG XIV, one in GABRICI, op. cit. in n. 227, 201) as opposed to 73 in Latin (in CIL X, plus one in BIVONA, ILLMP no. 40 and 2 in GABRICI, loc. cit.).

[232] CIL X, 7268 (= BIVONA, ILLMP no. 10) and 7266 (BIVONA, no. 9), cf. 7192 (Agrigento) and Tacitus, Annales XVI.8; Historiae I.37.

(pl. XVIII. 1).[233] The highlight was the exhibition of various animals, including "every kind of grass-eater" (stags, deer, boars etc.) and "numerous *orientales*" (i.e. the flesh-eaters, lions, tigers etc.). To show their gratitude the people were demanding *frequ]entissimis vocibus* the erection of two *bigae* and equestrian statues in honour of the two men. The inscription implies incidentally that Palermo possessed an amphitheatre, unless the theatre had been adapted, as at Taormina and Tindari, to cope with such spectacles, and it also documents the voting system of the *populus,* divided into *centuriae.*[234]

At the end of the second century a rash appears of dedications set up to Septimius Severus and other members of his family by the *Respublica Panhormitanorum*: six come from Palermo itself (pl. XVIII. 2) and one from a country locality just west of the city.[235] All seem to have been statue-bases rather than building-slabs,[236] perhaps put up in the hope of imperial munificence from the first (and only known) former governor of the island who became emperor. There is certainly no evidence that benefactions were ever forthcoming; only at Marsala is there some suggestion of urban rebuilding at the time of Severus. Various other imperial dedications are recorded spasmodically throughout the third century and into the fourth,[237] and in 314 the governor of Sicily Latronianus described as "Restorer of Liberty and Founder of Public Security" the emperor Licinius on two bases, one inscribed in Greek.[238] But these and other Palermitan inscriptions furnish disappointingly little detailed information, and a lot more archaeological excavation will have to take place before a coherent account of the topography and history of Palermo during the Roman Empire can be reconstructed.

7. Marsala (Lilybaeum): Figure 20

Founded probably in the 380s or 370s B.C. by Carthage to replace nearby Motya, which had been largely destroyed in 397, Marsala rapidly became a flourishing port and powerful military stronghold, defended by a girdle of walls erected at the time of its foundation.[239] These enabled her to resist a

---

[233] CIL X, 7295 (= Bivona, ILLMP no. 30, with commentary pp. 49–50). On *curatores kalendarii,* see now L. Japella Contardi, Un esempio di 'burocrazia' municipale: i *curatores kalendarii,* Epigraphica XXXIX, 1977, 71–90.

[234] A division into *curiae* was more normal, at least in *municipia:* A. H. M. Jones, The Roman Economy, Oxford 1974, 13.

[235] CIL X, 7271–6 and AE 1968, 200 (= Bivona, ILLMP, nos. 12–18). There is only one earlier imperial dedication, of A.D. 163 (CIL X, 7270 = Bivona, no. 11).

[236] Although now thin slabs, they were apparently sheared off what were originally statue bases, to facilitate transportation in the eighteenth century: Bivona, ILLMP 13.

[237] CIL X, 7279 (Severus Alexander), 7281 (Claudius II, *divus*), 7282 (Diocletian) and 7283 (Maximin).

[238] CIL X, 7284 and IG XIV, 296, but the latter is not securely provenanced (Manni Piraino, IGLMP no. 149), cf. AE 1966, 166 (Marsala).

[239] On the date of foundation, C. A. di Stefano, Testimonianze archeologiche lilibitane del IV sec. a.c., in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio

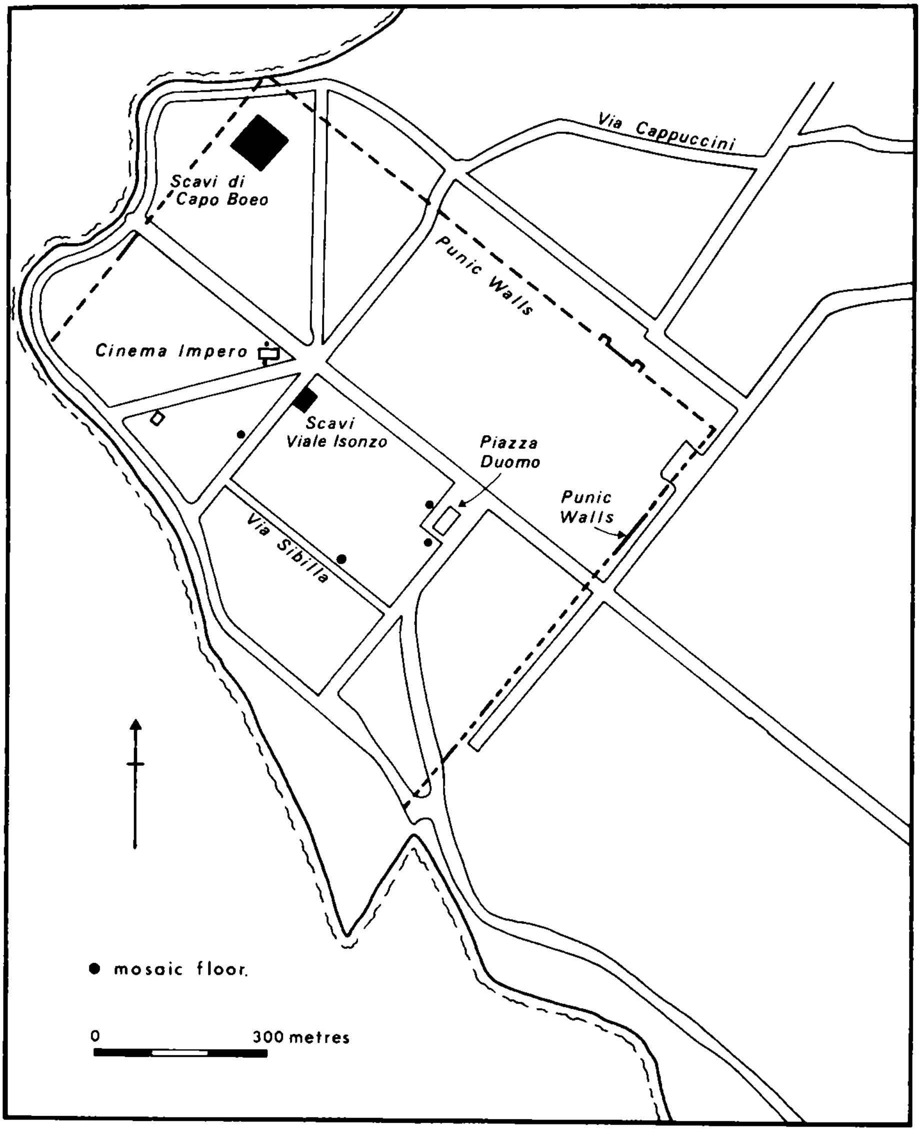

Via Cappuccini
Scavi di Capo Boeo
Punic Walls
Cinema Impero
Scavi Viale Isonzo
Piazza Duomo
Punic Walls
Via Sibilla
● mosaic floor.
0
300 metres

Fig. 20. Marsala, general plan

long siege during the First Punic War, but after the transfer of the city to Rome in 241 B.C., the *civitas splendidissima* played an important role in the organization of the Roman province, as second city to Syracuse and seat of one of the two quaestors.[240] Augustus chose not to plant a military *colonia* there, probably as a punishment for its being on the losing side in his struggle with Sextus Pompey, but granted it the status of *municipium*.[241] Two centuries later, however, the city was finally raised to colonial status, the only known example in Sicily of a practice then widespread of improving the status and civic pride of existing communities worthy of elevation. Its petition for colonial status was probably made during Commodus' reign, but it appears to have been granted in 193 during the brief three-month tenure of the imperial throne by Publius Helvius Pertinax, as the city's full title, *colonia Helvia Augusta Lilybitanorum,* implies.[242] Certainly the elevation of Marsala to colonial status is not surprising, for all archaeological evidence suggests a rich and prosperous city throughout the period of the Empire. The reasons for such prosperity are not difficult to account for. Derived mainly, no doubt, from the agricultural yield of its very fertile hinterland, including no doubt produce of the vine which is today one of her chief claims to fame, Marsala's wealth must have been greatly increased by her role as the principal port of trade between Sicily and the prosperous continent of Africa.[243] If, as seems likely, the entire area of 80 hectares (200 acres) within the Carthaginian defences was densely inhabited during the Empire, Marsala ranks in size as the third city of imperial Sicily after Syracuse and Catania.[244]

Manni, III, Rome 1980, 785 – 99. On Marsala generally there is now the very useful exhibition catalogue, C. A. DI STEFANO, ed., Lilibeo: testimonianze archeologiche dal IV sec. a. c. al V sec. d. c., Marsala 1984, pp. 212 (hereafter, in notes 244 – 260, DI STEFANO, Lilibeo). For the defences, ibid. 24 – 35; A. M. BISI, Ricerche sulle fortificazioni puniche di Lilibeo, Archeologia Classica XX, 1968, 259 – 265, C. A. DI STEFANO, Ricerche sulle fortificazioni di Lilibeo, Kokalos XVII, 1971, 62 – 80; EAD., Nuove scoperte archeologiche a Marsala: le fortificazioni puniche di Lilibeo, Sicilia Archeologica VI, no. 21 – 22, 1973, 71 – 79; EAD., op. cit. in n. 244, 11 – 13; EAD., op. cit. in n. 250, 870 – 2; E. GABRICI, Lilybaeum, Notizie degli Scavi 1941, 271 – 302.

[240] Siege: Polybios I.41 – 59. *Civitas splendidissima:* Cicero ii in Verr. V.5.10. *Quaestor*: RE II A.2, 2502, cf. Cicero ii in Verr. II.8.22.

[241] Above p. 98 and note 28.

[242] CIL X, 7205 and 7228; on four others (7222, 7229, 7236, 7239) it appears as *colonia Augusta Lilybitanorum*. For a long discussion of these and other inscriptions from Marsala, see R. MARINO, Su alcune iscrizioni latine del Palazzo Municipale di Marsala, Kokalos XXIV, 1978, 77 – 111.

[243] A harbour official, *actor portus Lilybitani,* is recorded on CIL X, 7225.

[244] See note 177. For a general topographical survey, G. SCHMIEDT, Contributo della fotografia aerea alla ricostruzione della topografia antica di Lilibeo, Kokalos IX, 1963, 49 – 72 (and ID., Atlante aerofotografico delle sedi umane in Italia, Florence 1970. pl. XCIX); A. M. BISI, Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia, foglio 256 (Isole Egadi), Istituto Geografico Militare, Florence 1974; C. A. DI STEFANO, Lilibeo alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche, Sicilia Archeologica XIII, no. 43, 1980, 7 – 20; also see now DI STEFANO, Lilibeo (n. 239), passim.

Of the public buildings of Lilybaeum nothing is known from archaeology, but inscriptions mention an aqueduct, a sanctuary of Cereres, and a palaestra, and the presence of either amphitheatre or suitably converted theatre is implied by the reference to a *curator muneris publici gladiatorii* (p. 165). Apart from the walls and sectors of the necropolis, it is the private dwellings that have seen the attention of the spade. Some of this excavation has been rescue work in advance of modern building, but in the area near Capo Boeo in the northern and western sectors of the ancient town, largely free of structures today, research excavation has also been possible. The most extensive area uncovered includes an entire *insula* 45 m. square, excavated before the 1939–45 war but unfortunately never published apart from brief notes.[245] In its final form the *insula* was occupied by a single, vast, and luxurious town-house, and limited excavation below one of its mosaics in 1972 (the Medusa head floor: pl. XIX. 1) appeared to suggest that at least part of the northern section of the house is basically of late second or early third century A.D. date in its visible form. Below the mosaic however were at least two floors of earlier date, one of cement (early imperial?) and another of *opus signinum* (late Republican), with further material below that going back to the early days of the city's foundation. Detailed examination of other parts of the *insula* will be necessary before its full building history can be unravelled; but it is a fair guess that in the major rebuilding that seems to have affected many parts of Lilybaeum in the second century B.C.,[246] this *insula* was occupied by at least two houses and possibly three. The southern half of the *insula*, however, with a small tetrastyle atrium and garden peristyle beyond, does in all probability reflect the late Republican layout which was retained with less drastic alteration down to the late Empire, since the standard atrium-peristyle arrangement, so familiar from Pompeii but which here makes one of its rare appearances in Sicily,[247] passed out of general architectural currency about the end of the first century A.D. The more northerly part of the *insula*, however does appear to have been drastically rehandled about A.D. 200.[248] Two geometric and three figured mosaics were probably laid at the time of these major alterations, including one already mentioned featuring a head of Medusa (pl. XIX. 1) and another with a head of Trinacria surrounded by full-length figures of the Seasons. Later still, probably at the beginning of the fourth century, a lavishly floored bath-suite was fitted out in the western corner of the house, the mosaic pavement of the *frigidarium* (depicting lion, lioness, tiger and leopard pouncing on horse, two species of antelope and stag respectively) being the most impressive (pl. XIX. 2).[249] The subject matter of this is in the mainstream of the African mosaic repertoire at this period, but the overall arrangement of the floor is unparalleled there, suggesting that it may be the work of a Sicilian *atelier* heavily influenced by mosaic patterns from across the water.

---

[245] I. Marconi Bovio, Marsala, villa romana, Le Arti XVIII, 1940, 389–90; Ead., La Giara 1955, 336–40. For photographs (the text is fanciful), G. Aldo Ruggieri, Motya and Lilybaeum, Archaeology X, 1957, 135–6, and for a plan, di Stefano, Lilibeo (see n. 239), 136, Fig. 78 a. For a brief discussion of the mosaics see now von Boeselager, op. cit. in n. 70, 144–6.

[246] C. D. di Stefano, op. cit. in n. 248, 31; Ead., Marsala: scoperte archeologiche effettuate negli anni 1972–6, Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–77, 761–74, at 767; Ead., op. cit. in n. 250, 873.

[247] The others are at Agrigento (p. 178 f.) and a second example at Marsala (below, note 253).

[248] The date is suggested both by the style of the mosaics, and by archaeological material found in the make-up below the visible floors in two rooms: C. A. di Stefano, Marsala, ricerche archeologiche al Capo Boeo, Sicilia Archeologica IX, no. 32, 1976, 25–31, esp. 30–1; Ead., op. cit. in n. 246, 766–7.

In more recent years (1971 – 2 and 1979 – 81) parts of two adjacent *insulae* immediately S.E. of that revealed in 1939 have been excavated: one was clearly another peristyle house with the rooms arranged around a central garden court, but of the other only the private bath-suite was uncovered of what was evidently another well-appointed town-house still largely buried. The latter proved to be an entirely new structure of the fourth century which had swept away most of the earlier levels on the site, and further evidence for intensive building activity has also been found elsewhere at Marsala, most notably in another extensively explored *insula* in viale Isonzo 400 m. further south.[250] At both Viale Isonzo and Capo Boeo many of the walls were built of large re-used blocks, and it has been suggested that they were put up after the middle of the fourth century, possibly after the earthquake (or earthquakes) of 365 which are known to have shaken many parts of the central Mediterranean.[251] But detailed dating evidence needs to be published before this hypothesis can be accepted with total confidence. What is clear is that there was a good deal of building activity in Marsala during the fourth century, and that mosaic floors continued to be laid then. Examples of that date, apart from those in the Capo Boeo bath-suite already mentioned, include a panel of a standing fawn from viale Isonzo, and a less accomplished hunting-scene mosaic, excavated in 1972 on the other side of the same street, also associated with fourth-century walls containing re-used material.[252]

---

[249] Wilson, op. cit. in n. 230, 419, 426.

[250] Capo Boeo: C. A. di Stefano, op. cit. in n. 248, 28 – 30; Ead., op. cit. in n. 246, 764 – 5; Ead., Marsala: ricerche archeologiche dell'ultimo quadriennio, Kokalos XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, 870 – 6, at 875; di Stefano, Lilibeo (n. 239), 135. Viale Isonzo: Ead., Marsala, nuove scoperte archeologiche, Sicilia Archeologica IV, no. 14, 1971, 41 – 8 (summarized by Ead., Lilybeo: rinvenimenti effettuati dal dicembre 1970, Kokalos XVIII – XIX, 1972 – 3, 414 – 9, esp. 415 – 7, and in: Fasti Archeologici XXIV – XXV, 1969 – 70, 8303).

[251] Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI.10. 15 – 19; Libanius, Orationes XVIII.292; Jerome, Chronicle (ed. R. Helm, Berlin 1956), p. 244. The sources speak only of one earthquake, with devastation in Sicily, Greece, Libya and Palestine; but such widespread destruction from a single earthquake is not seismologically likely. Perhaps 365 was an *annus mirabilis* of several different earthquakes in different regions which became conflated into one by the sources. For a brief sketch of late Roman Marsala in general, see now C. A. di Stefano, La documentazione archeologica del III e IV sec. d.c. nella provincia di Trapani, Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX, 1982 – 83, 350 – 67, at 355 – 8.

[252] Fawn: di Stefano, Lilibeo (n. 239), no. 170, fig. 84, with references. Hunting scene: C. A. di Stefano, op. cit. in n. 246, 767 and pl. CLXXV.2. For a geometric mosaic of

Nor is material from earlier in the imperial period lacking. Excavation on another site near Capo Boeo, while it produced a less coherent set of structures than these so far mentioned, did yield a wealth of finds which indicated a more or less continuous occupation of the area throughout the Empire. Rescue excavations in 1977 in Viale Nazario Sauro revealed part of a second-century B.C. house which had new floors laid in the first century A.D.; pottery indicated continued occupation during the first two centuries of the Empire. More recently, in 1984, excavations in Via delle Ninfe have uncovered a particularly clear stratigraphic sequence in part of one *insula* from Punic levels to late Roman times; the street bordering its south side saw at least five major phases of repair during this period.[253] Parts of another Roman house, found in the 1950s during building work at the Cinema Impero, including three rooms and a corridor all floored in *opus scutulatum* or mosaic.[254] One of these is delicately executed in the 'floral' style familiar in north Africa, with a simplicity and lightness of touch which suggest a date in the second half of the second century rather than later; a more heavy-handed geometric floor in an adjacent room probably, on the other hand, belongs to the third century. On the other side of Cinema Impero a further mosaic, representing a carefully drawn fawn in the centre of an otherwise plain white floor, belongs either to the first or second century; it had been crudely repaired later in the Roman period without regard for the design of the original composition.

This group of mosaic floors by no means exhausts the list of known examples at Marsala. From Via Caturca, for example, came a fine Seasons mosaic in the 'floral' style of the second half of the second century; the parallels between this and a very similar series of floral style pavements from Carthage leave little room for doubt that the Marsala floor was actually laid by Carthaginian mosaicists.[255] Another figured floor is a mosaic panel found

---

uncertain date uncovered more recently on viale Isonzo, see EAD., first op. cit. in n. 250, pl. CCXXIX, fig. 3.

[253] Capo Boeo: A. M. BISI, Lilibeo (Marsala), ricerche archeologiche, Notizie degli Scavi 1966, 310 – 47. Via Sauro: DI STEFANO, first op. cit. in n. 250, 874. Via della Ninfe: EAD., Lilibeo (see n. 239), 104 – 7. The only known site which seems to have been deserted in the mid first century A.D., and not re-occupied, was a second-century B.C. house in Via Sibilla of which the tetrastyle atrium was found: C. A. DI STEFANO, Marsala. Nuove scoperte lungo la via Sibilla, Sicilia Archeologica VII, no. 24 – 5, 1974, 21 – 7; EAD., op. cit. in n. 246, 768 – 9.

[254] Unpublished except for brief notes in Fasti Archeologici IX, 1954, 4935 (with fig. 117) and La Giara 1955, 339 (with figs. 58 – 9). For *opus scutulatum* in general, not likely to be much later than the early second century, see M. L. MORRICONE, Scutulata pavimenta, Rome 1980, with reference to another Marsala example on 88 and 91. For the floral style mosaic, WILSON, op. cit. in n. 230, 417, note 35.

[255] F. CANCIANI, Un mosaico da Marsala con i busti delle Stagioni, Cronache di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte X, 1971, 121 – 30; cf. also WILSON, op. cit. in n. 230, 417, and VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 146 – 9.

near Piazza Duomo and now lost which featured Theseus and the Minotaur; it may belong to the third century.[256]

The general picture that emerges from this scattered series of excavations and chance discoveries is that Marsala continued to be a thriving community throughout the period of the middle Empire: in particular a rise in living standards and overall prosperity is strikingly suggested by the great quantity, and generally good quality, of mosaic pavements in the town from the later second century onwards. Where the *domini* who commissioned such floors in the third and fourth centuries were buried, however, remains largely unknown. While extensive tracts of the necropolis on the north east side of the city have been excavated at various times in advance of building, the tombs themselves, and the material they have yielded, belong almost entirely to the period from the foundation of the city down to the late hellenistic period.[257] Some of the well-known funerary *aediculae* now in Palermo may be as late as the end of the first century B.C. or early first century A.D. (on epigraphic grounds), in which case they document the survival of Punic traditions into the Empire, since the painted scenes include such familiar Punic symbols as the sun, the crescent moon and the sign of Tanit; a few hypogea of Punic type are now known which were reused and recut for fresh burials in the second and third centuries A.D.; and a sector of necropolis excavated since 1974 in Via del Fante with cremation burials covered by funeral monuments of the stepped pyramid type (as well as by more modest containers) did continue in use until the second century A.D., as finds of pottery and glass of that date clearly indicate.[258] But the total number of burials belonging to the entire imperial period at Marsala remains very small, and although a small catacomb with fourth-century paintings is known, the main cemeteries of imperial date surely await discovery.[259] They probably lie either to the north of the main burial ground so far explored or else to the south-east of the walled town in an area now largely built over.

---

[256] GABRICI, op. cit. in n. 239, 275, illustrated in PACE, ACSA II, 182 (fig. 169, 'first century', but this is unlikely), now alleged to be in Trapani, according to W. A. DASZEWSKI, Nea Paphos II, La Mosaique de Thésée, Warsaw 1977, 118 (who dates it to the late third century).

[257] The bibliography on the necropolis is vast; it includes: B. PACE, Bolli fittili dell'antico Lilibeo e necropoli di tipo punico, Notizie degli scavi 1919, 80–86; GABRICI, op. cit. in n. 239; A. M. BISI, Marsala. Scavi nella necropoli dei Cappuccini, Notizie degli Scavi 1970, 524–59; EAD., Lilibeo (Marsala). Nuovi scavi nella necropoli punica (1969–70), ibid. 1971, 662–769; C. A. DI STEFANO, Scoperte nella necropoli di Lilibeo, Kokalos XX, 1974, 162–71; EAD., op. cit. in n. 244, 18–19; EAD., op. cit. in n. 246, 770–4; EAD., first op. cit. in n. 250, 876; and especially EAD., Lilibeo (n. 239), 151–90.

[258] Aediculae: A. M. BISI, Le stele funerarie di Lilibeo, Archeologia Classica XXII, 1970, 92–130; MANNI PIRAINO, IGLMP nos. 19–24 (both with extensive bibliographies); DI STEFANO, Lilibeo (n. 239), nos. 188–91 (for more recent discoveries). Via del Fante: ibid. 153–4. Reuse of Punic hypogea: EAD, op. cit. in n. 257, 165–6.

[259] DI STEFANO's suggestion that the Roman imperial tombs have disappeared 'because of the removal of the upper layers' (op. cit. in n. 257, 171) seems most unlikely; cf. also the lack of evidence from Palermo (n. 224). For the catacomb, FÜHRER and SCHULTZE, op. cit. in n. 102, 238–52, O. GARANA, op. cit. in n. 102, 159–62; for its painting, M. A. LIMA, Sul perduto affresco del Buon Pastore di Marsala, Sicilia Archeologica XV, no. 48, 1982, 73–81. Cf. also DI STEFANO, Lilibeo (see n. 239), 191–207. Surface evidence,

Inscriptions provide further details of the city's buildings and of her benefactors. The dedication to Tiberius of A.D. 18/19 may possibly have been a building-slab; another to Domitian in 84 records a new aqueduct *exstructum supra terram et lapidibus quadratis a novo tectum.*[260] A sacred precinct of Cereres was repaired in 169/72 by a man who had held a full range of municipal magistracies, having served as organizer of gladiatorial displays, quaestor of public funds, aedile and *duumvir.*[261] In the third century a fragmentary Greek inscription may refer to the buildings or repair of a *palaestra*,[262] and another in Latin records the repaving of a district of the city, the *vicus Septizodi*, in local Trapani stone, the job being paid for by the quaestor of Sicily, Q. Fabius Caesilius Modius Titianus.[263] Other inscriptions record the gratitude of the city council to a number of *patroni* in terms which grow increasingly more fulsome in the fourth century, but rarely is the precise nature of the *benevolentia* which has been bestowed on the city actually spelled out.[264] Nevertheless these texts do record for us not only the names of citizens of Marsala ambitious and capable enough to advance further than the narrow world of local politics – men like Alpinius Magnus and Julius Claudius Peristirius Pompeianus, both natives of the city, who are the only Sicilians known for certain to have governed the island[265] – but they also give us an idea of the intermix of Greek and Latin in this corner of Sicily. Apuleius, writing in the second century A.D., says that Sicilians were *trilingues*, the third language being Punic, but there are no certain neo-Punic inscriptions of imperial date and little else (apart from the *aediculae* mentioned above) to indicate a continuing currency of things Punic well into the Empire.[266] In view

---

as yet untested by excavation, suggests the presence of late Roman burials on the S.E. side of Marsala, near the station (information kindly supplied by Dr. DI STEFANO).

[260] CIL X, 7226–7. For a general discussion of what can be gleaned from the inscriptions of Marsala, see L. BIVONA in: DI STEFANO, Lilibeo (n. 239), 144–9, with full references.

[261] G. BARBIERI, Nuove iscrizioni di Marsala, Kokalos VII, 1961, 15–52, esp. 16–34 (= AE 1964, 181). His name is uncertain: ...]*nnius Tertius* is all that survives.

[262] IG XIV, 275; παλαί]στραν is KAIBEL's restoration. The inscription starts with an imperial dedication which includes the word Σεπτίμ ... in the fourth line, and probably therefore refers to a successor of Septimius Severus.

[263] BARBIERI, op. cit. in n. 261, 34–45 (= AE 1964, 182). Cf. O. BELVEDERE, Opere pubbliche etc., below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 393. The same man appears at Palermo (CIL X, 7287) and is the brother of C. Maesius Aquillius Fabius Titianus mentioned above (p. 152).

[264] E.g. CIL X, 7240 (= IG XIV, 277), M. Valerius Chorton; CIL X, 7233, C. Bultius Geminius Titianus; CIL X, 7237, M. Marcius Glaucus; BARBIERI, op. cit. in n. 261, 45–51 (= AE 1964, 183), C. Mevius Donatus Iunianus; EE VIII, 696, C. Valerius Apollinaris; CIL X, 7234, Domitius Zenofilus (MARINO, op. cit. in n. 242, 101–6).

[265] G. BARBIERI, Due cippi di Marsala del IV sec. d.c., Kokalos IX, 1963, 225–252, esp. 232–42 (= AE 1966, 167); A. SALINAS, Marsala. Iscrizioni onorarie di Lilibeo, Notizie degli Scavi 1905, 216–7 (= AE 1906, 75).

[266] Apuleius, Metamorphoses, XI 5. The two Sicilian neo-Punic inscriptions are not later than the first century B.C.: M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle

of the depth of Carthaginian roots in western Sicily, however, it is perhaps surprising to find that the Greek language made the impact it clearly did in Marsala. Inscriptions in Greek are common from the second century B.C. onwards, some displaying uncertainty in the use of the language, and Cicero says that the Greek spoken there was not of the purest strain.[267] It clearly remained widely spoken in the city during the Empire, for not only are some important inscriptions dedicated in Greek, but also the nomenclature of Greek-style institutions was still sometimes used as late as the fourth century. M. Valerius Chorton, for example, was honoured by the δεκορίωνες, probably in the Augustan period, on a bilingual inscription,[268] and over three hundred years later Alpinius Magnus (mentioned above) was honoured on a wholly Greek inscription set up (in the 330s A.D.) by the βουλὴ καὶ δῆμος[269]: as at Taormina (p. 110) the Greek speakers in the local senate were clearly influential enough to press for official dedications to be made in Greek, using, moreover, a terminology which disregarded the city's Roman colonial status. Also of note is the survival, even after becoming a *municipium*, of the division of Marsala's *populus* into twelve tribes, a feature familiar from the Greek east.[270] Only one tribe's name is recorded, that of Jupiter Augustus; the others may also have been names of deities.[271] Whether this division into tribes was still retained in Marsala even after her elevation to colonial rank is unclear, as the only closely datable inscription mentioning them belongs to Commodus' reign; the others may have been set up just before or just after the city's promotion to *colonia* in 193.[272]

In June 440 A.D. the Vandal king Geiseric, who the previous year had captured Carthage, launched the first of his many raids into Sicily, which continued sporadically and with varying degrees of devastation until Geiseric's

---

colonie in Occidente, Rome 1967, 68–70. The narrow round-ended cisterns beneath the house at Cape Boeo are also a legacy of the Punic era, but they probably belong to the second-century-B.C. layout of the house rather than to the rehandling of imperial date.

[267] Cicero, in Q. Caecilium 12.39: *si litteras Graecas Athenis non Lilybaei, Latinas Romae non in Sicilia didicisses* ... Cf. O. MASSON, Noms sémitiques dans deux inscriptions grecques, Semitica XXVI, 1976, 93–8, at 93–6.

[268] IG XIV, 277 and CIL X, 7240. The date is not certainly Augustan, but his father received a dedication from ὁ δᾶμος τῶν Λιλυβαιϊτᾶν inscribed in lettering probably of the late first century B.C.: M. T. MANNI PIRAINO, Due iscrizioni inedite di Marsala, Kokalos IX, 1963, 157–62. Chorton was also honoured at Mazara: IG XIV, 273.

[269] BARBIERI, op. cit. in n. 265, 242–52 (= AE 1966, 167) Cf. also IG XIV, 296 (provenance uncertain).

[270] F. SARTORI, Le dodici tribù di Lilibeo, Kokalos III, 1957, 38–60; cf. A. H. M. JONES, The Greek City, Oxford 1940, 158.

[271] CIL X, 7237. The number of tribes is recorded by CIL X, 7206, 7233 and in BARBIERI, op. cit. in n. 261, 45–52 (= AE 1964, 183).

[272] CIL X, 7237 mentions Commodus. The proconsuls recorded in CIL X, 7233 and AE 1964, 183 may have held office towards the end of the second century, but BARBIERI (op. cit. in n. 261) would place them slightly later.

death in 477.[273] Marsala must have borne the brunt of these attacks, especially as her defences, carefully repaired during Sextus Pompey's regime,[274] show no signs of a late Roman refurbishing: at one point, indeed, some modest third-century dwellings had been built over the tumbled enceinte.[275] A very marked burnt layer is visible in section at the Capo Boeo excavations, in one place immediately above the road-surface of Trapani limestone which itself cannot be earlier than the mid-third century (because of reused inscriptions),[276] and other destruction by fire has been noted nearby in the excavations of 1971 – 2 and 1978 – 81. The dating evidence from the destruction layers points very clearly to the mid fifth century, and there is no doubt that the devastation was caused by Vandals.[277] Similar burning detected at Viale Isonzo, thought at first to have occurred during the Arab capture of Marsala,[278] was probably also the work of Vandal raiders. It is unlikely that life returned to normal afterwards. There are no fifth-century inscriptions, and tombs appear for the first time within the urban area, for example above the burnt layer at the Capo Boeo site.[279] Later, in the year 500, Lilybaeum was given as the dowry of Amalafrida, sister of Theoderic, when she was married to the Vandal king Thrasamund, and part of what appears to have been a boundary stone defining the *fines inter Vandalos et Gothos* is recorded on a lost inscription.[280]

III. The Augustan municipia

1. Messina (Messana)

Messina's natural harbour and position of outstanding strategic and economic importance, commanding the straits of Messina and the vital link with the Italian peninsula, no doubt ensured a flourishing community here right from its foundation (as Zancle) c. 725 B.C.[281] The *pax Romana* and the busy shipping route on which she lay no doubt ensured continuing, perhaps increasing prosperity during the Roman period, but there is hardly any archaeological evidence to confirm or deny this: Messina has left few traces of its Roman past. There are no standing monuments, and apart from excavations in the two principal cemeteries at various times, notably after the devastating earthquake of 1908, little archaeological investigation relevant to the period under review has been carried out. A brick-built bath building of late Roman date recently explored at the Municipio is the only major recorded structure;[282] other fragments found within the inhabited area of the Roman town are chance finds recovered during modern building operations. They include a marble floor of *opus sectile* near the Duomo, part of a Roman house in via Garibaldi with a fine black-and-white floral mosaic of the late first or early second century A.D. (pl. XX. 1), and a marble altar from Via Battisti probably of Flavian date.[283]

---

[273] Cassiodorus Chron., year 440: *Gensericus Siciliam graviter affligit;* there may have been a raid in 438 if we can trust Prosper Tiro, 1332: *iidem piratae multas insulas sed praecipue Siciliam vastavere.* For a general account of the Vandals in Sicily, F. GIUNTA, Genserico e la Sicilia, Kokalos II, 1956, 104 – 41, esp. 121 – 41.

[274] A. SALINAS, Notizie degli Scavi 1894, 389 (= BIVONA, ILLMP no. 7).

[275] DI STEFANO, second work cited in n. 239, 79 with fig. 9, p. 77; and op. cit. in n. 246, 762.

[276] Personal observation; DI STEFANO, op. cit. (n. 244), 15, sees the road repaving as part of the rebuilding programme of the second half of the fourth century.

[277] DI STEFANO, op. cit. in n. 244, 16 – 17, op. cit. in n. 248, 29 and first op. cit. in n. 250, 875 (with evidence of pottery and coins there cited).

[278] See note 250.

[279] C. A. DI STEFANO, op. cit. (n. 244), 16 – 17.

[280] Procopius, BV I.8; CIL X, 7232.

[281] G. VALLET, Rhegion et Zancle, Paris 1958; ID., Zancle-Messina, in: SA I, 699 – 705; G. SCIBONA, Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, Princeton 1976, 998 – 9.

The bulk of our information about Messina during the Roman Empire comes therefore from the city's necropolises and its inscriptions. One of the cemeteries lay in the south-west part of the town, in the area of the former Orti della Maddalena, but although many finds were preserved from here, detailed records of the tombs themselves were not made.[284] The S. Placido necropolis on the north side of Messina, which coin evidence suggests was in use during the first to third centuries A.D., has produced more valuable information, thanks to the meticulous work of ORSI who excavated it after the 1908 earthquake.[285] The part examined contained a number of separate tomb-enclosures: four well-defined precincts and parts of two others were recognized, one of them belonging to the Ostrii family, as three funeral tablets bearing that name were found in it. A wide variety of burial methods was detected; the most common were simple containers built of brick or stone, and the so-called *'a cappuccina'* tombs with two rows of *tegulae* propped against one another gable-fashion. One hundred and forty burials were inhumations, and only eighteen were cremations, clear evidence that the preference for the Greek method of inhumation burial remained in this part of Sicily during the first and early second century when in mainland Italy cremation was the rule. Another section of the Roman necropolis comprising 200 mostly poor burials packed closely together, was excavated in 1982 in advance of the construction of a new Palazzo della Cultura; again inhumation was the preferred method of burial.[286]

---

[282] G. VOZA, art. cit. in n. 89, Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–7, 581. For this and other recent finds, F. RICCOBONO, La storia ritrovata. Dieci anni di ricerca archeologica a Messina, Messina 1975, esp. 66.

[283] P. ORSI, Altre scoperte messinesi degli anni 1910–15, Monumenti Antichi XXIV, 1916, 193–218 (Duomo, Via Garibaldi); G. V. GENTILI, Messina. Ara funeraria marmorea e scoperte varie in Via Cesare Battisti, Notizie degli Scavi 1954, 54–6. Other material of Roman imperial date in the Museum includes five unprovenanced portraits of imperial date (N. BONACASA, op. cit. in n. 92, nos. 104, 117, 127, 151 and 212), six sarcophagi (V. TUSA, I sarcofagi romani in Sicilia, Palermo 1957, 78–89, nos. 32–7), and some Byzantine capitals (G. AGNELLO, I capitelli bizantini del museo di Messina, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana XLII, 1960, 9–30).

[284] P. GRIFFO, Messina, necropoli ellenistico-romana agli "Orti della Maddalena" e nella zona ad essi adiacente, Notizie degli Scavi 1942, 66–91. Cf. also P. ORSI, Messina. Nuovi indizi di una grande necropoli di Messina, Notizie degli Scavi 1929, 46–51; G. SCIBONA, Messina, Ritrovamenti archeologici in Via F. Faranda, Notizie degli Scavi XXIII, 1969, 198–209; and L. BERNABÒ-BREA, second op. cit. in n. 174, 176–7.

[285] P. ORSI, Messana, la necropoli romana di S. Placido, Monumenti Antichi XXIV, 1916, 121–193.

The inscriptions, too, tell an unusually full story. Of the 72 recorded which are probably of imperial date, exactly half are in Greek, half in Latin. We find in Latin members of local families such as the Avillii and the Ostrii, but in Greek such Roman-sounding names as Claudia Romana and Julia Marcia.[287] Of particular interest is a group of tombstones found in 1936–7 all bearing the name Claudius Theseus: he set up four tombstones, to his wife and one son in Latin, but to his daughter and another son in Greek.[288] Such bilingualism must have been common in Sicily during the Roman Empire, but it is rarely so well documented. Other tombstones reveal equally clearly the cosmopolitan nature of Messina's population, hardly surprising in a city located at a key point on one of the ancient world's most important trading routes. There are some who came from Rome itself, such as the Sextus Pompey ἀπὸ Ῥώμης,[289] others have south Italian connections,[290] while from the east came Cornelius Magna from Apamea (which one is not specified), a commedian called Paphianus from Paphos in Cyprus, Epaphras from Crete, M. Antonius Scorpos from Corinth in Greece and Androbios from Lycia.[291] The last described himself as a ναύκληρος, and some of the others may have found themselves in Messina for reasons of commerce. Another man, Aurelius Eutyches, set up a tombstone with a poem in Greek,[292] telling how a group of young men from Cyzicus were carried away by a "single fate", perhaps a shipwreck or a shipping accident. Another records Ulpius Nicephorus from Antioch in Syria, described as ἔμπορος Τυχαίων, "a trader in objects connected with Τύχη", perhaps, in other words, a souvenir-seller.[293] Apart from all these immigrants, some of whom need not have been permanent residents of the town, tombstones document for us not only the names of local families, but also other men who died at Messina who were probably Sicilians by birth: they include L. Baebius Iuncinus, who had a distinguished equestrian career which included four military posts, the *praefectus vehiculorum*, and the much-prized job of *iuridicus Aegypti*,[294] and C. Terentius Symphorus, who spent twenty-nine years as a surgeon with the Fourth Praetorian Cohort in Rome.[295,296]

---

[286] G. Voza, Beni Culturali e Ambientali Sicilia III, 1982, 127–8 with fig. 38; G. Scibona, Kokalos XXX–XXXI, 1984–5, forthcoming.

[287] Orsi, op. cit. in n. 285, 190. The tally of inscriptions is as follows. Latin: 13 (CIL X) + 17 (Orsi, op. cit. in n. 285) + 1 (Notizie degli Scavi 1920, 339–40) + 5 (Griffo, op. cit. in n. 284); Greek: 18 (IG XIV) + 12 (Orsi, op. cit. in n. 285) + 6 (Griffo, op. cit. in n. 284).

[288] Griffo, op. cit. in n. 284, 83–5.

[289] IG XIV, 413.

[290] E. g. Cartilia Irene and P. Licinius Licinianus (Griffo, op. cit. in n . 284, 85, 90): cf. Cl. Cartilius Irenicus (CIL X, 3699, 2, 15, Cumae), L. Licinius Licinianus (CIL X, 3889, S. Maria Capua Vetere), Licinia Liciniana (CIL IX, 2111, Benevento).

[291] Apamaean (from Syria, Bithynia or Phrygia?): Orsi, op. cit. in n. 285, 171–2; Cypriot: IG XIV, 412 (on which see L. Robert, Epitaphe d'un commédien à Messine, Hellenica XI–XII, 1960, 330–42); Cretan: IG XIV, 406; Corinthian: Orsi, op. cit. in n. 285, 162; Lycian: IG XIV, 404. For another Lycian sailor, at Syracuse, S. L. Agnello, third work cited in n. 102 (1955), 47–8; cf. G. Manganaro, op. cit. in n. 106, 207–8.

[292] IG XIV, 405 = Manni Piraino, IGLMP no. 27.

2. Lipari (Lipara)

A place of outstanding importance in the archaeology of Mediterranean prehistory, Lipari has been the scene of extensive, meticulous excavation since the last war which has produced rich evidence for all phases of the island's past. Colonized by Cnidians c. 580 B.C., she was an important naval base during the first Punic War,[297] and then, along with many other Sicilian towns, underwent considerable reorganization and rebuilding during the period of the Roman Republic: the orthogonal street-grid system of *decumani* and *cardines*, for example, detected both on the acropolis and in the lower town, probably belongs in its present form to the second century B.C. Of the Roman houses which lined these streets, only fragmentary traces have been found on the acropolis,[298] but much fuller information has been forthcoming from the excavations in the grounds of the bishop's palace. Here a rough defensive wall of dry-stone rubble and re-used material, clearly thrown up in a hurry 6 m. or so outside the line of the Greek city walls (which are of the early fourth century B.C.), was dated by pottery to the middle years of the first century B.C.,[299] and is presumably therefore to be connected with the Civil War between Octavian and Sextus Pompey, when Lipari's strategic importance, together with her excellent harbours, again put her briefly in the limelight on the military stage. Immediately inside the Greek walls here excavations have uncovered the western parts of several houses with a long and complicated structural history.[300] The dwellings of the late Republic and early Empire were entirely rebuilt in excellent-quality masonry during the second century A.D., leaving a clear perimeter road 7 m. wide between them and the line of the Greek walls. These houses later went through a number of further repairs and alterations, especially in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, when new structures, by now trespassing on the perimeter road, were built up against the Greek fortifications. Nothing is known of the public buildings of Roman Lipari, apart from a fragmentary late Roman monumental building, possibly a temple with surrounding portico, on the Collina della Cività north of the acropolis, and what was probably a timber amphitheatre on stone footings, identified near the Cinema Eolio outside the S.W. corner of the Greek walls.[301] Only one other extramural building, a set of baths with black and white mosaics, has been found,[302] and it is clear that the Roman city was not bigger than its Greek predecessor and did not spill over outside the line of the Greek enceinte.

---

[293] IG XIV, 419–20; S. L. AGNELLO, Ancora sull'iscrizione messinese di Ulpio Niceforo, Cronache di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte II, 1963, 79–83, who dates it on letter-forms to the first Tetrarchy; cf. G. MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 106, 205–6, who proposes a different reading in lines 2–3.

[294] So PFLAUM, op. cit. in n. 203, I, 295–7, no. 121 (CIL X, 6976): but his tribe, the Galeria, is not otherwise attested in Sicily, and is far commoner in Spain than elsewhere. See too G. FORNI, Sicilia romana tributim descripta, in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Rome 1980, 949–61, at 959. The date is A.D. 108/135, *pace* HOLDER, op. cit. in n. 203, 248, no. E 64, where the inscription is included among 'Claudio-Neronian equestrians'; cf. also DEVIJVER, op. cit. in n. 203, 176–7, B 10, with references.

[295] ORSI, op. cit. in n. 285, 162 = AE 1945, 62.

[296] None of Messina's magistrates are recorded, but other inscriptions document a *flaminica divae Augustae*, Messia Crispina (CIL X, 6978), and a *scriba publicus*, M. Aurelius Felicianus (CIL X, 6979). The circular base inscribed to Asclepios and Hygeia on one side and to Antoninus Pius on the other (in the Museum not in the Duomo) is now known not to be from Messina: see L. ROBERT, De Cilicie à Messine et à Plymouth avec deux inscriptions grecques errantes, Journal des Savants 1973, 161–211; cf. M. T. MANNI PIRAINO, Epigrafia greca, Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–7, 273–4.

[297] Diodorus V. 9–10; XXIII.20; Polybios I. 21.5; 24.13; 25.4; 39.13.

[298] L. BERNABÒ-BREA, Sulla topografia di Lipari in età greca e romana, Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale VII, 1954, 35–50; and cf. more recently ID., Attività archeologica nelle isole eolie (1976–1980), Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 749–55, at 749.

The cemeteries have also yielded a wealth of information. The first report of the major post-war work, published in 1965, included full details of 49 burials clearly assignable to the imperial period up to the end of the second century A.D.[303] All but eight were inhumations, and the usual range of different burial methods (the *tomba a cappuccina* being the most popular) was detected. The overall picture, with inhumation being widely preferred to cremation, is entirely consistent with that produced by the S. Placido necropolis at Messina (p. 169). On a somewhat grander scale are the two surviving barrel-vaulted chamber tombs, which have long been known. Probably belonging to the second century or (at the very latest) the first half of the third, they both have *arcosolia* for inhumation burials as well as niches for cremation urns in their walls.[304] Since 1967, however, excavations in the grounds of the former bishop's palace have revealed well over one thousand more tombs belonging to the Greek and Roman necropolis, and their full publication is eagerly awaited. Preliminary accounts report the discovery of more tombs of the first century B.C. and A.D., many of them made up of walling which incorporated re-used classical and hellenistic stelai; there were also traces of further more substantial funerary monuments of imperial date.[305] In addition, the first burials of the late Roman period have now been discovered, including two funerary buildings in a walled precinct. One, only partly uncovered, was rectangular in shape with a recess opening off one side; only a single burial was found inside it. The other, also rectangular, had a projecting entrance ramp at one end, and a semicircular apse at the other, as well as internal buttresses.[306] This building, in contrast to the first, was crammed with at least twelve inhumation burials in the floor and along the walls; more undoubtedly existed in the upper part of the walls, which, like the vault, had largely disappeared. The datable material from this structure belongs mostly to the late fourth or early fifth century, including a gold coin of Valentinian II (375 – 92) and another, in mint condition, of Valentinian III (425 – 55).[307] More late Roman burials, of the fifth and sixth centuries, have been excavated since

---

[299] M. Cavalier, Mura greche e aggere romano scoperti a Lipari, Magna Graecia VII, 1972, 7 – 8; L. Bernabò-Brea, second op. cit. in n. 174, 172 – 3; L. Bernabò-Brea and M. Cavalier, Il castello di Lipari e il museo archeologico Eoliano, Palermo 1977, 171 – 2.

[300] For brief accounts, Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier, op. cit. in n. 299, 172 – 4; Bernabò-Brea, second op. cit. in n. 174, 173 – 4; Id., op. cit. in n. 308, 31 – 3.

[301] For a general up-to-date account of the topography of Roman Lipari, Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier, op. cit. in n. 299, 94 – 6 with plan p. 93. For the amphitheatre, ibid. 95 and Id., op. cit. in n. 303, 158. Cività building: Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier, op. cit. in n. 299, 95 (where it is interpreted as a temple), cf. Id., Meligunis Lipara IV, Palermo 1980, 409 – 11 (for the late Roman date of what is called 'a grandiose public monument of uncertain significance').

[302] So far only partly explored, it lies just outside the line of the Greek walls in the grounds of the bishop's palace, and has been variously dated to the second century (Bernabò-Brea, op. cit. in n. 298) and to the fourth (Id., in Touring Club Italiano, Sicilia^5, Milan 1968, 462). It is usually described as a bath-building, but the rooms found may have been part of the bath-suite of a suburban house (cf. Id., second op. cit. in n. 174, 172). This appears to belong to the same building as the small bath-house with black-and-white figured mosaics with marine scenes, found in the nineteenth century (W. H. Smyth, Account of an ancient bath in the Island of Lipari, Archaeologia XXIII, 1831, 98 – 102, then "in a luxuriant vineyard a short distance from the capital"), which has now been relocated (Bernabò-Brea, op. cit. in n. 298, 751).

---

[303] BERNABÒ-BREA and CAVALIER, Meligunis Lipara II, Palermo 1965, 261 – 8.

[304] P. ORSI, Lipari. Esplorazioni archeologiche, Notizie degli Scavi 1929, 61 – 101, but especially 87 – 9. Tombs at Isola Sacra built for both cremation and inhumation burials are no later than c. 200: J. M. C. TOYNBEE, op. cit. in n. 67, 85, fig. 3. Another hypogeum of the same type, but with provision for *arcosolia* alone, was found during roadworks further north in the 1970s; it is so far unpublished.

[305] BERNABÒ-BREA, second op. cit. in n. 174, 172 and 174; BERNABÒ-BREA and CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 299, 174 – 5; G. VOZA, op. cit. in n. 89, 582; BERNABÒ-BREA, second op. cit. in n. 298, 750 – 1.

[306] A. M. FALLICO, Avanzi monumentali di età paleocristiana a Lipari, Palladio XXIII – XXV, 1974 – 6, 143 – 52; a third mausoleum at this site is so far unpublished. FALLICO describes the second building as a '*basilichetta*', assumes it had a 'liturgical' function (p. 151), and calls it the first excavated structure of Christian Lipari; but the superficial similarity of plan with that of a paleochristian church is not sufficient evidence (pagan buildings, too, can have semicircular apses), and none of the finds have Christian connotations. Cf. also note 347.

[307] Ibid. 149. The lamps illustrated (fig. 5, p. 148) belong to HAYES type I, not before the fourth century (J. W. HAYES, Late Roman Pottery, London 1972, 313), and the African red slip bowl with appliqué decoration on the rim (consisting of two fish and two baskets) is an example of HAYES 52B (c. 280/300 to the late fourth century or later: ibid. 78).

1975 in another area of the necropolis further south-west (proprietà Zagami); eighty had been located up until 1980.[308] Some of these, in groups of six or seven, lay in their own open-air precincts defined by a wall; many tombs were made up of walling which incorporated re-used material, including inscriptions from earlier burials; some contained double inhumations, the upper burial being separated from the lower by a layer of tiles; and one burial chamber, in a converted cistern, was apparently reserved for Jews, on the evidence of a seven-branched candlestick scratched crudely in the mortar sealing one of the burials.

All this work has not only furnished a wealth of information about the burial practices of Roman Lipari, but has also given some idea of the overall prosperity of the town. There has been little so far to indicate this from the inhabited area itself – only one figured polychrome mosaic, for example, of c. 200 A.D., is so far known from inside the town, and that is of mediocre standard[309] – but the necropolis tells a rather different story. The grave goods of the early imperial burials in particular, especially the glassware and lamps, show a degree of refinement and quality well above that normally encountered in contemporary burials elsewhere in Sicily; and the considerable quantity of gold jewellery, including rings, earrings and funerary wreaths, similarly betokens prosperity.[310] A number of different factors is likely to have accounted for this affluence – the good agricultural yield from its fertile volcanic soil, the benefits accruing from her role as a safe haven for shipping on the major Sicily-Italy trade route, the excellence of its spa which Diodorus notes and which may have made it as popular a resort in antiquity as the island is today.[311] Even more significant, however, for the island's general prosperity was the exploitation of its natural resources of pitch, pumice and especially alum, of which Lipari and neighbouring Stromboli enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the Roman world.[312] The rights for the extraction of these materials may well have been leased out to local enterprise, although in the early imperial period they were probably worked directly by imperial procurators, one of whom, Cornelius Masuetus,[313] is recorded on a Tiberian inscription. Even though there are few other inscriptions,[314] there can be little doubt that she continued to flourish right into the sixth century. Rich finds are less forthcoming from the late Roman burials just mentioned, but that is only to be expected in a city which by then was thoroughly Christianised.[315] Levels rich in late Roman pottery in the town similarly indicate activity at this period.[316] Whether the island was troubled by Vandal raids in the fifth century is not yet clear, but a hoard of 1,745 coins probably deposited in the 460s, at a time when the Vandal troubles were at their height and when several other hoards were buried in Sicily, is an indication of the uncertainty of the period.[317] The latest coins in the excavations of the residential quarter inside the Greek walls belong to the reign of Justinian, when the houses perished in a fire, and this was followed, sometime after the mid-seventh century, by a serious volcanic eruption: a thick blanket of very fine, white ash found throughout the town bears graphic witness to the end of ancient Lipari.[318,319]

---

[308] G. Voza, op. cit. in n. 89, 583; L. Bernabò-Brea, op. cit. in n. 298, 750–1; Id., Le isole eolie dal tardo antico ai normanni, XXVII Corso di Cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1980, 27–39 (and at greater length in an article of the same title in Archivio Storico Siracusano n.s. V, 1978–9, 25–89); Id. and M. Cavalier, Scavi e rinvenimenti archeologici nelle Isole Eolie, 1977–82, Beni culturali e ambientali Sicilia III, 1982, 139–47, at 139–40.

[309] G. Libertini, Le Isole Eolie nell'antichità greca e romana, Florence 1921, 172–3 and pl. VIII; von Boeselager, op. cit. in n. 70, 132–3 and Abb. 82. It is now in the grounds of Messina museum.

[310] Bernabò-Brea and Cavalier, op. cit. in n. 303, 353–65; more recent finds unpublished, but cf. Id., op. cit. in n. 299, pl. 203–4.

[311] For the importance of the shipping route and for a Gothic naval base in the Aeolian Islands, Procopius BG III, 13.6–7. For the spa (which is at S. Calogero, 8 km. west of Lipari town), Diodorus V.10.1.

[312] Dioscurides I.72.5 (pitch); Pliny Nat. Hist. XXXIII. 105 and XXXVI. 154 (*pumice*); Diodorus V.10.2 (*alum*). Cf. M. Cavalier, L'uomo e i volcani nelle isole Eolie, Magna Graecia XIII, 5–6, 1978, 1–6.

3. S. Marco d'Alunzio (Haluntium)

Little is known about ancient Haluntium. It is certainly to be identified with the modern village of S. Marco d'Alunzio (ME), perched on a rock 548 m. high just inland from the north coast of Sicily, and a Greek inscription referring specifically to τὸ μουνικίπιον τῶν Ἁλοντίνων has been found in contrada S. Antonio just outside the town;[320] attempts to move Haluntium elsewhere are unjustified.[321] Two Latin inscriptions, one dedicated by the ***municipium*** to Augustus, the other to the deified Livia, put its municipal status after the Augustan settlement beyond doubt.[322] Other inscribed fragments furnish little. The principal surviving monument is a small hellenistic temple on a rocky cliff just outside the city walls, which owes its preservation to its conversion into a church.[323] The foundations of another small hellenistic temple with offerings to perhaps Aphrodite and Cybele have been located recently, as well as a stretch of the (fourth century B.C.?) defensive walls, but in neither excavation is material of imperial date reported.[324] There are reports of the discovery of an apsed room near the Chiesa Madre, and of architectural fragments under the Castle, while antiquarian sources record a brick-faced aqueduct which brought water to the town from the Favarotta spring two miles away.[325] It is not surprising to find this lofty hill-town left out of the imperial road-handbooks, since the coastal trunk road by-passed it, but that does not necessarily imply that the town was abandoned during the mid to late Empire: without further and more extensive excavation there is too little evidence to say. A necropolis partly excavated in località Gebbia in 1979 produced no burials later than the second century B.C. The nearby stone quarries (see p. 224) were of more than purely local importance during the Empire.

---

[313] CIL X, 7489. The only recorded Liparan magistrates are the aediles L. Nonnius Nomentanus and Clodius Thorianus (CIL X, 7490).

[314] The longest tombstone, with a metrical dedication in Greek (IG XIV, 400), records a sixty-year-old Cappadocian, Glaphyros, but what he did in Lipari is not made clear.

[315] When Christianity first came to the Aeolian islands is still uncertain. An unreliable hagiography speaks of a third-century bishop, Agathon (Acta Sanctorum, ed. L. Duchesne and M. de Rossi, II, 507), but the earliest dated Christian tombstone is not before A.D. 369; the others belong to the years 409 and 470 (Libertini, op. cit. in n. 309, 152–3; S. Calderone, Analecta epigraphica liparensia, Epigraphica XI, 1949, 49–60 = AE 1951, 91; A. Ferrua, Le iscrizioni datate della Sicilia paleocristiana, Kokalos XXVIII–XXIX, 1982–83, 3–29, nos. 10 [with revised dating], 36 and 75).

[316] E.g. in Piazza Monfalcone and in the garden of Dr. Palamara: L. Bernabò-Brea and M. Cavalier, Meligunis Lipara I, Palermo 1960, 127–33, 91–6.

[317] Coins: P. Orsi, Ripostiglio monetale del basso impero e dei primi tempi bizantini rinvenuto a Lipari, Rivista Italiana di Numismatica XXIII, 1910, 353–9.

[318] Fire and eruption: Bernabò Brea, second op. cit. in n. 174, 174; Bernabò Brea and Cavalier, op. cit. in n. 299, 173; M. Cavalier, Ricerche preistoriche nell'archipelago eoliano, Rivista di scienze preistoriche XXXIV, 1979, 45–136, at 119; Bernabò Brea, first op. cit. in n. 308, 33 and 38.

[319] Exiled to Lipari were Plautianus, pretorian prefect, and his children Plautius and Plautilla, wife of Caracalla, A.D. 205 (Dio LXXVII.6.3, Herodian III.13.3), and Priscus Attalus, A.D. 416 (RE II, 2179 for the sources).

[320] IG XIV, 367 = Manni Piraino, IGLMP, no. 44, but I cannot accept her dating of it in the second century A.D. (see above, note 25).

---

[321] By G. UGGERI, La Sicilia nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Vichiana VI, 1969, 127–71, esp. 145–6, where S. Marco d'Alunzio is identified with Agathyrnum, because both the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table place the latter at 29 or 28 miles west of Tindari, which is where S. Marco roughly is. UGGERI dismisses the inscription mentioning the Halontini (n. 320) as merely indicating that Haluntium is somewhere in the region – according to him at S. Fratello, a site further west, where there is another ancient city (A. SALINAS, Notizie degli Scavi 1880, 197–8) and some Greek inscriptions are recorded (including IG XIV, 359, republished by M. T. MANNI PIRAINO, Revisioni epigrafiche siceliote, Kokalos XVII, 1971, 170–83, at 178–9), but for me this is not Haluntium but Apollonia (see R. J. A. WILSON, Journal of Roman Studies LXXV, 1985, 299).

[322] CIL X, 7463–4, the latter not before the time of Claudius (when Livia was deified). There are seven other Latin inscriptions (CIL X, 7465–71), all but two very fragmentary, and of the Greek stones recorded in IG XIV, few if any are of imperial date (*pace* MANNI PIRAINO, IGLMP, nos. 41–5: the lettering in all cases seems more appropriate to the second or first centuries B.C.). Cf. also MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 106, 201.

[323] On this and the archaeology of the San Marco d'Alunzio region generally, S. D'AMICO, Ricerche storico-critiche sulle rovine dell'antica Alunzio in Sicilia, Messina 1844; A. SALINAS, S. Marco d'Alunzio, Notizie degli Scavi 1880, 191–6; O. BRUNO, Alunzio. La leggenda delle origini, Archivio Storico Siciliano XIV, 1963, 81–152; see also next note.

[324] G. SCIBONA, San Marco d'Alunzio (Messina): campagna di scavo 1979, Beni Culturali e ambientali Sicilia III, 1982, 149.

[325] Chiesa Madre and Castle: G. SCIBONA, Halontion, in: R. STILLWELL, W. L. MACDONALD and M. H. MCALLISTER (editors), Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, Princeton 1976, 376. Aqueduct: S. D'AMICO, op. cit. in n. 323; G. DENNIS, Handbook for travellers in Sicily, London 1864, 271. G. SCIBONA informs me that in his opinion the aqueduct is post-Roman; I have not seen it myself.

4. Halaesa (near Castel Tusa, ME)

Halaesa, another hill-town (204 m. high) close to the north coast of Sicily (founded 403 B.C.), enjoyed great prosperity during the Republic, when it was one of the eight Sicilian communities which were *liberae et immunes.*[326] Plenty of evidence, literary, epigraphic and archaeological, suggests that this was the period of the town's heyday, and the surviving monuments, with the exception of the fourth-century B.C. defences, mostly belong to this time.[327] Of these the best known is a well preserved L-shaped stoa bordering the agora, probably built in the second century B.C.[328] Under the Empire the fortunes of Halaesa are less securely documented. Municipal status is confirmed by a dedication to Augustus from the *municipium* and implied by the presence of a *sevir Augustalis* in the second century,[329] but there are few other inscriptions of undoubted imperial date, and most of those are very fragmentary. There is, furthermore, very little evidence for substantial building activity going on during the period of the Empire, and although there were minor additions in the agora area, such as an equestrian statue base[330] of *opus reticulatum* faced in marble, and marble veneer was added to some of the rooms at the rear of the stoa, they hardly amount to much. There might, of course, be structures of Roman imperial date awaiting discovery on the other side of the agora – a Latin inscription of the first century A.D. refers to the *basilica,* although it is not impossible that one of the wings of the stoa already discovered served this function, a practice known in the Greek east[331] – but the very fact that the hellenistic stoa itself was never pulled down and replaced by a new building of more grandiose type during the Empire surely indicates that Halaesa went into a slow decline from perhaps the later second century onwards.[332] Certainly up to that time new statues were still being erected,[333] but some buildings were apparently starting to decay (the enigmatic curving structure on the east side of the hill is one), and new dwellings began to encroach on the line of an earlier street, a sure sign of a slackening of civic discipline.[334] Few structural alterations of the middle or late Empire have so far been detected, but continued occupation of the town is certainly indicated by substantial quantities of third- and fourth-century material from the excavations. At some unknown date, perhaps not before the later Byzantine period, graves were dug in the area of the agora and the stoa, but a nucleus of settlement must have remained elsewhere on the hill, as the place was important enough to rank as a bishopric in the eighth century.[335] More excavation is needed before firm conclusions can be reached about conditions in Halaesa and the level of urban activity during the middle and late Empire.

---

[326] Cicero, ii in Verr. III.6.13; IV.9.20.

[327] Literary: Diodorus XXIII.4; Cicero ii in Verr. I.10.27; II.7.19–21; II.49.122; II.75.185 and especially III.73.170: *Siciliae civitates multae sunt, iudices, ornatae atque honestae, ex quibus in primis numeranda est civitas Halaesina; nullam enim reperietis aut officiis fideliorem aut copiis locupletiorem aut auctoritate graviorem.* Epigraphic: IG XIV, 352–356; CIL X, 7459, from the Italici of the town to L. Cornelius Scipio, one of few Republican inscriptions from Sicily in Latin; G. SCIBONA, Epigraphica Halaesina I (Schede 1970), Kokalos XVII, 1971, 3–20, esp. 5–14 (nos. 1–3). Archaeology: P. GRIFFO, Ricognizione archeologica nell'area dell'antica Halaesa, Notizie degli Scavi 1940, 123–8; G. CARETTONI, Tusa. Scavi di Halaesa (prima relazione), Notizie degli Scavi 1959, 293–349; ID., Tusa. Scavi di Halaesa (seconda relazione), Notizie degli Scavi 1961, 266–321.

[328] Unpublished, except for SCIBONA, op. cit. in n. 327, 3–4 with plan, pl. I, and an even briefer note by L. BERNABÒ BREA, second op. cit. in n. 174, 176. For recent restoration of this structure, G. VOZA, in: Beni culturali e ambientali Sicilia III, 1982, 96–9 with fig. 6–7. See also here, pl. XX.2.

[329] CIL X, 7458: *Imp. Caesarei divi f. Augusto p.* [p.] *municipium;* SCIBONA, op. cit. in n. 327, 19, no. 9: *Cereri sacr(*um*). Iulius Acilius Hermes, pro honor(*e*) seviratus, d.d.d.* The other inscriptions of imperial date are five fragments in Latin from the agora excavations (SCIBONA, ibid., 15–20), scraps found in CARETTONI's work (see n. 327), CIL X, 7460 (a tombstone) and IG XIV, 358 (357 may also be of imperial date).

[330] A podium for speakers, according to G. SCIBONA, Halaisa, in STILLWELL, MACDONALD and MCALLISTER, op. cit. in n. 325, 374.

[331] ID., op. cit. in n. 327, 4, no. 4 and 16, no. 5. For basilical stoas in the Greek east, WARD-PERKINS, first op. cit. in n. 53, 287–8, COULTON, op. cit. in n. 182, 183.

5. Agrigento (Agrigentum)

In late archaic and classical times the Greek city of Acragas (founded c. 581) grew into one of the largest and most opulent cities of the ancient world, with a defensive circuit, which included the acropolis, enclosing a vast area of some 450 hectares.[336] Not all of this area was densely occupied even in classical times, and less still in the imperial period, but the exact extent of the town then has yet to be determined. The excavations on Rupe Atenea, for example, have produced no finds later than the third century B.C.,[337] and the sanctuary of the chthonic deities in the south-west quarter of the city also lay deserted during the Roman period.[338] Yet the excavation of the greater part of three *insulae* in the so-called 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter, near the heart of the lower city, has demonstrated that Agrigentum, if reduced in size, continued to be a prosperous community under the Empire.

---

[332] A brick and reticulate chamber tomb outside the walls to the south also belongs to the early imperial period: A. SALINAS, Tusa. Columbario di età romana scoperto a S. Maria dei Palazzi, Notizie degli Scavi 1899, 500 – 2.

[333] E. g. one of Ceres (unpublished; for the inscribed base see n. 329), another of a woman (BONACASA, op. cit. in n. 92, no. 225).

[334] CARETTONI, op. cit. in n. 327 (1961), 270 – 1; for the curving structure (*'grande basamento curvilineo a vani'*, ID., op. cit. in n. 327 (1959), 327 – 40. SCIBONA, op. cit. in n. 330, talks of the abandonment of the town 'presumably after the Constantinian age', without specifying the evidence.

[335] PACE, ACSA IV, 53 – 4.

[336] J. A. DE WAELE, Acragas Graeca. Die historische Topographie des griechischen Akragas auf Sizilien, I. Historischer Teil, Dutch Historical Institute in Rome, The Hague, 1971. For an estimate of the population of Acragas (18,000), cf. ID., La popolazione di Akragas antica, Miscellanea di Studi Classici in onore di Eugenio Manni III, Rome 1980, 749 – 60.

[337] ID., Gli scavi sulla rupe Atenea di Agrigento (1970 – 1975), Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 7, 456 – 69, at 469 and ID., Agrigento. Gli scavi sulla Rupe Atenea (1970 – 1975), Notizie degli Scavi 1980, 395 – 493; cf. also P. GRIFFO, Bollettino d'Arte LI, 1966, 91 (contrada Colleverde below Rupe Atenea).

The quarter in its present form seems to have been laid out early in the first century B.C., following several reconstructions after the initial sixth-century occupation, but the houses underwent constant alteration and refitting right through to the late Roman period.[339] One of the most striking features of the whole quarter is its essential conservatism. Despite the many rebuildings of imperial date, no use was ever made of concrete, whether stone- or brick-faced, nor is there any sign of the apartment dwelling which increasingly began to take over from the *domus* as the main unit of urban domestic dwelling in central Italy during the period of the middle Empire. At Agrigento, the dominant feature of each house throughout the Empire remained, as it had been in the Republic, the central peristyled court, varying in size according to the relative spaciousness of the house, but always forming the focal point of the major rooms grouped around it. Thus the 'Casa del peristilio' at the south-west corner of the quarter is an exceptionally grandiose, and the 'Casa del criptoportico' a rather more modest, example of the same basic type. The Italian *atrium* house, by contrast, made little impact in Sicily: there are, however, two examples in this quarter at Agrigento, one adjacent to the 'Casa a peristilio', the other in the 'Casa della Gazella'. In the former an entrance from Cardo I led to a tetrastyle *atrium* and, beyond, at the rear of the house, lay a small peristyle (later brick-paved). The breaking of the party wall and the erection of two columns in the gap (3 on fig. 21) indicates that these two

---

[338] E. DE MIRO, Recenti scavi nell'area del santuario delle divinità ctonie in Agrigento, Sicilia Archeologia II, no. 5, 1969, 5–10, esp. 9; ID., and G. FIORENTINI, Attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia centro-meridionale negli anni 1968–72, Kokalos XVIII–XIX, 1972–3, 228–247, esp. 231. The extramural chthonic sanctuary at S. Anna also produced no material later than the third century B.C.: G. FIORENTINI, Il santuario extra urbano di S. Anna presso Agrigento, Cronache di Archeologia e storia d'Arte VIII, 1969, 63–80, at 63.

[339] E. DE MIRO: Il quartiere ellenistico-romano di Agrigento, Rendiconti Accademia dei Lincei XII, 1957, 135–40. The plan (fig. 21) is adapted from P. GRIFFO and F. MINISSI, Completamento degli scavi del quartiere ellenistico-romano di Agrigento e sistemazione turistica della zona archeologica relativa, Agrigento 1960; cf. also TUSA and DE MIRO, op. cit. in n. 191, 167, fig. 28. For reports of earlier excavations in the quarter, R. P. JONES and E. A. GARDNER, Notes on a recently excavated house at Girgenti, Journal of Hellenic Studies XXVI, 1906, 207–12; E. GABRICI, Agrigento, scoperte di 1916–1924. Abitazioni romane presso la chiesa di S. Nicola, Notizie degli Scavi 1925, 424–37; P. MARCONI, Agrigento, Florence 1929, 115–121; P. GRIFFO, Ultimi scavi e ultime scoperte in Agrigento, Agrigento 1946, 26, 32–4; ID., Ripresa degli scavi in Agrigento. Il quartiere ellenistico-romano presso S. Nicola, Agrigento 1953; ID., Up-to-date Guide for the visitor to the Monuments of Agrigento, 2nd ed., Agrigento 1962, 50–4; ID. and DE MIRO, op. cit. infra (n. 348). For a full bibliography of writings on ancient Agrigento, and brief notes on its archaeology, see now G. NENCI and G. VALLET, Bibliografia topografica della colonizzazione greca in Italia e nelle isole tirreniche III, Pisa and Rome 1984, 66–128.

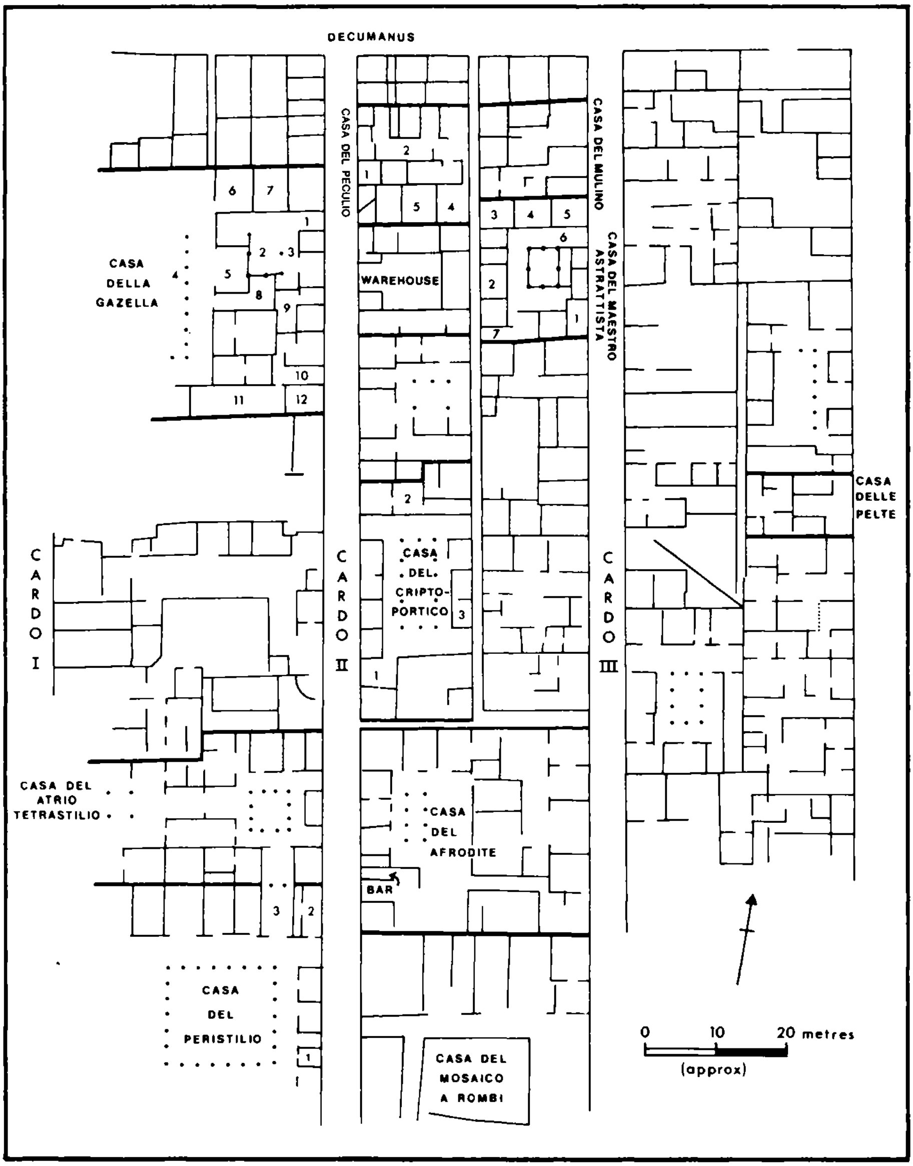

DECUMANUS
CASA DEL PECULIO
CASA DEL MULINO
CASA DEL MAESTRO ASTRATTISTA
CASA DELLA GAZELLA
WAREHOUSE
CASA DEL CRIPTO-PORTICO
CASA DELLE PELTE
CARDO I
CARDO II
CARDO III
CASA DEL ATRIO TETRASTILIO
CASA DEL AFRODITE
BAR
CASA DEL PERISTILIO
CASA DEL MOSAICO A ROMBI
0
10
20 metres
(approx)

Fig. 21. Agrigento, plan of ‘hellenistic-Roman’ quarter

houses were amalgamated into one very large dwelling at some stage during the Empire. This, however, is an exception to a general rule elsewhere in this quarter at Agrigento (and, incidentally, during the final phase at Pompeii and Herculaneum) that during the Empire some of the larger houses were broken up into smaller units, either as separate living quarters or else as business establishments. An example of the latter process is seen at the 'Casa dell'Afrodite', where a public bar was inserted in one corner of the house and the whole of the eastern portion was given over to industrial use; the property had clearly taken a social tumble since the days of the late Republic when a single house occupied the full width of the *insula*. At the 'Casa della Gazella' similar drastic reorganization occurred. In the earliest arrangement the basic elements of the house consisted of an entrance from Cardo II (1 on fig. 21), what was probably a 'Corinthian *atrium*' (2),[340] and a large peristyled garden beyond (4). At some later stage, the *atrium* area was walled up and a new sumptuous room created (5), overlooking the garden. One of the few in the whole quarter to have the comparative luxury of marble wall veneer, it also sported a mosaic floor with eight *emblemata*, at least two of which, as well as the exquisite *emblema* of the gazelle in room 6, are compositions of an excellent standard unlikely to be later than the first century A.D.; they were probably extracted from elsewhere and reused here, along with new *emblemata*, when the floors were laid in the late second or early third century.[341] The southern part of the house (9 – 12 and adjacent rooms) appears to have been made an independent flat at the same time, with a separate entrance at 10. Another illustration of the increasing wealth of an expanding middle class during the Empire is provided by the 'Casa del Maestro astrattista', where fairly compact premises were equipped, probably in the third century, with gaudy polychrome mosaics (in rooms 2 – 6) of no great technical skill.[342] The opulence of this house provides a striking contrast with the adjacent 'Casa del Peculio', where a house of the same size, arranged around a central light-well (at 2), was never equipped with either tessellated floors or painted wall plaster. Its proximity to the noisy, busy *decumanus* to the north (like its twin, the slightly smaller 'Casa del Mulino') no doubt accounted for its unpopularity with the more well-to-do, who preferred the quieter district immediately to the south.

---

[340] Cf. Vitruvius VI.3.1; but excavation is needed below the mosaic in the court in order to verify that there was originally an impluvium basin here. The final phase of Cardo II was 1.75 m. higher than the ground-level of the house, which was by then entered down a five-step stairway.

[341] For a photo of the gazelle *emblema*, GRIFFO, Guide, cited in n. 339 (ad fin.), 55, fig. 11; DE MIRO, op. cit. in n. 339, pl. III, fig. 5; and VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, pl. XLIII. 85 – 6. The rest are unpublished in detail, but cf. ibid. 135 – 7 and WILSON, op. cit. in n. 230, 428 with pl. 55, fig. 26.

[342] For photographs, GRIFFO, Guide, cited in n. 339 (ad fin.), 55, fig. 10 (room 2); DE MIRO, op. cit. in n. 339, pl. I, fig. 2 (room 5) and pl. II, fig. 3 (corridor 6); WILSON, op. cit. in n. 230, 420 – 1 with pl. 53 – 4, fig. 15 – 16; VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 138 – 41 with Abb. 91. The tiny 'Casa delle Pelte' also has mosaics; and for another, which lies outside the 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter, see P. MARCONI, Agrigento. Pavimento romano di mosaico, Notizie degli Scavi 1932, 405 – 7; E. DE MIRO, I recenti scavi sul poggetto di S. Nicola in Agrigento, Cronache di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte II, 1963, 57 – 63; WILSON, op. cit. in n. 230, 421 – 2 with pl. 54, fig. 18; and VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 70, 134 – 5 and Abb. 83.

The pottery from the 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter indicates continuous and intensive occupation during at least the first three centuries of the Empire, but the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries are much less fully documented: the scarcity of African lamps, for example, in contrast to the numerous products of earlier centuries, is particularly striking.[343] Something of a decline, therefore, appears to have set in during the late Roman period, and in the fifth century the quarter may have suffered from Vandal raids:[344] Agrigento's position near the south coast and her lack of defences (as at Marsala, there was no late Roman repair to the old fortifications)[345] made her an obvious prey to attack, and it was near the town in 456 that the first major reverse occurred for the Vandals in Sicily when they were defeated by Flavius Ricimer.[346] But the whole town cannot have been deserted then, for the varied assortment of rock-cut catacombs, hypogea and *sub divo* cemeteries on or close to the Temple ridge on the south side of the town indicates the continued existence of a sizable population in the late Roman and Byzantine period, even if the settlement had shrunk to a fraction of its former size and burial was now permitted within the line of the former Greek walls.[347] Contemporary necropolises at S.

---

[343] I must here record my profound gratitude to Professor E. DE MIRO, for allowing me to examine unpublished material from the excavations; full publication by him is forthcoming. Fourth- and fifth-century African Red Slip ware is also much less plentiful than that representing earlier centuries.

[344] In one part not yet fully excavated (south of the 'Casa della Gazella') a burnt layer up to 40 cm. thick is visible, with some flimsy constructions above it, and a section through Cardo III has revealed a burnt layer below the final surface (personal observation).

[345] GRIFFO, Guide, cited in n. 339 (ad. fin.), 108.

[346] Sidonius Apollinaris, Carmina II.367 ff.; Chronica Minora II.29.

[347] P. GRIFFO, Agrigento romana: le necropoli e i monumenti sepolcrali, Atti dell'Accademia Agrigentina di Lettere, Arte e Scienze I, 1947, 1–24; C. MERCURELLI, Agrigento paleocristiana, Memorie della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia VIII, 1948, 1–100 especially 44–93; P. GRIFFO, Recenti ricerche nella necropoli cristiana di Agrigento, Atti del I° Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Rome 1952, 191–9; E. DE MIRO, Agrigento paleocristiana e bizantina, Felix Ravenna CXIX – CXX, 1980, 131–71. There is no archaeological evidence for Christianity in Agrigento before the fourth century, and documents mentioning the martyrdom of a third-century bishop, Libertinus, and of the visit of an African bishop in 235/8 to the Christian community at Agrigento as well as elsewhere, are of dubious reliability: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina, Brussels 1898–1901, 4909, 2894–5. An isolated mausoleum with an apse to the west, first excavated by P. GRIFFO (Fasti Archeologici XII, 1957, 8085) outside the S.E. corner of the city, has recently been re-excavated by E. DE MIRO (op. cit. supra); it had two inhumation burials in the centre of the floor, and also produced a fragment of marble sarcophagus depicting a warrior. DE MIRO has dated the building to the early fourth century (and assumes that the small hoard of coins found in the apse, with issues from Licinius to Valentinian I, reflects later activity within the building), and suggests that it was a Christian mausoleum, perhaps a martyrium of Agrigento's martyred bishop. There seems, however, to be no secure evidence for its use in a Christian context; as at

Leone, 4 km. to the south, where other walls interpreted as part of late Roman quayside installations have been found, indicate similarly that Agrigento's harbour continued to function well into the Byzantine period.[348]

Of public buildings erected at Agrigento during the Roman Empire very little is known.[349] Part of what was once interpreted as the agora of Republican date has been excavated near the south gate, together with a portico and inscribed seats, but the building is much more likely to have been a gymnasium; its use during the Empire was slight, to judge from the few finds of imperial date.[350] The main city-centre must lie near the middle of the town, not far from the 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter, both on grounds of general topography (the flattish terrain) and the absence here of the street-grid which aerial photography has shown to cover much of the rest of the central area of the city. The small piazza paved in white limestone blocks immediately south of the Museo Regionale was itself not big enough to have served as the main forum; it was laid out in the second or early first century B.C. when a disused *ekklesiasterion* (itself implying that the original agora was not precisely on this spot) was covered over and a small temple of Roman type (the 'Oratory of Phalaris') was erected on its west side.[351] The main forum probably

Lipari (see note 306) the plan of the mausoleum alone is not sufficient reason for viewing it as a document of Christianity. For the necropoleis of early imperial date, see below, p. 184 and note 357.

[348] E. Gabrici, Agrigento, magazzini di età bizantina presso lo Emporion, Notizie degli Scavi 1925, 423–5; Griffo, first work cited in n. 347, 14–17; P. Griffo and E. de Miro, Quartiere ellenistico-romano presso San Nicola e zona dell'Emporium, Fasti Archeologici X, 1955, no. 4267. For a Byzantine vase with graffito, A. Ferrua, Sicilia bizantina, Epigraphica V–VI, 1943–4, 97. For the existence of the port in earlier times, Strabo VI.2.5, Ptolemy III.4.6.

[349] The town was presumably already equipped with many amenities, e.g. temples (for Roman repairs to the 'Temple of Hera' and 'Temple of Heracles', Marconi, op. cit. in n. 339, 131–3), aqueducts (ibid. 105–7; cf. Phaeax's aqueduct in the fifth century B.C.: Diodorus XI.25.3), and cisterns (e.g. the 'ipogeo Giacatello': Griffo, Ultimi scavi, cited in n. 339, 34; Id., Guide, cited in n. 339 ad. fin., 54–6). On the general topography of the ancient city, P. Griffo, Topografia storica di Agrigento antica (note ed appunti), Atti dell'Accademia di scienze, lettere e arti, Agrigento II, 1948–52, 38–47; G. Schmiedt and P. Griffo, Agrigento antica dalle fotografie aeree e dai recenti scavi, L'Universo XXXVIII, 1958, 289–308; Schmiedt, second op. cit. in n. 244, 57 with pl. LXXXIV.

[350] Structures unpublished in detail: cf. P. Griffo, Fasti Archeologici XII, 1957, 2721. For the inscriptions, Id., Contributi epigrafici agrigentini, Kokalos IX, 1963, 163–84, at 177–84, and the discussion by de Waele, first op. cit. in n. 336, 38–9, largely duplicated by L. Moretti, Un ginnasio per Agrigento, Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione classica CIV, 1976, 182–6, who dates it to the first half of the first century B.C. Griffo's renewed defence of a first-second century A.D. dating for this inscription (P.G., Ancora su due epigrafi agrigentine, Sicilia Archeologica XVIII, no. 59, 1985, 53–60) is unconvincing.

[351] For the general position of the *forum*, cf. Livy, XXVI.40.9: Roman troops in 210 B.C. had to march *in media urbis* to reach it; Cicero, ii in Verr. IV.43.94 says it was situated near the Temple of Hercules, but the Greek temple known by that name near the south gate has a false attribution. Ekklesiasterion and piazza: de Miro, op. cit. in n. 342; Id.,

awaits discovery immediately to the north-east, and an important clue to its whereabouts has been the recent discovery of the city's *bouleuterion* on the north side of the Museum. Measuring 20.50 m. by 12.50 m. overall, it was divided into two parts by a row of seven columns, one part containing the customary semicircular seating arrangement. In origin of classical or even earlier date, the *bouleuterion* was refurbished in the hellenistic period and again in the second half of the third century A.D., when new seats were installed and a mosaic laid in front of them. There were further alterations in the late Roman period when the columns were demolished and the building shortened.[352] It was perhaps from another building adjacent to the forum that the fine white marble cornice (now set up outside the Museum), from a circular (or semicircular?) building about 5 m. in diameter, perhaps a temple, originally derived. The architectural ornament displays a provincial version of the mainstream Roman repertoire, perhaps most closely matched with Antonine ornament in north Africa; but such provincial work, which here reduces decoration on the sima to a simple grooved line with notches, is not susceptible to close dating (pl. XXI. 2).[353]

The information to be derived from inscriptions relevant to our period is extremely meagre. No more than a handful of fragmentary tombstones survive, one of them recording a certain Potianus 'who performed all the municipal honours', (i. e. magistracies).[354] The well known dedication to Concordia Agrigentinorum, which gave the 'Temple of Concord' its erroneous attribution, was set up by M. Haterius Candidus, proconsul of Sicily, and his quaestor L. Cornelius Marcellus, around the middle of the first century A.D., on behalf of the *respublica* of Lilybaeum.[355] The reason for the dedication is

---

L'ekklesiasterion in contrada S. Nicola di Agrigento, Palladio XVII, 1967, 164–8. 'Oratory of Phalaris': MARCONI, op. cit. in n. 339, 123–4.

[352] Unpublished excavations of 1983; see E. DE MIRO, Kokalos XXX–XXXI, 1984–85, forthcoming. Coins of Gordian (238–44) and Gallienus (253–68) from under the mosaic suggest the date of the third-century restoration. Another recent find from this zone is an inscribed base in Latin honouring Gaius Caesar, which must have been erected between 17 B.C. when Augustus adopted him, and his death in A.D. 4 (DE MIRO, ibid., forthcoming).

[353] Unpublished in detail; for its existence, MARCONI, op. cit. in n. 339, 130 and GRIFFO, Guide cited in n. 339, 30. For second-century architectural ornament in Africa, cf. F. RAKOB, Das Quellenheiligtum in Zaghouan und die römische Wasserleitung nach Karthago, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung LXXXI, 1974, 41–89, esp. 66–70 with pl. 64–8, esp. pl. 65.2 (Sbeitla, Antonine) for the simple grooved line with notches.

[354] P. GRIFFO, second work cited in n. 350, 176 (= AE 1966, 168). Others of imperial date are CIL X, 7193, IG XIV, 264 and MANNI PIRAINO, IGLMP nos. 1–3; see also note 352 above.

[355] CIL X, 7192: *Concordiae Agrigentinorum sacrum | Respublica Lilybitanorum dedicantibus | M. Haterio Candido procos. | et L. Cornelio Marcello q(*uaestore*) | pr pr.* For Marcellus, cf. CIL X, 7266 (Palermo); he may be the same as the Marcellus accused under Nero (Tacitus, Annales XVI.8) and killed by Galba (Histories I.37). On the conversion of the 'Temple of Concord' into a church, MERCURELLI, op. cit. in n. 347, 29–43; L. TREZZINO, La basilica bizantina di S. Gregorio agrigentino nel tempio della

not clear, but it may have been intended as a good-will gesture after the settlement of a dispute between the two communities, possibly over the definition of each's *territorium*. The two cities were no doubt natural rivals as the principal Sicilian ports trading with north Africa, a trade which must have contributed much to the prosperity of both places; in Agrigento's case the prosperity was further swelled by the profits to be gained from her flourishing and important sulphur industry.[356] The general impression of Agrigento's moderate well-being in the first two centuries of the Empire has been further enhanced by excavations in the Roman necropolis in contrada S. Gregorio south of the Temple Ridge, carried out since 1976. A number of walled funerary precincts have been discovered, some containing substantial mausolea.[357] One precinct, for example, measures 16.70 m. by 15 m. and was laid out in the Julio-Claudian period, but the mausoleum within it was added later, probably in Antonine times; it contained four tombs. The surviving courses of these mausolea bear a resemblance to the standing tomb known as the 'Tomb of Theron', 100 m. to the N.W., which has usually been thought to belong to the late hellenistic period. De Miro has suggested that it may in fact be of imperial date and be an example of the same type as the tower-tombs of Roman north Africa;[358] but excavation is needed in the immediate vicinity of this monument to verify the chronology of the surrounding burials (and if possible of the monument itself) before this hypothesis can be accepted. The finds from the new excavations, all of the first and second centuries A.D., include lamps, glass vessels, terracottas (among them a pair of miniature lions), as well as a marble sarcophagus decorated with griffins. Even more impressive is the marble sarcophagus of a child, probably of the second half of the second century, carved with scenes of the boy's life: his birth on the right hand side, an outing in a sheep-pulled chariot on the left hand side, and two scenes – the education and the death of the boy – on the main long side.[359] The series of decorated sarcophagi discovered during earlier work elsewhere at Agrigento, including the outstanding Hippolytus and Phaedra sarcophagus, an early third-century product of an Attic workshop, is a further

---

Concordia, Felix Ravenna CXIX – CXX, 1980, 172 – 88; cf. also W. Alzinger, Raps, Eber und der Concordiatempel in Akragas, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik XIV, 1974, 295 – 9.

[356] See pp. 218 – 21 of this volume.

[357] E. de Miro, Ricerche archeologiche nella Sicilia centro-meridionale, Kokalos XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, 561 – 80, at 571 – 80. Similar mausolea have been found in other parts of the Roman necropolis: A. Salinas, Agrigento. Necropoli Giambertoni a S. Gregorio, Notizie degli Scavi 1901, 29 – 39; cf. Marconi, op. cit. in n. 339, 121 – 7 and Griffo, first op. cit. in n. 347.

[358] de Miro, loc. cit. in n. 357. For the tower tombs, Toynbee, op. cit. in n. 67, 164 – 72.

[359] E. de Miro and G. Fiorentini, Relazione della Soprintendenza alle antichità di Agrigento (1972 – 1976), Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 1977, 423 – 55, at 427 with pl. XXII; it was this chance discovery which prompted the recent excavations of the necropolis in contrada S. Gregorio.

indicator of the prosperity of leading Agrigentines at the time of the middle Empire.[360]

6. Noto (Netum)

Virtually nothing is known about ancient Noto. A *civitas foederata* during the Republic, it is stated in Pliny's list to be *Latinae condicionis,* and she presumably received Latin rights in the Augustan reorganization.[361] A third-century-B.C. inscription refers to a gymnasium, but of the city during the Roman Empire, only a handful of funerary tablets in Greek, and some late Roman or Byzantine hypogea, one of them used by Jews, are known.[362] The ancient city was overlain by a medieval successor which was devastated by an earthquake in 1693. The site has since been abandoned, and little excavation has so far been attempted in the ruins.[363]

7. Segesta (Segesta)

Segesta, famous for her Greek temple and theatre, is hardly better explored, and until recently no excavation work had been carried out within the city walls, except in the theatre.[364] The second of the three *civitates* in Pliny's list which is stated as having Latin rights, Segesta has produced a Latin inscription naming the town as a *municipium*, the date of which has been discussed above (p. 97). The only other recorded Latin inscription from Segesta is a dedication to the deified Augustus.[365] The Segestans applied to Tiberius for a restoration of the temple of Erice, which must have lain in their *territorium*, and work was completed under Claudius.[366] But after the settlement of veterans made in her territory by Vespasian,[367] total silence in the documentary record descends on the town, which does not appear in the 'Antonine Itinerary'. More excavation is needed before the city's fortunes in the middle and late Empire can be even sketched; but if Segesta was continuously occupied to the end of antiquity on any appreciable scale, it is surprising that no substantial alterations were made to the theatre after the Augustan period. Other Greek theatres in Sicily at places which continued to flourish in imperial times show evidence for extensive rehandling, as at Taormina, Tindari and Syracuse; but the Segesta building seems likely to have had a closely similar development to that of the nearby theatre of Monte Iato, where the latest additions, the L-shaped side rooms flanking the scene building (also present at Segesta), have been dated to the Augustan period, and soon afterwards the theatre there fell into decay.[368] Even the few traces of concrete visible in the upper *cavea* at Segesta need not represent activity during the imperial period: such work may well have been carried out during the first century B.C. rather than later. Further light is likely to be shed on Segesta during the imperial period when recent excavations near the theatre (1976) and in another area of the ancient town (since 1978) are fully published; but it is possible that Segesta, like so many other Sicilian towns perched on hill-tops, was in decline during the middle and late Empire,[369] when the main settlement in the area may have become 'Aquae Segestanae', the thermal settlement 5 km. to the north-east, which does appear in the Antonine roadbook.[370]

---

[360] Tusa, op. cit. in n. 283, nos. 1 – 8. For the Hippolytus and Phaedra sarcophagus, M. S. Arena, Sulla cronologia di un sarcofago agrigentino con la rappresentazione del Mito di Fedra, Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli XXXVIII, 1963, 105 – 10; J. B. Ward-Perkins, The Hippolytus sarcophagus from Trinquetaille, Journal of Roman Studies XLVI, 1956, 10 – 16, esp. 11 – 12 and 15.

[361] Cicero, ii in Verr. V.22.56, V.51.133 (*civitas foederata*); Pliny, Nat. Hist. III.91, and above p. 96.

[362] For a recent general account, V. La Rosa, Archeologia sicula e barocca: per la ripresa del problema di Noto antica, Noto 1971, 57 – 9 and 95 – 6. The gymnasium inscription is IG XIV, 240; for the funerary tablets, G. Manganaro, Cippi funerari iscritti di Netum, di Siracusa e di Comiso, Helikon II, 1962, 485 – 501, esp. 497 – 501 (= AE 1964, nos. 157 – 8); Id., op. cit. in n. 106, 198 (two scraps); IG XIV, 242, Christian (its authenticity has been challenged by A. Ferrua, Epigrafia sicula pagana e cristiana, Rivista di archeologia cristiana XVIII, 1941, 151 – 243, at 176 – 8). For the hypogea, P. Orsi, Notizie degli Scavi 1897, 88 – 90. A brick stamped *DVCCEINETI* (CIL X, 8045, 27 – 8) has no connection with Netum, *pace* Manganaro, op. cit. in n. 25, 460, n. 102).

[363] There was a brief excavation in the 1960s; more recently structures of hellenistic date have been trial-trenched (Bernabò Brea, second op. cit. in n. 174, 178); and in 1974 a hellenistic temple was explored (G. Rizza, Attività dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Catania (Scavi e ricerche in Sicilia negli anni 1972 – 1975), Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 1977, 636 – 45, at 644).

[364] P. Marconi, Segesta. Esplorazione della scena del Teatro, Notizie degli Scavi 1929, 295 – 318.

---

[365] CIL X, 7263: *dei]vi f. deivo L. Sem*[pronius?, and Mommsen ad loc.

[366] Tacitus, Annales IV.43: *et Segestani aedem Veneris montem apud Erycum, vetustate dilapsam, restaurari postulavere, nota memorantes de origine eius et laeta Tiberio* (A.D. 25). Suetonius, Claud. 25.5: *templumque in Sicilia Veneris Erycinae vetustate conlapsum ut ex aerario populi Romani reficeretur, auctor fuit.*

[367] Liber Coloniarum I.211: *item Segestanorum ut supra* (see note 216 above).

[368] H. P. Isler, Contributi per una storia del teatro antico; il teatro greco di Iaitas e il teatro di Segesta, Numismatica e antichità classiche X, 1981, 131–64.

[369] *Pace* C. A. di Stefano, op. cit. in n. 251, 366. I postulated late Roman decline in an *intervento* at the 1976 Palermo Congresso: R. J. A. Wilson, Kokalos XXII–XXIII, 1976–7, 694–6; that was of course written before the new series of excavations within the town, on which see V. Tusa, L'attività della Soprintendenza archeologica della Sicilia occidentale dal gennaio '76 all'aprile '80, Beni Culturali e ambientali, Sicilia I, 1980, 45–62, at 55–6; Id., L'attività della Soprintendenza archeologica della Sicilia occidentale nel quadriennio maggio 1976 – aprile 1980, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 809–52, at 844–5. Both speak of *"riempimenti di età medievale e romana"*, and some material of Roman imperial date, including second-century lamps and roof-tiles of 'Sicilian imperial' type (for the term, cf. R. J. A. Wilson, Brick and Tiles in Roman Sicily, in: A. McWhirr, ed., Roman Brick and Tile, Oxford 1979, 11–43, at 20), was shown at the 'Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia antica' at Palermo in 1980; but I have not seen African Red Slip ware when walking over the site of the town.

8. Centuripe (Centuripae)

Like Segesta one of the communities *liberae ac immunes* during the Republic, Centuripe was at that time one of the most prosperous cities in the island, *totius Siciliae multo maxima et locupletissima* in Cicero's words.[371] It was a wealth based above all on agriculture, Centuripan farmers controlling the rich lands on the south-west side of Etna as well as around Lentini, and her successful pottery industry, turning out ambitious and showy polychrome vases until the end of the second century B.C., no doubt generated further income for the town.[372] Augustus restored Centuripae as a reward for her anti-Pompeian stand and granted municipal rights, and there may have been a slight expansion of the urban area at the time, buildings being erected over the site of an earlier necropolis.[373] Most of the evidence for building activity at Centuripae in imperial times, however, dates to the second century. An inscription of that date records the construction of a *sphaeristerium* by two Cornelii as a mark of their gratitude for their election as *duoviri,* and another records a temple and statue of a goddess with the epithet Neotera.[374] The location of neither building is known. A structure on the south side of the town partly uncovered in 1938 and 1950–1[375] was clearly connected with the cult of the *domus divina,* on the basis of a dedicatory inscription made by a *quattuorvir Augustalis*[376] and of an impressive haul of marble imperial portrait busts, including those of Augustus and the Drusi.[377] The structure consisted of a large hall (6.75 m. by at least 18 m.) built in a style of masonry (neatly coursed limestone blocks with brick bonding-courses) which in Sicily is unlikely to be earlier than the mid second century. Later, probably in the third century, it was partly demolished and replaced by a smaller structure, clearly a *sacellum,* reached by steps from the north end, and richly adorned with marble. No part of the complex so far uncovered is likely to be as early as the first century, and the original buildings for the imperial cult either lie elsewhere or else, more probably, were demolished and lie buried beneath the visible structures. Other buildings of Roman imperial date surviving at Centuripe include a brick-faced bath house in Via Adrano, a massive concrete platform (the 'Castello di Corradino') variously interpreted as a temple or a mausoleum, a barrel-vaulted structure ('La Dogana') which is probably a tomb, some walls below the church of the Crucifix, and a small cistern in fondo Testai.[378] The last three are built of concrete faced with neat rows of limestone blocks separated at intervals by brick bonding courses, a construction technique which, as at the Augustales site, is unlikely to be earlier than the mid second century.[379] The most imposing surviving monument of ancient Centuripae, however, stands 2 km. outside the town (to the N.W.) in località Bagni Vallone (pl. XXII). Consisting of five apses of unequal size in brick-faced concrete, this enigmatic structure, 50 m. long and still 8 m. high, has usually been interpreted as part of a bath-building; yet the absence of sufficient space between the apses and the torrent ravine for enclosed rooms, the absence, too, of any evidence for hypocausts, and the presence of terracotta pipes emerging 1.20 m. above ground level from three apses, strongly support the idea first put forward by HOUEL in the eighteenth century that the building is a monumental nymphaeum. Its date is uncertain, but the bricks of the thickness used here (7½ – 9 cm.) occur elsewhere in this part of Sicily in contexts unlikely to be earlier than the mid second century; c. 150 – 250 seems at present the most likely date for the Centuripae monument.[380] The second and perhaps early third century does, therefore, seem to have been a time of considerable building activity in the town, but in the almost total absence of controlled excavation very little can be said in detail of the city's fortunes during the Empire; there is, for example, not a scrap of evidence at present for conditions at Centuripe in the late Empire, and there are very few inscriptions belonging to that period.[381]

---

[370] Antonine Itinerary 91.2; on this site, V. GIUSTOLISI, Parthenicum e le Acquae Segestanae, Palermo 1976, 58–63. There was also a harbour town at or near Castellammare, mentioned by Strabo (VI.2.5) as the ἐμπόριον of Segesta.

[371] ii in Verr. IV.23.50.

[372] ibid. III.45.108; III.48.114. The standard account of the ancient town is still G. LIBERTINI, Centuripe, Catania 1926, but for the pottery industry see now O. WINTERMEYER, Die polychrome Keramik aus Centuripe, Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts XC, 1975, 136–241; E. JOLY, Teorie vecchie e nuove sulla ceramica policroma di Centuripe, in Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, IV, Rome 1980, 1241–63; and for recently-excavated kilns, RIZZA, op. cit. in n. 363, 641–4.

[373] LIBERTINI, op. cit. in n. 372, 74; Strabo VI.2.4.

[374] CIL X, 7004 (= BIVONA, ILLMP 21–3, no. 4); IG XIV, 576 with discussion by G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, op. cit. in n. 95, 70–3 with no. 181.

[375] LIBERTINI, op. cit. in n. 372, 40–6; ID., op. cit. in n. 24, 353–68.

[376] LIBERTINI, ibid., 365, fig. 13 (= AE 1955, 193): *Genio A]ugus[ti | sa]crum | L. Cal[purni]us Apthonetus | IIIIvir Augustalis.* Although *tresviri* and *octoviri* are known in Italy, a *quattuorvir* appears to be unique (one dubious parallel at Trea: cf. R. DUTHOY, op. cit. in n. 34, 193).

[377] BONACASA, op. cit. in n. 92, nos. 37 (Augustus), 46–7 (Drusi), 163, 175 (Hadrianic), 187 (Julio-Claudian), 220–1 (Trajanic).

---

[378] G. RIZZA, Centuripe. Edificio termale in via Adriano, Notizie degli Scavi 1949, 190 – 2; LIBERTINI, op. cit. in n. 372, 76 – 8 (Castello di Corradino, there interpreted as a tomb), 38 – 40 (church of Crucifix), 66 – 7 (La Dogana, thought incorrectly to be a reservoir, so too P. DEUSSEN in: STILLWELL et al. [ed.], op. cit. in n. 324, 213; but the structure has an entrance and lacks waterproof cement or strengthening buttresses. For its interpretation as a tomb, and other recent [pre-imperial] discoveries at Centuripe, G. RIZZA, Nuove ricerche a Centuripe, Kokalos XVIII – XIX, 1972 – 3, 366 – 73, esp. 372; ID., op. cit. in n. 125, 766. For the cistern in fondo Testai, LIBERTINI, op. cit. in n. 372, 67 – 8).

[379] As in the odeion and the Rotunda Baths at Catania. Both in Gaul and in the East, the style comes into use during the second century (WARD-PERKINS, first op. cit. in n. 53, 223 and 277 – 8); for an Antonine example in Italy, where it is never common, cf. the villa of Sette Bassi (LUGLI, op. cit. in n. 50, 645).

[380] Nymphaeum interpretation: HOUEL, VP III, 34 with pl. CLXII, followed by DEUSSEN, loc. cit. in n. 378. Baths: LIBERTINI, op. cit. in n. 372, 68 – 73, followed by COARELLI, in: COARELLI and TORELLI, op. cit. in n. 48, 348 (he speaks of *suspensurae,* LIBERTINI only of *tegulae mammatae,* perhaps not correctly recognized). Both date the building to the early first century A.D. on the pretext of a 'Third Style' fresco fragment, but the latter belongs to a simple compartmentalized scheme of wall decoration widespread in mid-imperial Italy. Bricks 7½ – 9 cm. thick: also at the Augustales building at Centuripe,

IV. Other Towns

No other Sicilian town is likely to have attained colonial or municipal status during the reign of Augustus, and all of the places discussed in this section appear in Pliny's list of Sicilian communities either as *oppida* (as noted in his coastal survey), or among the *civitates stipendiariae*; the only exceptions are Mazara and Helorus, which rate a mention only as rivers. Only a handful of the 53 places listed by Pliny which fall into one or other of these categories have been selected here for very brief notice, either because they had been important πόλεις in the archaic and classical periods, or because we happen to be comparatively well informed about their archaeology. Of the rest of the Greek πόλεις, we know that some had dwindled to the size of hamlets by early in the first century A.D., such as Morgantina and Camarina,[382] or had disappeared altogether, such as Heraclea Minoa, Megara Hyblaea and Selinunte;[383] others were refounded and became flourishing road-stations during the Roman Empire, such as Naxos;[384] but about others in Pliny's list

---

the 'Naumachia' and other buildings at Taormina, and in some tombs there and at Catania.

[381] One is MANNI PIRAINO, IGLMP, no. 13 ('IV – V sec. d. c.').

[382] Morgantina: Strabo, VI.2.4 says it no longer existed, and many houses were not occupied after the Civil Wars (i. e. no evidence later than c. 40/30 B.C.), but there was some occupation on the west hill and in part of the agora down to c. A.D. 20/30: see W. A.P. CHILDS, Morgantina, Past and Future, American Journal of Archaeology LXXXIII, 1979, 377 – 9, at 379; SHELLEY C. STONE, Early red-glazed wares from Morgantina, American Journal of Archaeology LXXXIV, 1980, 234. Camarina: only a few pieces of Italian sigillata pottery are reported from the site, including one with a stamp *in planta pedis* (implying a date not before c. 35 A.D.): P. PELAGATTI, Relazione preliminare della campagna di scavi 1961 – 2, Bollettino d'Arte XLVII, 1962, 251 – 64, at 261; A. DI VITA, Breve rassegna degli scavi archeologici condotti in provincia di Ragusa nel quadriennio 1955 – 9, Bollettino d'Arte XLIV, 1959, 347 – 63, at 353.

[383] Heraclea and Selinus: see note 37 above. Megara Hyblaea: F. VILLARD, Megara Hyblaea, Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome LXIII, 1951, 7 – 52, at 47 – 8; G. VALLET and F. VILLARD, Les fouilles de Megara Hyblaea, Bollettino d'Arte XLV, 1960, 263 – 72, at 272; VALLET, VILLARD and P. AUBERSON, Megara Hyblaea 3: Guide des Fouilles, Rome 1983, 174.

[384] G. V. GENTILI, Fasti archeologici VIII, 1953, 1699 *ad fin.*; P. PELAGATTI, Naxos II, Ricerche topografiche e scavi 1965 – 70: relazione preliminare, Bollettino d'Arte LVII, 1972, 211 – 20, esp. 211 – 3; EAD, op. cit. in n. 49, 544 – 5; A. M. FALLICO, Naxos:

we know little or nothing about their subsequent fortunes, and in many cases even topographical identification is still in doubt.

One of the most extensively explored (but unfortunately ill-published) town-sites in the whole of Sicily, Solunto is situated on a rocky promontory 17 km. east of Palermo. Founded around the middle of the fourth century B.C. (and so not Thucydides' Soloeis which probably lay nearby[385]), it was with Marsala and Palermo the most important Carthaginian city in Sicily until it passed under Roman control in the mid third century B.C. Excavations, begun in 1826, have uncovered extensive parts of the hellenistic town, including the agora, theatre, *bouleuterion* and numerous examples of peristyle houses of the second and first centuries B.C.,[386] and it was clearly at that period that the town reached the high watermark of its prosperity and that most of the surviving floor mosaics and patterned fresco designs on the walls were executed.[387] But at least two houses show signs of extensive redecoration in imperial times, one in what at Pompeii would be classed as Third Style and so hardly pre-Augustan, the other (the 'Casa di Leda') not earlier than the mid first century A.D. and possibly somewhat later;[388] and the conversion of

---

fornaci tardo-romane, Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 1977, 632 – 3; P. Pelagatti, L'attività della soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia orientale, Parte II, Kokalos XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, 694 – 730, at 697; G. M. Bacci Spigo, Naxos III: coppa vitrea ed oreficerie da sepolture di età ellenistica e romana da Naxos, Bollettino d'Arte^6 25 (1984), 59 – 68; and especially Houel, VP II, 59 – 60 with pl. CIII.

[385] Among the abundant literature on this problem see especially V. Tusa, Aspetti storico-archeologici di alcuni centri della Sicilia occidentale, Kokalos III, 1957, 79 – 85 and V. Giustolisi, Nuovi elementi per l'identificazione della Solunto di Tucidide, Kokalos XVI, 1970, 144 – 65. The site of archaic Soloeis lay almost certainly at Solánto in the bay immediately below the hill-town, where a kiln and tombs of 6th – 5th century B.C. date are now known (A. Villa, Una fornace antica a Solánto [S. Flavia], Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Sicilia IV, 1983 [1986], 151 – 7; cf. also V. Fatta in: Sicilia Archeologica XV, nos. 49 – 50, 1982, 57 – 64).

[386] Much remains unpublished. For the old excavations see especially A. Salinas, Solunto, ricordi storici e archeologici, Palermo 1884, and B. Ferri, Il problema archeologico di Solunto, Le Arti IV, 1942, 250 – 8. Of more recent articles those most relevant to the imperial period are: V. Tusa, Il problema archeologico di Solunto alla luce dei recenti scavi, I Congreso Arqueológico del Marruecos Español, 1954, 203 – 13 (house); Id., Odeon e altri monumenti, Fondazione Mormino, Palermo 1971, 373 – 8 (theatre and bouleuterion, incorrectly described as an odeion); L. Natoli, ibid., 379 – 86 (the same), V. Tusa, Aree sacrificiali a Selinunte e a Solunto, in: A. Ciasca, M. Forte, V. Tusa, A. Tusa Cutroni et al., Motya II, Rome 1966, 143 – 53; Id., Testimonianze fenico-puniche in Sicilia, Kokalos X – XI, 1964 – 5, 589 – 602, esp. 594 and 599; M. L. Famà, L'area sacra con altare "a tre betili" di Solunto, Sicilia Archeologica XIII, no. 42, 1980, 7 – 42, esp. 35 – 7.

[387] M. de Vos, Pitture e mosaico a Solunto, Bulletin Antieke Beschaving L, 1975, 195 – 224; von Boeselager, op. cit. in n. 70, 55 – 65.

[388] de Vos, op. cit., 201 – 3, where it is described as late 4th Style; a precise chronology is not possible, but the use of a white ground, not used commonly in Rome before the 50s and 60s, makes a pre-Flavian date for the Solunto frescoes in the 'Casa di Leda' unlikely. Very similar schemes were in any case still being painted in Italy in the late

an earlier building into a small bath-house, probably for public use, is likely to have occurred (on the evidence of the design of a mosaic pavement) not earlier than the first century A.D. and possibly in the second century A.D.[389] A Greek inscription honouring a gymnasiarch, set up by the ephebes and 'three divisions of foot-soldiers' has been ascribed by its most recent editor to the mid first century A.D. (in which case it would document the survival of such typically hellenistic offices as the gymnasiarch into the Empire, a survival which would not be surprising in Sicily but is not elsewhere documented),[390] but the letter forms are not inconsistent with a first-century-B.C. date, and the presence of soldiers suits a period during Sextus Pompey's control of Sicily better than any time in the first century A.D.;[391] the inscription probably therefore predates the Augustan settlement of Sicily. Soluntum was not one of the favoured cities in that settlement, but a dedication (in Latin) to Caracalla's wife in A.D. 202/5[392] was authorized "by decree of the decurions", from which it must be assumed that the town had by then obtained a municipal charter, probably sometime during the first century (p. 101). Certainly after the Flavian period the town was in decline, and no major alterations to its buildings, public or private, seem to have taken place: even before this the theatre fell into disuse and a house was built over part of it. The early forms of African red slip ware are present, but nothing appears to be later than the second century,[393] and the latest recorded coin from the site is a bronze issue of the emperor Commodus.[394] The Latin inscription just noted is the latest closely datable document of the dying town,[395] and the complete absence of material for the rest of the third century or later indicates that by then Solunto had become completely deserted.

---

second century (cf. the 'House of Lucretius Menander' at Ostia, probably c. 170: H. Joyce, The Decoration of Walls, Ceilings and Floors in Italy in the Second and Third Centuries A.D., Rome 1981, fig. 25).

[389] V. Tusa, Fasti Archeologici XIV, 1959, 2591; von Boeselager, op. cit. in n. 70, 83–4.

[390] IG XIV, 311: Πεζῶν τάξιες (for τάξεις) τρεῖς αἱ | στρατευσάμεναι ἐπὶ Ἀ|πολλωνίου Απολλωνίου καὶ| οἱ αὐτοῦ ἔφηβοι Ἄνταλλον Ἀν|τάλλου τοῦ Ἀντάλλου Ὀρνι|χᾶν γυμνασιαρχήσαντα| εὐνοίας ἕνεκα with commentary and bibliography by Manni Piraino, IGLMP, 144–7 (no. 114). For the name Ὀρνιχᾶς, O. Masson, De la Sicile à l'Egypte: les noms Ὀρνιχᾶς, Ὀρνιθᾶς et le substantif ὀρνιθᾶς, Chronique d'Egypte XLIX, 1974, 175–8.

[391] Manni Piraino, IGLMP, 146, implausibly suggests that the inscription provides evidence for the recruitment of Sicilian legionaries in the first century A.D.

[392] CIL X, 7336 = Bivona, ILLMP, 63–4, no. 48.

[393] I am most grateful to Professor V. Tusa for permission to study this unpublished material. Hayes' forms 3 A, 3 B, 5, 6, 7, 8 A, 9 A, 20 and 23 A–B were present in the sample that I examined; cf. also Famà, op. cit. in n. 386, 35–6, presenting examples of Hayes 6 A, 9 A, and 23 (or 197) in fig. 57, 60 and 61.

[394] A. Tusa Cutroni, Solunto, osservazioni di carattere storico-numismatico alla luce dei recenti scavi, I Congreso Arqueológico del Marruecos Español 1954, 215–7; Id., Sulle monete dimezzate trovate a Solunto, Kokalos VI, 1960, 110–23.

[395] Together with a mention in the Antonine Itinerary (91.6), which I take to be substantially an early third century document.

Extensive excavations have also been carried out during the last fifteen years at another lofty hill-town (852 m. high), the ancient Ietas (Monte Iato), 30 km. S.W. of Palermo,[396] excavations which have yielded an exceptionally clear and well documented example of a completely hellenized hill-town of the hellenistic period. Like Solunto the town undoubtedly had its heyday during the period of the Roman Republic, but shortly after the beginning of the imperial period there are clear signs of a very marked decline. The latest alterations to the theatre, consisting of two L-shaped side rooms flanking the scene building, were added in the early Augustan period, but by the middle of the first century A.D., when the western *parodos* wall collapsed, the scene building itself had been converted to domestic use and the theatre was clearly no longer functioning as such. A rather splendid two-storey peristyle house, probably first laid out (like the theatre) around 300 B.C. but substantially refurbished in the second century B.C., collapsed in the second quarter of the first century A.D. and was not rebuilt, although occupation of a sort did continue: some of the column drums from the peristyle were used to patch up a wall on the east side of the central court, and another simple structure was built alongside it, to the east. Such ad hoc repairs to what remained a substantially ruined house do not suggest much more than squatter occupation. It is also significant that certainly by this time, if not already in the Augustan period, the doors of the second-century-B.C. *bouleuterion* facing onto the agora had been blocked up, the building clearly disused. The paving of the agora itself was not swept clean, layers of dirt and rubbish gradually collecting there; and around 100 A.D. the west portico of the agora collapsed, never to be rebuilt. All this is eloquent evidence for the slow decay of the town: by the mid-first century A.D. Monte Iato was no longer a thriving community, municipal government, and with it civic discipline, being demonstrably in abeyance. The site was not, however, completely deserted; apart from the makeshift repairs to the peristyle house, there is a quantity of African red slip pottery from Monte Iato indicating some level of activity throughout the imperial period, with perhaps increased activity in the later fourth or early fifth century, when there are signs of fresh rudimentary structures (partly incorporating reused material) at the theatre's scene building; there is fifth-century material, too, from the portico on the north side of the agora, which, like the theatre scene building, only finally collapsed sometime in the fifth century. Later the town revived when security became once more a critical factor in the troubled period of the Arab invasions, and was a substantial settlement in the Norman and early medieval periods until its final fall and abandonment in 1246.

---

[396] Two volumes of the definitive excavation monographs have appeared: H. BLOESCH and H. P. ISLER, ed., Studia Ietina I, Zürich 1976, and H. P. ISLER, ed., Studia Ietina II, Zürich 1984; these list a complete bibliography for the site (I, p. 11; II, p. 9) up to 1983. For a useful summary of results up to 1980, see ID., Monte Iato: dieci anni di scavo nell'antica città di Iaitas, Magna Graecia XV, nos. 9–10, 1980, 1–7. Interim reports published in or after 1983 are as follows (all by H. P. ISLER): Sicilia Archeologica XVI, no. 52–3, 1983, 17–32; XVII, no. 56, 1984, 5–23; XVIII, no. 59, 1985, 5–24; Antike Kunst XXVII, 1984, 25–32; XXVIII, 1985, 45–52; XXIX, 1986, 68–78.

A very different story comes from another settlement in western Sicily, the small port and fishing community of Mazara 18 km. S.E. of Marsala. Mentioned by Diodorus as an outpost of Selinus, the place rates a mention in the 'Antonine Itinerary' in the third century A.D., but is earlier passed over by Pliny and Ptolemy, who record only the river on which it stands.[397] No scientific excavation has ever been conducted here, but the existence of a prosperous and active community is suggested both by chance finds and by numerous inscriptions – so numerous, in fact, and so closely bound up with the affairs of neighbouring Lilybaeum (Marsala), that MOMMSEN wondered whether all had been transported thence to Mazara in post-Roman times.[398] But the discovery of further inscriptions in Mazara since MOMMSEN's day, and the emergence of details of ancient submerged moles in the harbour (revealed along with marble column shafts and capitals by dredging in 1930),[399] and of a well-appointed town house with at least four rooms paved in mosaic (one of them figured) probably in the fourth century A.D.,[400] have disproved MOMMSEN's theory, and there is no doubt that there was a substantial settlement at Mazara in Roman imperial times. Its affairs were controlled entirely from Marsala: among the honorands were a quaestor of Sicily, L. Cassius Manilianus, who had also served as *curator rei publicae* at Marsala,[401] L. Amatius Maximus Memorianus, who had been city *quaestor,* aedile and *duumvir,*[402] and C. Bultius Geminus Marcellus,[403] commemorated on inscriptions set up respectively by the local senate at Marsala (*ordo*), the *populus Lilybitanus,* and the Twelve Tribes, one of the features (as we have seen: p. 166) of Marsala's municipal organization. Also honoured, on a Greek inscription probably in the third century, was M. Iunius Felix, βουλευτής at Marsala, dedicated by an otherwise unknown association, the Κοινὸν Κινάκων.[404] What all these inscriptions imply is that Mazara did not enjoy separate civic status but was legally only a *vicus* in the territory of Marsala; furthermore, the very fact that men who were magistrates or councillors at Marsala were honoured at Mazara implies that benefactions were bestowed by them on the latter community, where some of them may in any case have owned property. A marble funerary urn and three figured marble sarcophagi (now in the Cathedral)[405] are further pointers to material well-being, her prosperity no doubt based, as that of her larger neighbour, on a rich agricultural hinterland and active trading contacts with north Africa.

---

[397] Diodorus, XIII.54.6; Ant. It. 89.1; Pliny, Nat. Hist. III.90.

[398] CIL X, 2, p. 740.

[399] L. BONANNO, Il porto antico di Mazara, Mazara 1931; ID., La Romanità di Mazara, Mazara 1933, especially 78 – 82. For earlier discoveries A. CASTIGLIONE, Cose antiche di Mazara, 1878. See also now in brief C. A. DI STEFANO, op. cit. in n. 251, 351 – 3.

[400] Unpublished, apart from DI STEFANO, ibid. pl. XLVII. 2 and a note in a local review: E. B. LOMBARDO, I lavori di restauro di San Nicolo Regale hanno portato alla luce nuovi pregevoli mosaici, Trapani V, fasc. 8, 15th July 1960, 17 – 21. Three mosaics are geometric, the fourth has a central panel (depicting a running stag) set within a stylized vine springing from corner chalices; the heaviness of this stylization suggests a date probably not earlier than the fourth century.

[401] F. NAPOLI, Spigolature storiche di Mazara antica, Marsala 1923, 155 – 9.

[402] CIL X, 7211.

[403] CIL X, 7206, cf. 7233 (Marsala). Closely datable inscriptions from Mazara include dedications to Hadrian (A.D. 119), to the wife of Gordian III (238/44) and to Constantine (c. 315/24): CIL X, 7202 – 4.

[404] AE 1935, 123; M. T. MANNI PIRAINO, Mazara ed un κοινὸν Κινάκων di età romana

Two other towns in Sicily which enjoyed enormous popularity and fame during the Republic as centres of important religious cults were Erice and Enna. The worship of Astarte-Aphrodite-Venus on mount Erice may have originated with the native Elymians who first settled the rock, but subsequent occupation left the cult with a strong Punic flavour, especially in the rite of sacred prostitution and the close connection of Erice with Sicca Veneria in north Africa.[406] The Romans, who captured the citadel in 248 B.C., laid stress on the Elymian-Trojan associations of the cult, Aeneas being made to visit Erice and become the founder of the Temple of Venus.[407] The popularity and importance of the cult during the Republic is well attested, and the cult of Venus Erucina eventually spread to south Italy, Sardinia, Rome, Africa and Greece.[408] But of the cult's history during the Empire at Erice itself little is known. The most informative of the Latin inscriptions from the site is dedicated (in verse) by L. Apronius Caesianus in thanksgiving for the victory his father had won over African tribes.[409] The father is known to have been proconsul in Africa c. 18 – 20 A.D., and the dedication was probably made

---

imperiale, Oriens antiquus VIII, 1969, 12 – 15, with earlier bibliography.

[405] Urn: DI STEFANO, op. cit. in n. 251, pl. XLVII. 1. Sarcophagi: TUSA, op. cit. in n. 283, nos. 29 – 31 (for the last of these, B. ANDREAE, Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben I, 2: Die römischen Jagdsarkophage, Berlin 1980, 151, no. 48, second half of 3rd. century A.D.).

[406] The best account of the cult is R. SCHILLING, La religion romaine de Vénus, 2nd. edition, Paris 1982, 233 – 66; cf. also E. CIACERI, Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia, Catania 1911, 76 – 90; PACE, ACSA III, 630 – 647; E. MANNI, Sicilia Pagana, Palermo 1963, 79 – 88, D. KIENAST, Rom und die Venus vom Eryx, Hermes XCIII, 1965, 478 – 89; and G. K. GALINSKY, Aeneas, Sicily and Rome, Princeton 1969, 63 – 76. Elymians on the rock: Thucydides, VI.2.3; Elymian origins of cult: Diodorus, IV.83.4; Punic associations: Valerius Maximus, II.6.15; Aelian, Hist. Anim. IV.2 and Var. Hist. I.15.

[407] Aeneas at Erice: Diodorus, IV.83.4, cf. Virgil, Aeneid V.759 – 60: *tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes / fundatur Veneri Idaliae.* For Aeneas at Segesta, Cicero, ii in Verr. IV.33.72.

[408] S. MOSCATI, Sulla diffusione del culto di Astarte Ericina, Oriens Antiquus VII, 1968, 91 – 4. South Italy: CIL X, 134 (Potenza), 8042.1 (Pozzuoli). Sardinia: GUZZO AMADASI, op. cit. in n. 266, 99 – 100. Rome: RE VIII A, 852 – 4; Africa: CIL VIII, 24528 (Carthage), AE 1908, 8 (Announa): Greece: Pausanias VIII.24.6. For the cult at Syracuse, probably in the Republic (the spelling *coiravit* for *curavit* is used), CIL X, 7121.

[409] CIL X, 7257 (now in the Museo Pepoli at Trapani), with commentary of MOMMSEN ad. loc. For the father's exploits, Tacitus, Annales, III.21, and for his proconsulship, ibid. IV.13. See also PIR I^2, A 971 – 2.

in A.D. 20 or 21. Apronius apparently set up statues of his father and of the emperor Tiberius, as well as some of the weapons used in the fighting, including a shield and a sword 'worn down by slaughter'. The goddess is addressed at one point as *Aeneadum alma parens*, emphasizing the connection of Venus of Erice with Aeneas (and so with the whole Roman race) which Virgil had alluded to in a passage of the 'Aeneid' written forty years before.[410]

This elaborate dedication demonstrates clearly enough that the cult still had influential adherents in the first quarter of the first century A.D. Only five years later the people of Segesta applied to Tiberius for a restoration of the temple which was by now *vetustate dilapsam*,[411] a restoration duly completed by Claudius, but after that comes almost total silence. Pausanias in the second century and Aelian in the third century mention the temple, but they may have been drawing on earlier sources.[412] Archaeology has so far thrown little light on the problem. Excavations in the *temenos* of the goddess showed that virtually all trace of the temple had been swept away by the post-Roman alterations, and none of the ancillary buildings, which included a small bath-house, need have been later than the first century A.D.[413] Most of the material in Erice museum is unprovenanced, and its relevance to the sanctuary and attendant settlement therefore uncertain.[414] Excavation of a necropolis outside Porta Trapani found nothing later than the hellenistic period apart from a couple of amphorae and a little Roman or Byzantine pottery.[415] Until further work is done it must remain an open question whether or not Erice dwindled into a mere hamlet during the imperial period, the goddess no longer in vogue; at present at any rate there is no definite evidence for the worship of Venus of Erice at Erice after the middle of the first century A.D.

The picture from Enna is no clearer. Coinage shows that the goddess Demeter-Ceres was associated with the town from the fifth century B.C., but the particularly close relationship which Ceres came enjoy with Enna seems to date only from the Roman period.[416] Cicero leaves us in no doubt as to the importance and prestige of the cult in the first century B.C.: the whole island, he asserts, is sacred to Ceres and her daughter, and he also recounts how, in 143 B.C., an embassy from Rome was ordered to Enna by the Sybilline books 'so ancient, so awe-inspiring was that cult that they felt in going there that they were making their way not to a shrine of Ceres, but to the presence of Ceres herself'.[417] The importance of the goddess had of course political overtones, in view of the crucial dependence of Rome during the Republic on Sicilian grain. Our knowledge of Enna's ancient topography is derived mainly from Cicero, who speaks of the 'marble image of Ceres and that of Libera in the other temple', implying that there were two shrines; there were also statues of Ceres and Triptolemus in the open space in front of the shrine of Ceres.[418] Tradition places the siting of the temples on the Rocca di Cerere at the N.E. corner of Enna,[419] but this outcrop is far too small to have ever accommodated them and a much more likely site lies immediately to the west of it. Unfortunately any remains of the great sanctuary here have, as at Erice, been swept away by the builders of a medieval castle, and archaeology has so far added very little, either here or elsewhere in the town, to what we know from the ancient sources. A theatre mentioned by Diodorus and Livy is suspected to lie on the south side of the rock, and a few fragments of defensive walls remain, but large-scale excavation has not up until now been undertaken at Enna.[420] Of her fortunes under the Empire, therefore, we are entirely ignorant. Coins were struck in Latin with the names of *duoviri* after 44/3 B.C., but the town does not seem to have been restored to municipal status by Augustus, and Strabo says it had only a few inhabitants.[421] The only evidence for the continuation of the cult under the Empire is a fragmentary inscription no later than the second century A.D. mentioning a *sacerdos Cereris*.[422]

---

[410] See note 407.

[411] See note 366. The temple appears as tetrastyle, of normal Italic type, on a coin of Considius Nonianus of c. 57 B.C.: J. P. C. KENT, Roman Coins, London 1978, pl. 18, no. 65.

[412] Pausanias VIII.24.6; Aelian, Varia Historia I. 15.

[413] G. CULTRERA, Il temenos di Afrodite ericina e gli scavi del 1930 e del 1931, Notizie degli Scavi 1935, 294–328; the small finds, however, were not published.

[414] A. M. BISI, Numero speciale dedicato al Museo Cordici, Sicilia Archeologica II, no. 8, 1969; for the coins, A. TUSA CUTRONI, La collezione numismatica del Museo Cordici di Erice, Sicilia Archeologica III, no. 12, 1970, 49–60.

[415] BISI, op. cit. in n. 414, inv. nos. 163–4, 181–191, 210.

[416] Livy XXIV. 39, writing about events in 214 B.C., is the first to link the Proserpina myth with Enna; Callimachus, Eis Demetra 15, is generally regarded as spurious.

Also popular as a cult centre, although not on the same international scale as those at Erice and Enna, was Hadranum, situated on the outskirts of modern Adrano on the south-west slopes of Mount Etna. Plutarch in his life of Timoleon says the cult of the local god Adranos there was popular over the whole of Sicily, and that a statue showed the god holding a lance (suggesting a martial deity), but other accounts equate him closely with (or else confuse him with) Hephaistos.[423] The archaic settlement (in contrada Mendolito) was abandoned c. 400 B.C. in favour of a new site closer to the modern town. Stretches of the fourth-century-B.C. defensive walls which guarded the new urban centre (with an estimated circuit of 5 km., enclosing some 60 hectares) are the best known feature of the archaeological topography, but systematic archaeological research has only begun at Adrano very recently, and little is so far known about the layout and buildings of both Greek Adranon and Roman Hadranum.[424] Limited excavation in 1981 in the south-east quarter of the ancient town, which uncovered houses and a stretch of paved street of Roman republican date, did not find evidence of occupation in the imperial period, but eighteenth-century reports speak of a bath-house, and nineteenth-century excavations uncovered lead urns, sarcophagi, a Roman marble head, and brick-built tombs, all of which were probably of Roman imperial date, and a small barrel-vaulted house-tomb, first recorded in 1781 and still surviving, which has niches for cremation urns in its walls of a type known elsewhere in Sicily, was probably built in the second century A.D.[425] A fragmentary Latin inscription, which has been dated by letter forms to the same century, refers to an *aedes,* perhaps of Adranos, but the precise location of the famous shrine is unknown. These discoveries, together with some late Roman material in Adrano museum,[426] confirm that Hadranum was not deserted in imperial times, but details of its fortunes then and of the archaeological topography of the town will have to await future excavation. Cefalù on the north coast is another settlement whose archaeology has been ignored until recently. A hamlet according to Strabo yet a road-station in the 'Antonine Itinerary' and the 'Peutinger Table', Cefalù has yielded a handful of inscriptions of imperial date and a couple of marble sarcophagi, and there are unconfirmed reports of a Roman bath-building, but until recently no archaeological excavation of any significance had taken place. Recent work, however, has included limited excavation both in a sector of the west necropolis, where the latest burials, all cremations, belonged to the mid first century A.D., and at the Duomo, where small trenches in advance of strengthening the cathedral's foundations have revealed part of the street system paved in the first century B.C., but which by the late Empire (5th–6th centuries A.D.) had other structures, one with a fragmentary polychrome mosaic, encroaching on it.

---

[417] Cicero, ii in Verr. IV.48.106, 49.108.

[418] Ibid., 49.109–10.

[419] Repeated most recently by P. ORLANDINI, Enna, in: STILLWELL, MACDONALD and MCALLISTER, op. cit. in n. 325, 304. P. ORSI, Studi preliminari sulla topografia dell'antica Enna, Notizie degli Scavi 1931, 373–94, is still fundamental; A. DE AGOSTINO, Studi sulla topografia di Henna, Bollettino Storico Catanese VI–VII, 1942–3, 117–29, adds very little to ORSI's account.

[420] But fresh excavations, the first for half a century, have been conducted since 1979: G. FIORENTINI, Ricerche archeologiche nella Sicilia centro-meridionale, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 581–600, at 598–9. For the theatre: Diodorus, XXXIV.2.14; Livy XXIV.39.1.

[421] Strabo, VI.2.6; for the coins, see n. 8.

[422] L. BERNABÒ BREA, Enna, iscrizione ricordante una sacerdotessa di Cerere, Notizie degli Scavi 1947, 241–2; MANGANARO, op. cit. in n. 106, 189, ascribes it to the Julio-Claudian period, but the form of the *T* is unlikely to be pre-Flavian and is more usually associated with the second century.

---

[423] Plutarch, Timoleon, 12.1–9; cf. IG XIV, 352, I, lines 54, 62 (Halaesa); Aelian, De Animal. XI.20, cf. XI.3; CIACERI, op. cit. in n. 406, 8–15; PACE, ACSA III, 519–20.

[424] For a full discussion see now U. SPIGO, Adrano: storia della ricerca archeologica, in: NENCI and VALLET, ed., op. cit. in n. 339, 28–34.

[425] I. PATERNÒ, Principe di BISCARI, Viaggio per tutte le antichità della Sicilia, 2nd ed. Naples 1817, 51–2; S. MAZZA, Storia di Adrano, 1820; G. LIBERTINI, Adranon, questioni storiche e topografiche, Annuario del R. Liceo-Ginnasio 'G. Verga' di Adrano X, 1932, 18–25. 1981 excavation: SPIGO, op. cit. in n. 424, 31 and personal communication. For a full bibliography on Adrano (except that MAZZA, op. cit., is omitted), see ibid. 34–8.

[426] A. M. FALLICO, Recenti ritrovamenti di bronzetti bizantini, Siculorum Gymnasium XXI, 1968, 70–5; for unprovenanced portrait busts, BONACASA, op. cit. in n. 92, nos. 153 and 161. For the inscription, see note 32 above.

Larger scale excavation, however, in advance of redevelopment in the modern town, will be necessary before anything can be said in detail about Kephaloidion in imperial times.[427]

Finally, to close, two cities which were originally founded as outpost settlements of the Greek colony at Syracuse, Helorus and Acrae. The former, founded c. 700 or a little before, lies on the coast 6 km. south of modern Noto. Extensive excavation here in recent years has furnished much information about the topography of the ancient town, including details of its street layout (not strictly orthogonal, and with not even the main arteries ever paved), the position of the agora, and the structural history of a sanctuary of Demeter on the south side of the town.[428] Here a fourth-century B.C. temple was joined by an elaborate stoa early in the second century B.C. which perished in a fire, probably sometime in the first century B.C. It was never rebuilt, and there then appears to have been no activity in this part of the town until a poorly-built church was erected over the ruins. This does not suggest a flourishing community at Helorus in the imperial period, and the absence of paved streets and, apparently, of structures later than the hellenistic period in the agora, similarly point to a city in decline. Even though no structural remains of imperial date have yet been discovered, some sort of occupation, perhaps only amounting to a hamlet, did continue at the site in the early Empire, as Italian sigillata pottery, early forms of African red slip ware, and first- and second-century lamps, have all been published from the site; but third- and fourth-century material is completely absent. Helorus may by then have been completely eclipsed by a more thriving town at Netum (Noto Antica), only 13 km. to the north west (p. 185).

---

[427] Strabo VI.2.1; Antonine Itinerary 92.2; inscriptions of imperial date: IG XIV, 349–51 and CIL X, 7456–7 (for the last, R. Marino, A proposito di un'iscrizione latina di Cefalù, Kokalos XX, 1974, 213–7); sarcophagi: Tusa, op. cit. in n. 283, nos. 27–8. For a summary of our knowledge of ancient Cefalù before the recent excavations, A. Tullio, Saggio sulla topografia e sulle antichità di Cefalù, Kokalos XX, 1974, 119–51; for a late-second- or early-first-century-B.C. mosaic, von Boeselager, op. cit. in n. 70, 70–73; and for the museum (material mostly unprovenanced but deriving mainly from either Cefalù or Lipari), A. Tullio, La collezione archeologica del Museo Mandralisca, Cefalù 1979. Recent excavations: Id., Cefalù, necropoli. Campagna di scavo 1976–8, Sicilia Archeologica XIII, no. 40, 1979, 43–5; Id., La necropoli ellenistico-romana di Cefalù. Scavi 1976–1979, Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Sicilia I, 1980, 83–8; Id., Reperti archeologici nuovi nel Museo Mandralisca di Cefalù, ibid. II, 3–4, 1981, 47–51; Id., in: Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte XI, 1980, 45–8 (necropolis); Id., Notarella topografica sull'antica Kephaloidion, Magna Graecia XVI, nos. 11–12, 1981, 5–8; and especially Id., R. M. Bonacasa Carra, M. T. Manni Piraino and F. d'Angelo, I risultati della ricerca archeologica, in: Mostra di documenti e testimonianze figurative della Basilica Ruggeriana di Cefalù, Cefalù 1982, 45–67 (Duomo excavations). A brief overview is now available in A. Tullio, Cefalù Antica, Cefalù 1984. For quarry workings, G. Purpura, Le cave di pietra della rocca di Cefalù, Sicilia Archeologica XI, no. 37, 1978, 59–67.

[428] M. T. Currò, P. Orsi, E. Militello and V. Piscione, Eloro, Monumenti Antichi XLVII, 1966, 203–340; for more recent work, G. Voza, Eloro, in: Pelagatti and Voza, op. cit. in n. 77, 117–9; G. Voza, in: Kokalos XVIII–XIX, 1972–3, 189; Id., Eloro, in: SA I, 545–53, esp. 553; Id., art. cit. in n. 77, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 685–8.

Acrae (near the modern Palazzolo Acreide, SR) was founded according to Thucydides in 664 B.C., and, like Helorus, seems to have had its heyday in the hellenistic period, of which the third-century B.C. theatre and adjacent *bouleuterion* are the most conspicuous witnesses today.[429] Thereafter, however, there is little evidence of occupation until the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., when numerous catacombs and hypogea were cut into the old quarry-faces, and many funerary inscriptions, almost all in Greek, point to the existence of at least a large village on the site. Whether the Greek town continued to be continuously inhabited from the hellenistic to the paleochristian period is at present uncertain, but excavation in the urban area, where a 250 metre stretch of *decumanus* paved in the first century B.C. has been uncovered, did produce African red slip ware from the uppermost levels, and the buildings lining this street, so far only very partially explored, appear to belong to two principal phases, of Roman Republican and late imperial date. The town appears in the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table, so it does look as though some sort of settlement continued at the site throughout the Empire. But the lack of any inscriptions of the first, second or third centuries A.D., or of substantial alterations to the theatre (where by the late Roman period buildings had encroached on the east side of the *cavea* and silos had been dug in the area of the scene building), or of any need to repave the main *decumanus* at any time during the Empire, all suggest that the community was only a shadow of its former self.

Conclusions

It will be all too obvious from this review of Sicilian towns that the evidence is at present too meagre to allow for a confident reconstruction, even in outline, of their fortunes during the period of the Roman Empire. Too little excavation has so far been done (and even less published with full documentation), too few standing structures can be dated accurately, and too uninformative is the epigraphic record, to enable anything more than tentative generalizations to be made. Hypotheses about relative decline or prosperity will need to be revised, perhaps drastically, as fresh results become available, and when much more excavation under carefully controlled conditions has been completed and the results fully published. Public buildings figure prominently in the summary account that follows only because they form a significant part of the evidence at present available, yet in themselves they provide only a crude index of urban prosperity;[430] moreover, the absence of evidence for them cannot be construed (as it has often been) as a certain signal of decline. *Argumenta e silentio* have featured widely in accounts of imperial Sicily published in recent years, and have contributed significantly to an overall picture which has stressed the depressed level of urban life in the island throughout this period.[431] Yet such arguments from silence must be treated with extreme caution: let the example of Lipari, where a presumption of late Roman decline, deduced from the paucity of inscriptions of that date, has been totally overthrown by extensive archaeological evidence for this period recovered in excavations of the past two decades, be a reminder of the dangers of assuming too much from too little.

---

[429] Thucydides VI.5.2. The standard work is L. BERNABÒ BREA, Akrai, Catania 1956, esp. 19–20, 59–72, 151–77 (the last section, on inscriptions, is by G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI). For more recent work, P. PELAGATTI, Bollettino d'Arte LI, 1966, 92; G. VOZA in: PELAGATTI and VOZA, op. cit. in n. 77, 127–8; ID., Akrai, in: SA I, 497–507.

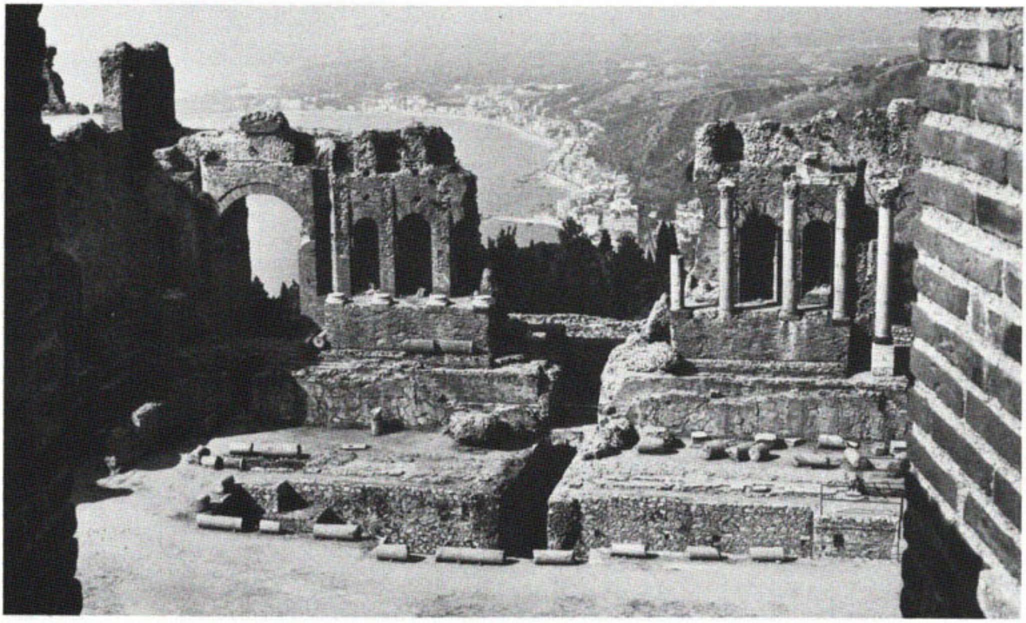
One of the factors which emerges strikingly from any survey of urban settlement in Sicily during the Empire is the continuing decline of a number of long established towns which had had their heyday during hellenistic times or even earlier.[432] This process was not a new phenomenon, and indeed the pace probably slowed appreciably by comparison with the number of towns abandoned during the period of the Republic, but that decline set in at a number of such centres during the first two centuries of the Empire has been demonstrated beyond doubt by archaeological excavation. The best documented example is undoubtedly Monte Iato, where the latest additions to the theatre are probably of Augustan date. By the mid first century it was not functioning as such, a fine peristyle house had collapsed never to be rebuilt, the *bouleuterion* was walled up and disused, and rubbish was gathering in the agora, where a portico collapsed around 100. At Solunto something similar was probably happening, but on a slightly later time scale: the theatre also seems to have been disused by the first century A.D., when part of a house was erected over it, but dwellings were still being redecorated towards the end of that century, and pottery, coins and an inscription indicate that the final abandonment of the city did not occur until early in the third century. At Eloro in south-east Sicily the second-century-B.C. stoa which perished in a fire, probably in the first century B.C., was not rebuilt, there were no post-hellenistic structures in the agora (indeed no certain structures of imperial date anywhere in the town) and no pottery finds after the second century A.D. At all three places the picture of urban decay has clearly been established by archaeological research. A similar decline can be postulated for Acrae, Erice, Enna and Segesta, but in these cases the evidence is largely based on silence and future excavation may prove the true situation to be otherwise.

---

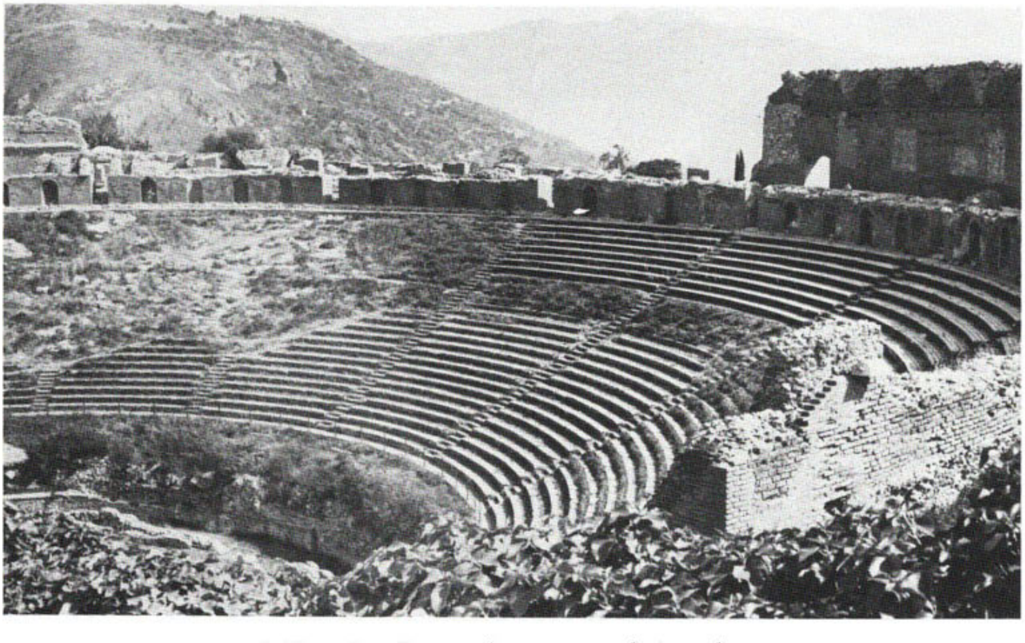
[430] On this point cf. K. Hopkins, Economic growth and towns in classical antiquity, in P. Abrams and E. A. Wrigley, ed., Towns in Societies: essays in economic history and historical sociology, Cambridge 1978, 35–77, at 70–1, and, with special reference to Roman Sicily, see O. Belvedere, Opere pubbliche ed edifici per lo spettacolo nella Sicilia di età imperiale, below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), pp. 346–413.

[431] See note 435 below.

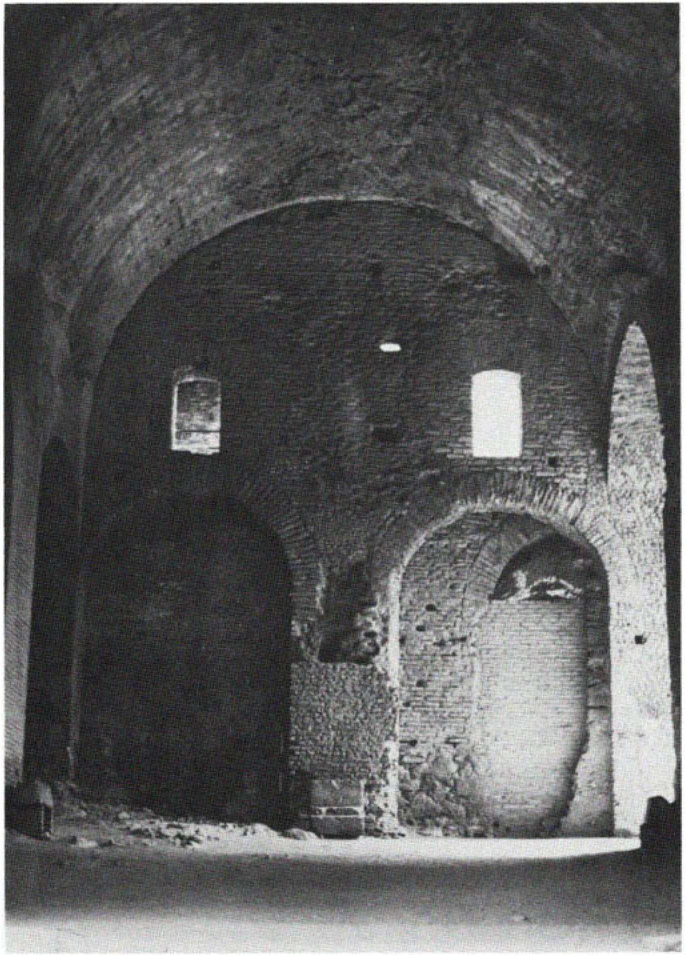
[432] See now R. J. A. Wilson, Changes in the pattern of urban settlement in Roman, Byzantine and Arab Sicily, in: C. Malone and S. Stoddart, ed., Papers in Italian Archaeology IV.i, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford 1985, 313–44.



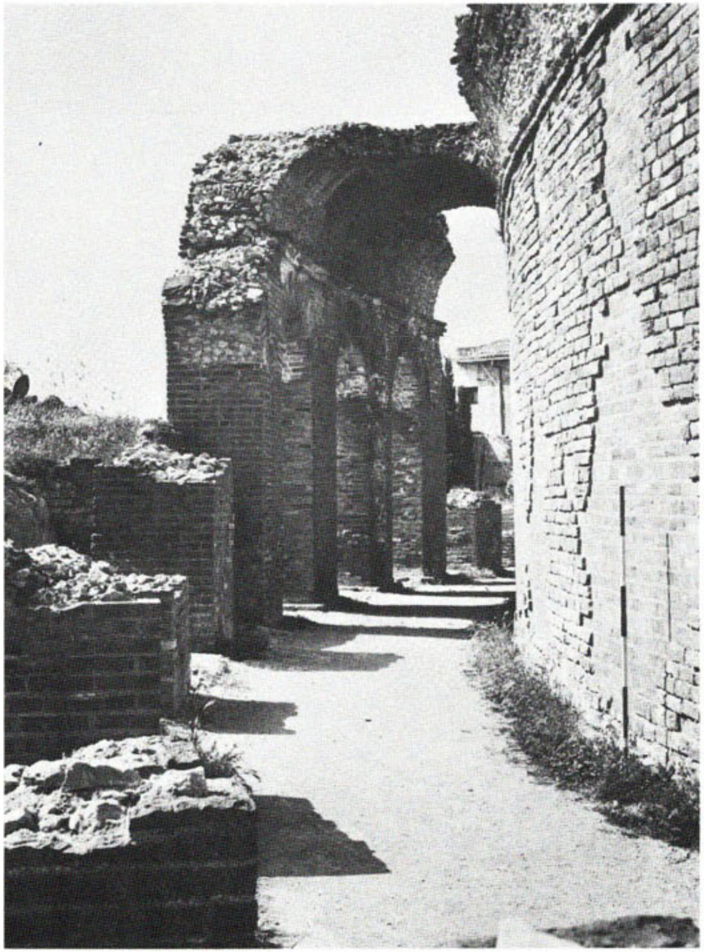
1. Taormina, Roman theatre, general view of *scaenae frons*



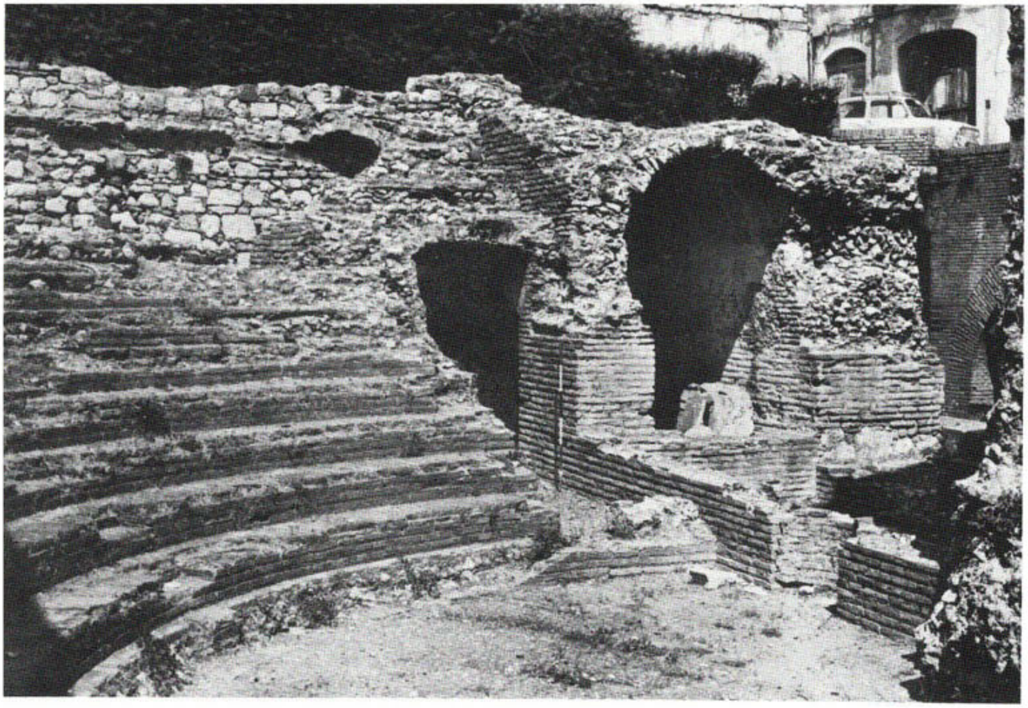
2. Taormina, Roman theatre, general view of *cavea*



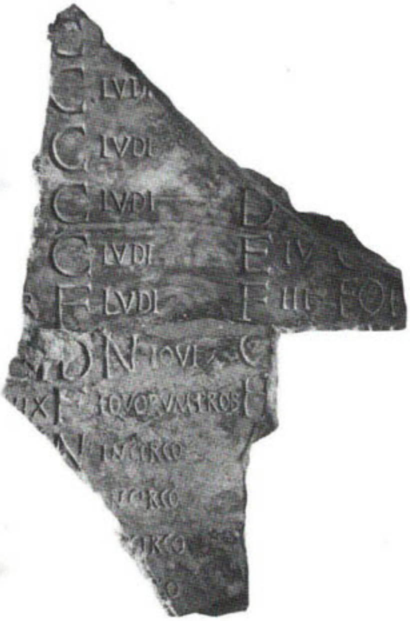
1. Taormina, Roman theatre, west hall from south



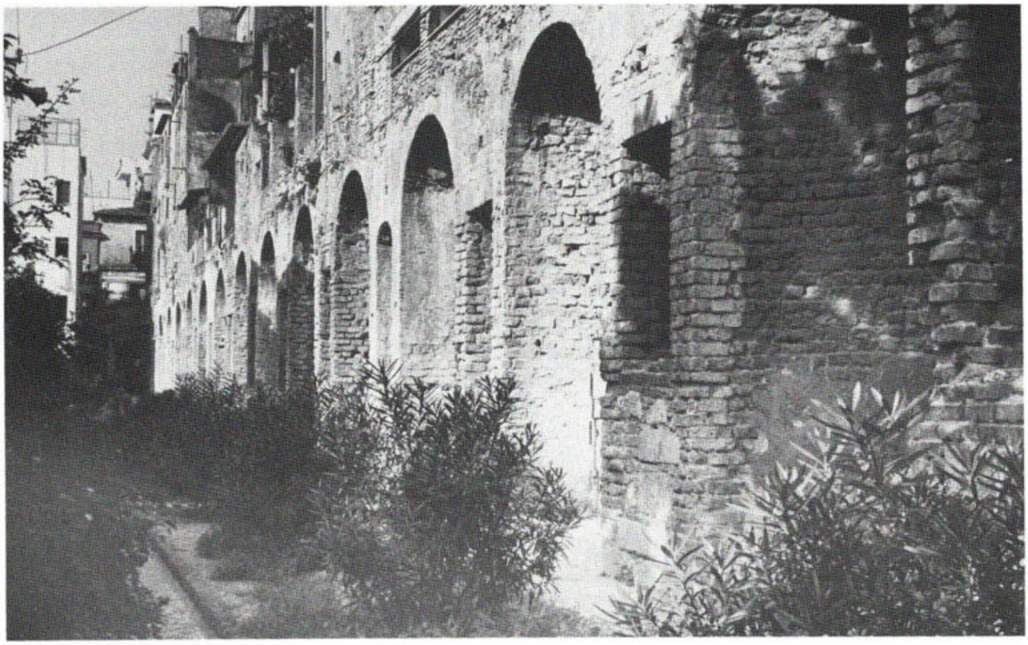
2. Taormina, Roman theatre, part of outer corridor at rear of *cavea*



1. Taormina, the odeion

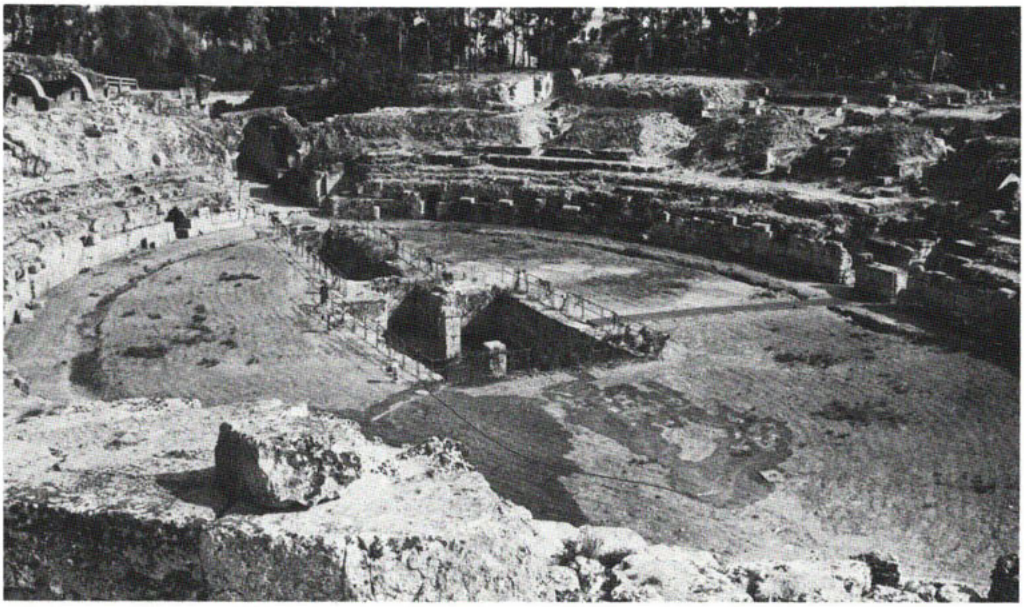

C LVD
C LVDI
C LVDI D
C LVDI E IV
F LVDI F III FOI
N IOVI C
F FOV OPVAS PROS
N IN CIRCO
CIRCO
CIRCO

2. Taormina, fragment of calendar from Roman baths (Taormina theatre antiquarium)

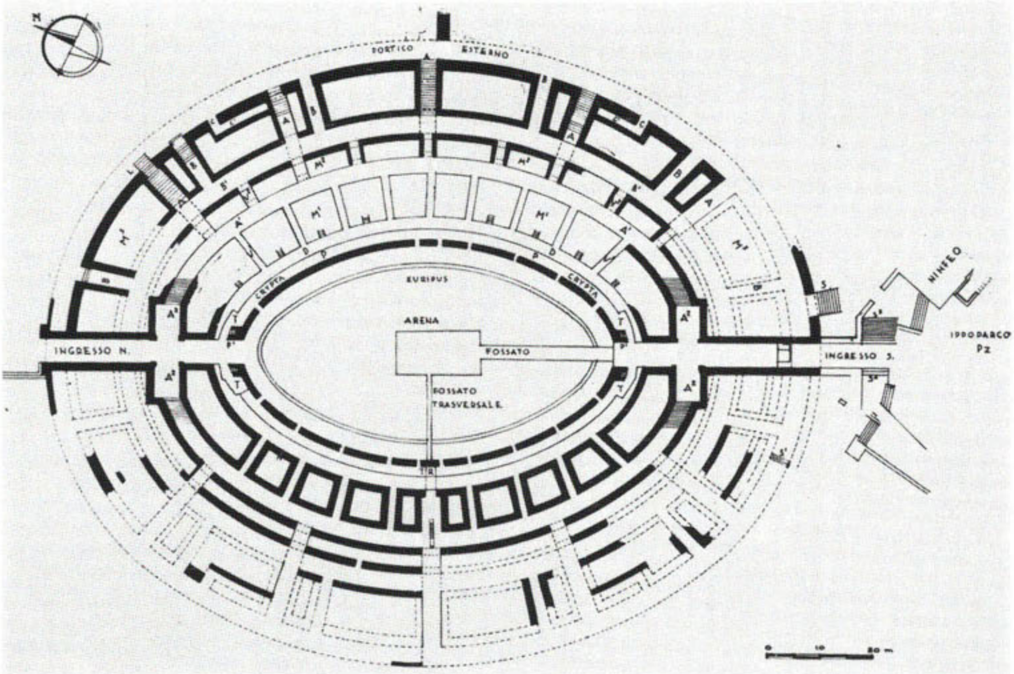


1. Taormina, the 'Naumachia'

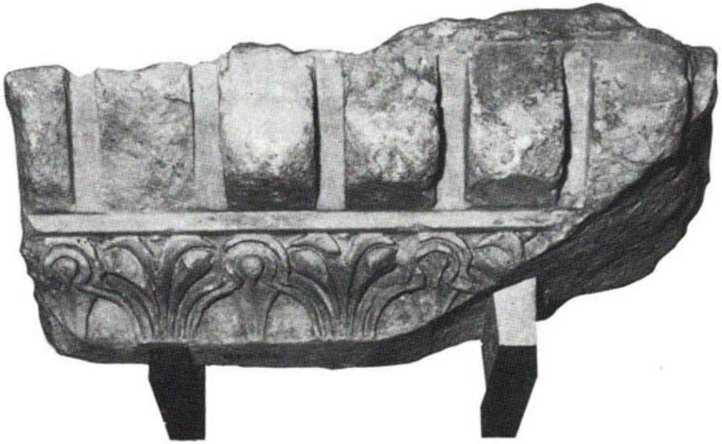
2. Taormina, Roman tomb, casa Fontana Vecchia



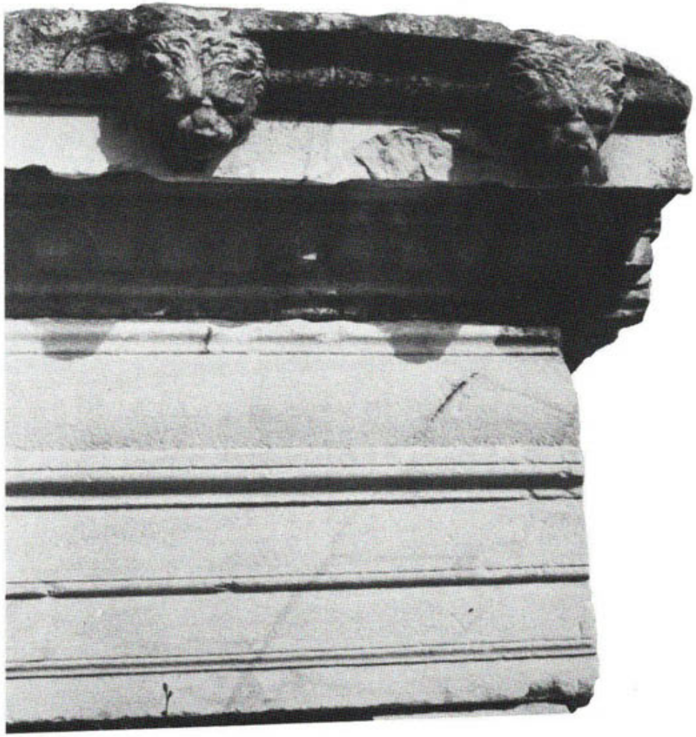
1. Syracuse, Roman amphitheatre, general view from north


N
PORTICO ESTERNO
EURIPUS
CRYPTA
CRYPTA
ARENA
FOSSATO
FOSSATO TRASVERSALE
INGRESSO N.
INGRESSO S.
NINFEO
IPPODARCO
P2
0 10 20 m

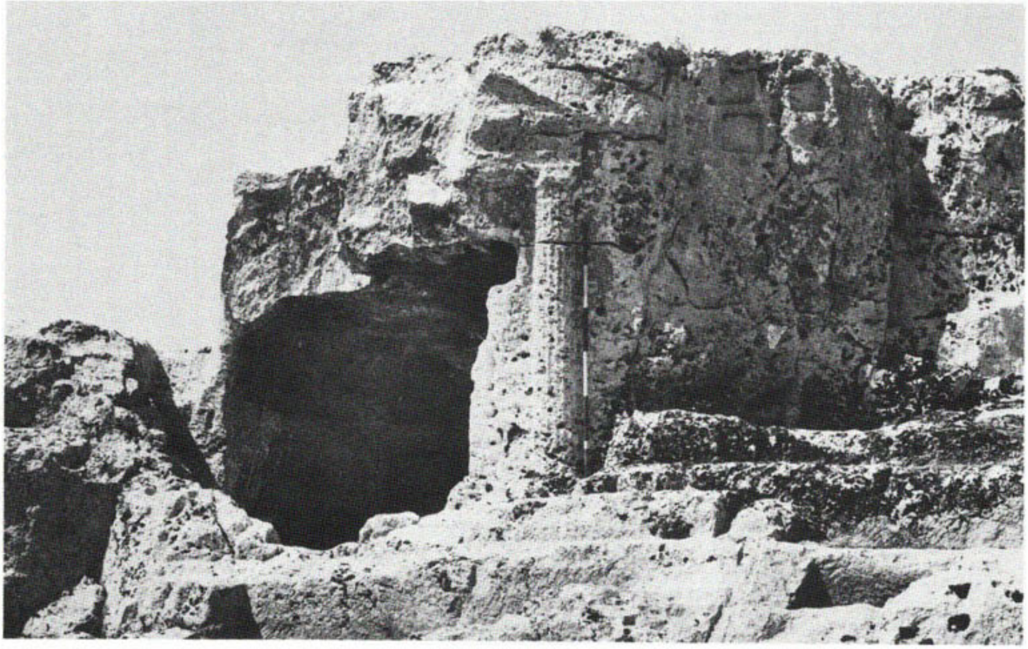
2. Syracuse, plan of amphitheatre



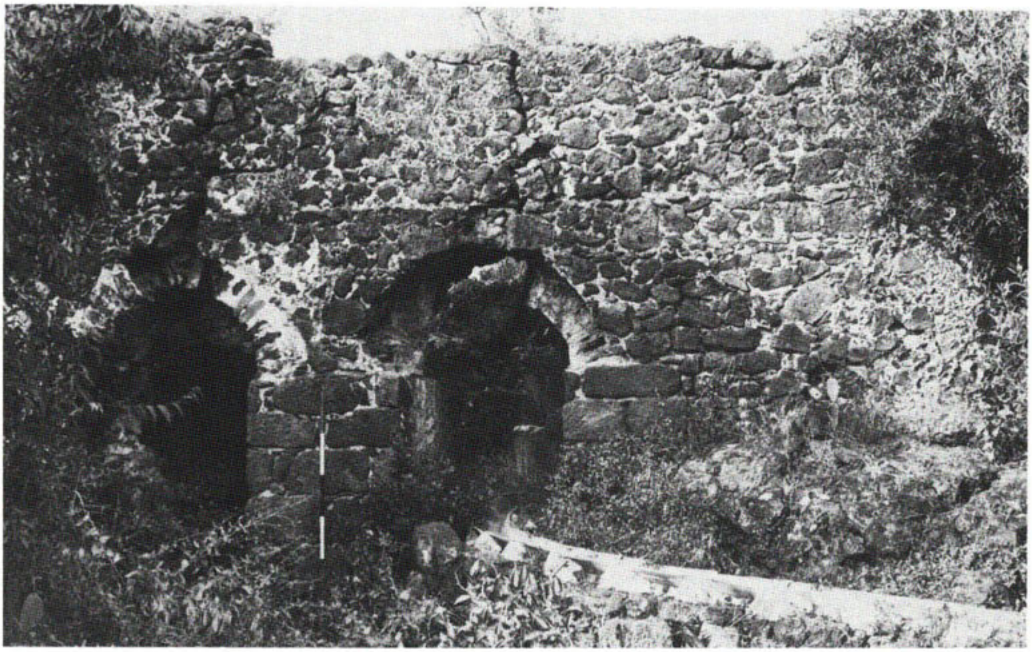
1. Syracuse, marble fragment from Piazza Duomo



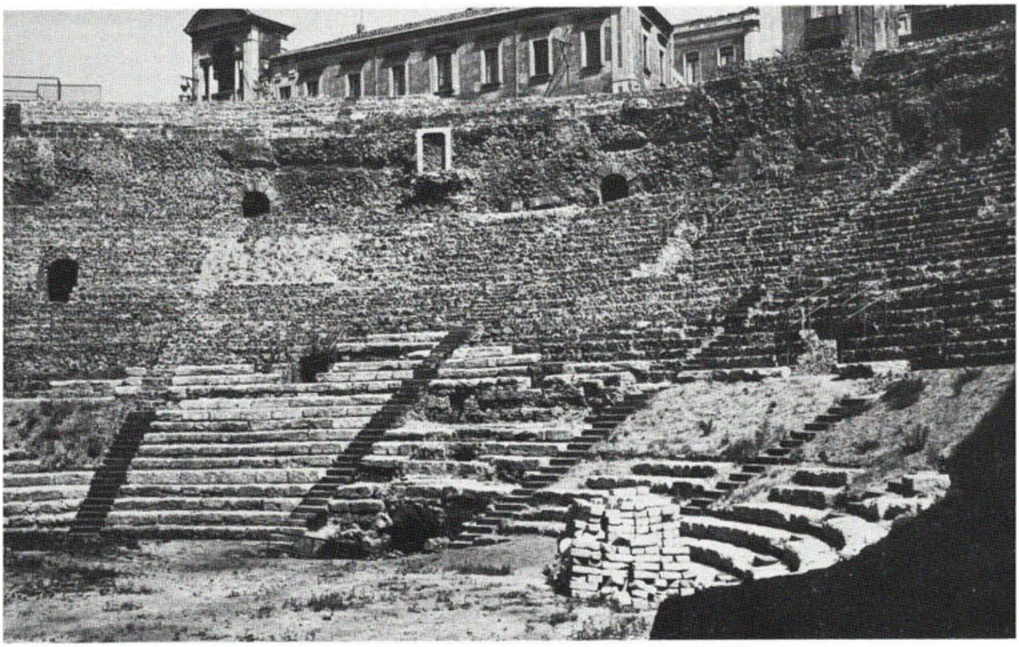
2. Syracuse, 'Gymnasium', detail of entablature of the Roman temple



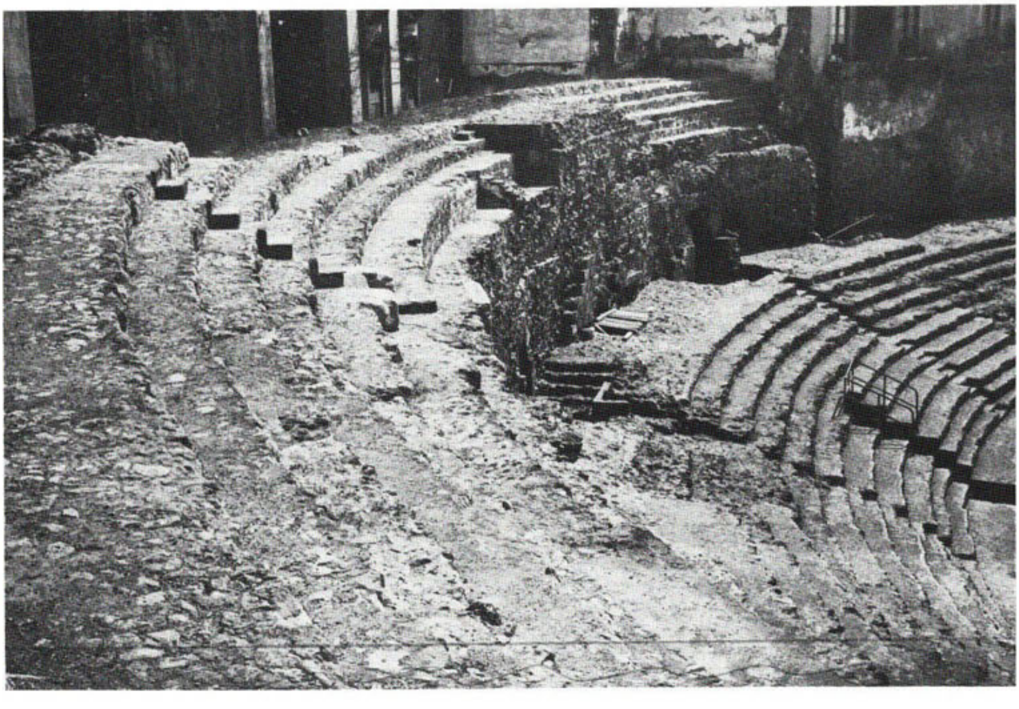
1. Syracuse, Grotticelli necropolis, rock-cut tomb



2. S. Maria di Licodia, fragment of Roman aqueduct



1. Catania, Roman theatre, general view of *cavea*



2. Catania, Roman theatre, the *summa cavea*

fig. 2.

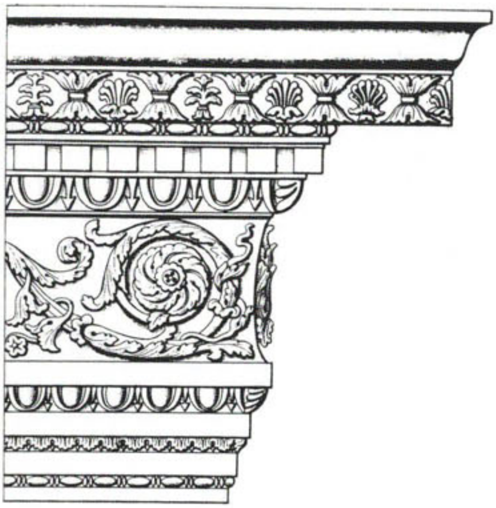


fig 3

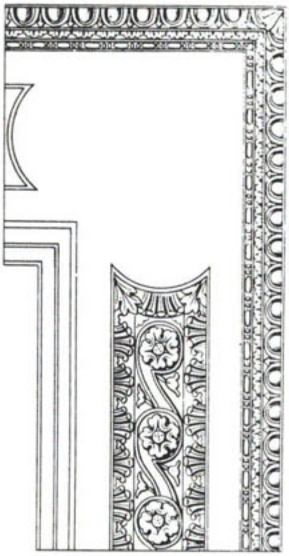


fig. 1.

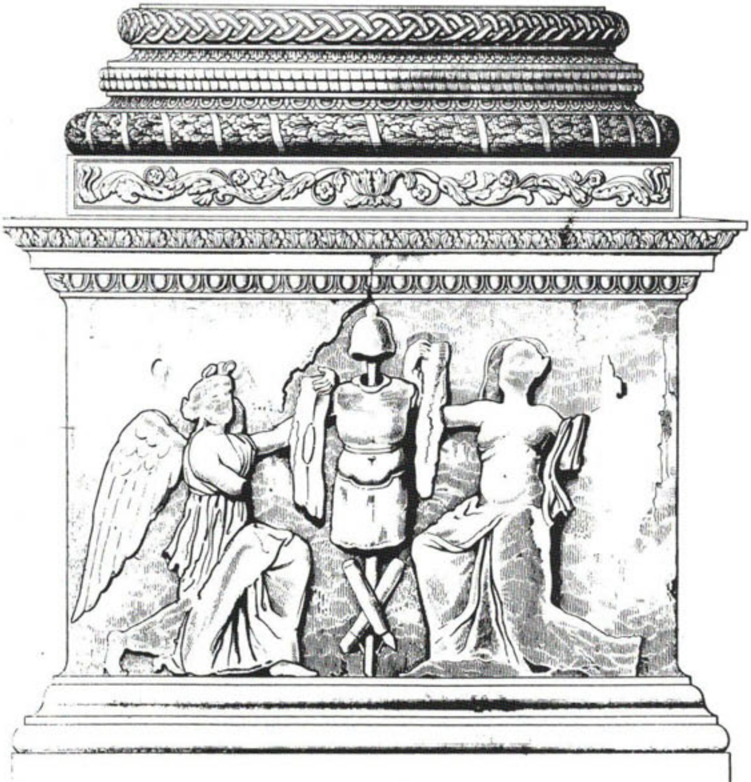
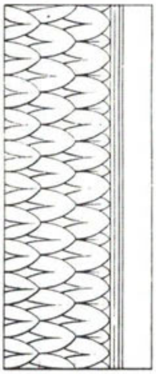
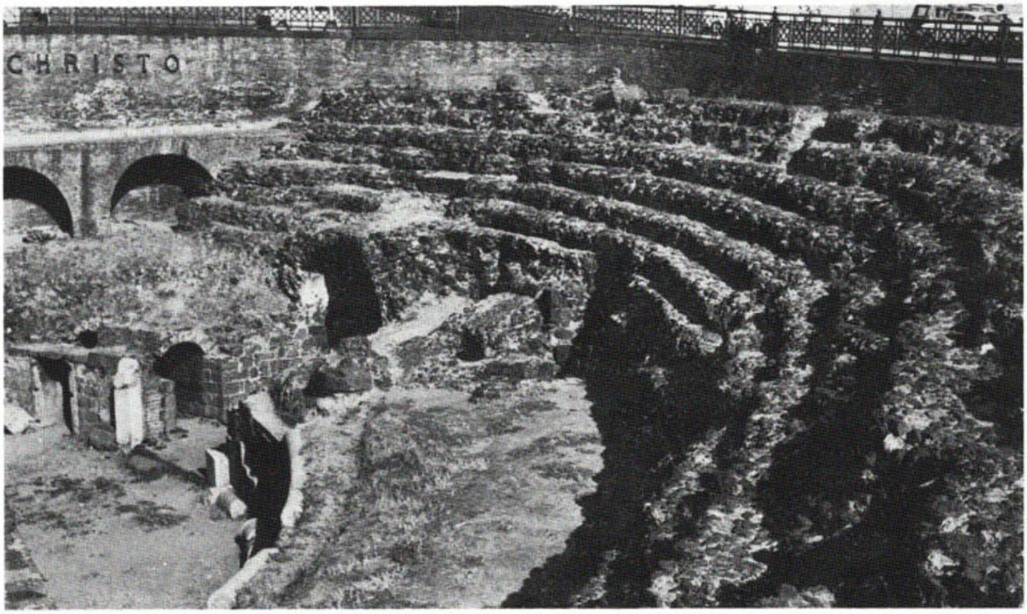


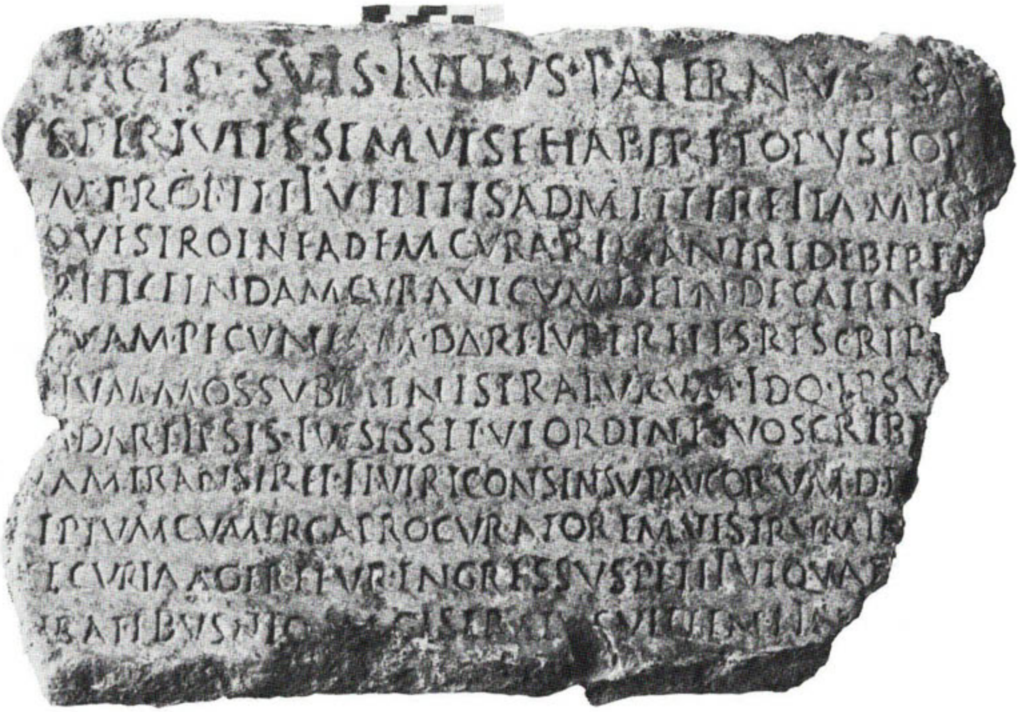
fig. 4.



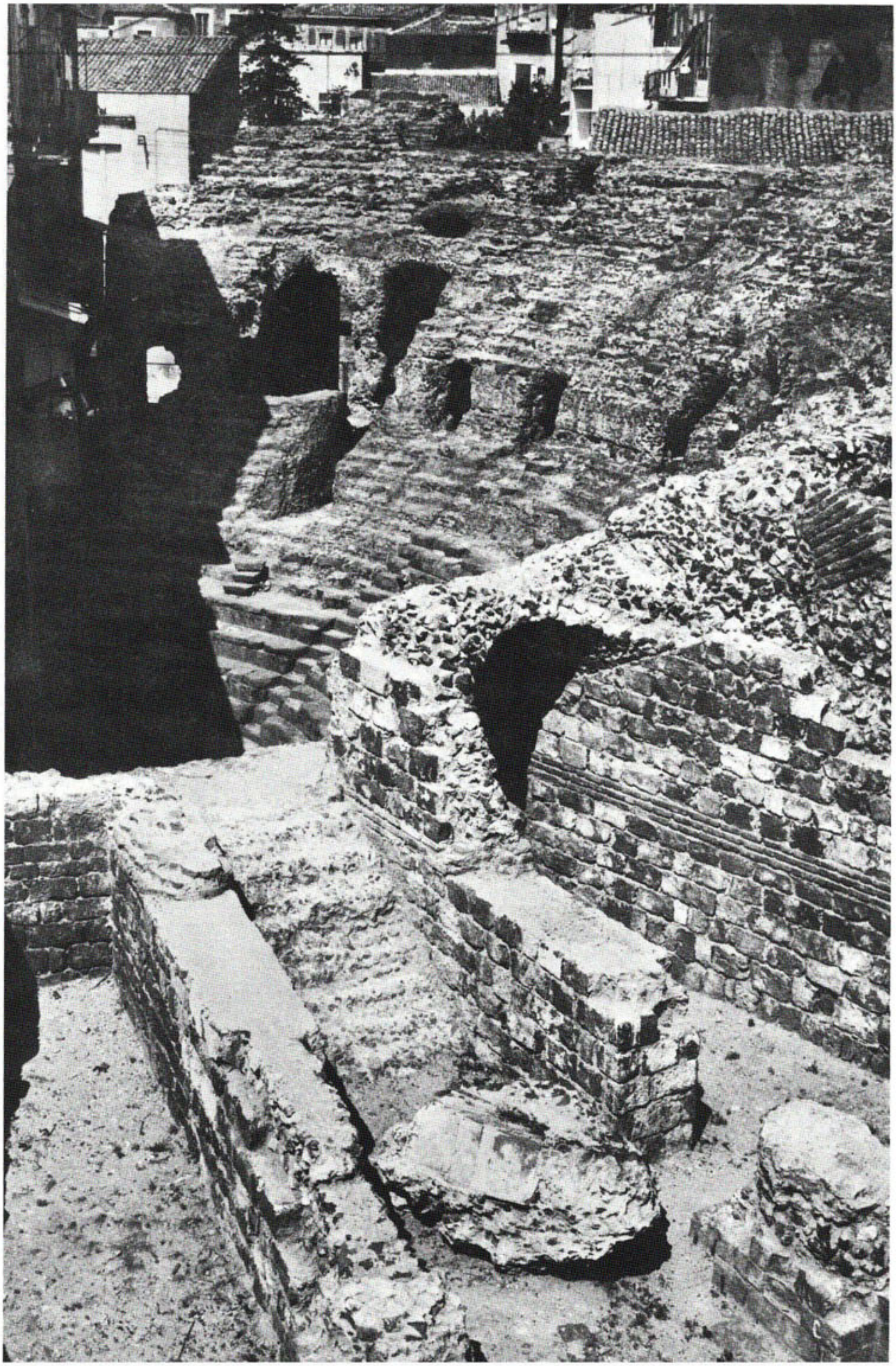
Catania, Roman theatre, architectural ornament of the *scaenae frons*



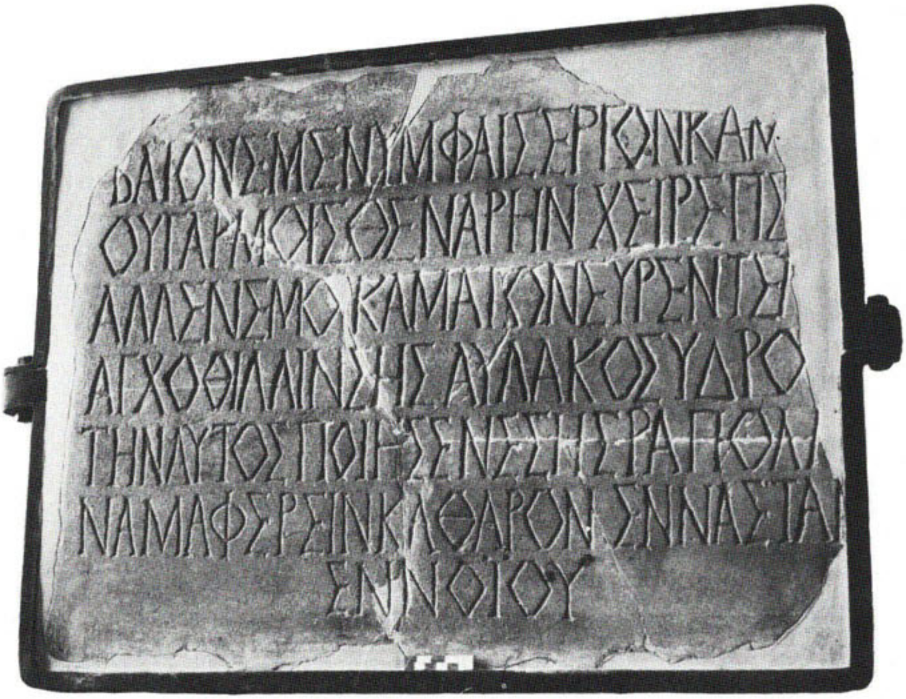
1. Catania, Roman amphitheatre



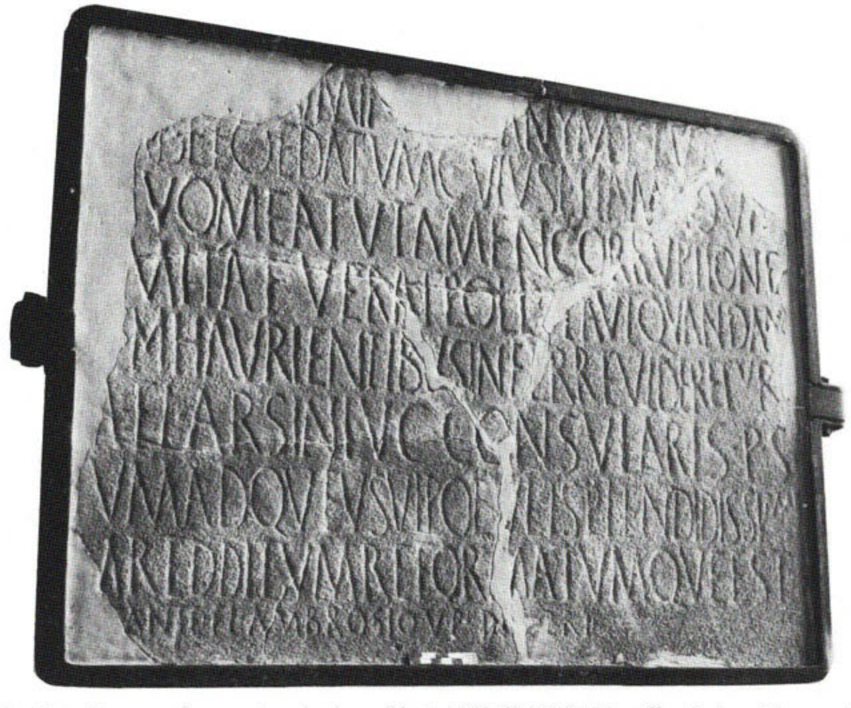
2. Catania, the Julius Paternus inscription (CIL X, 7024, Castello Ursino Museum)



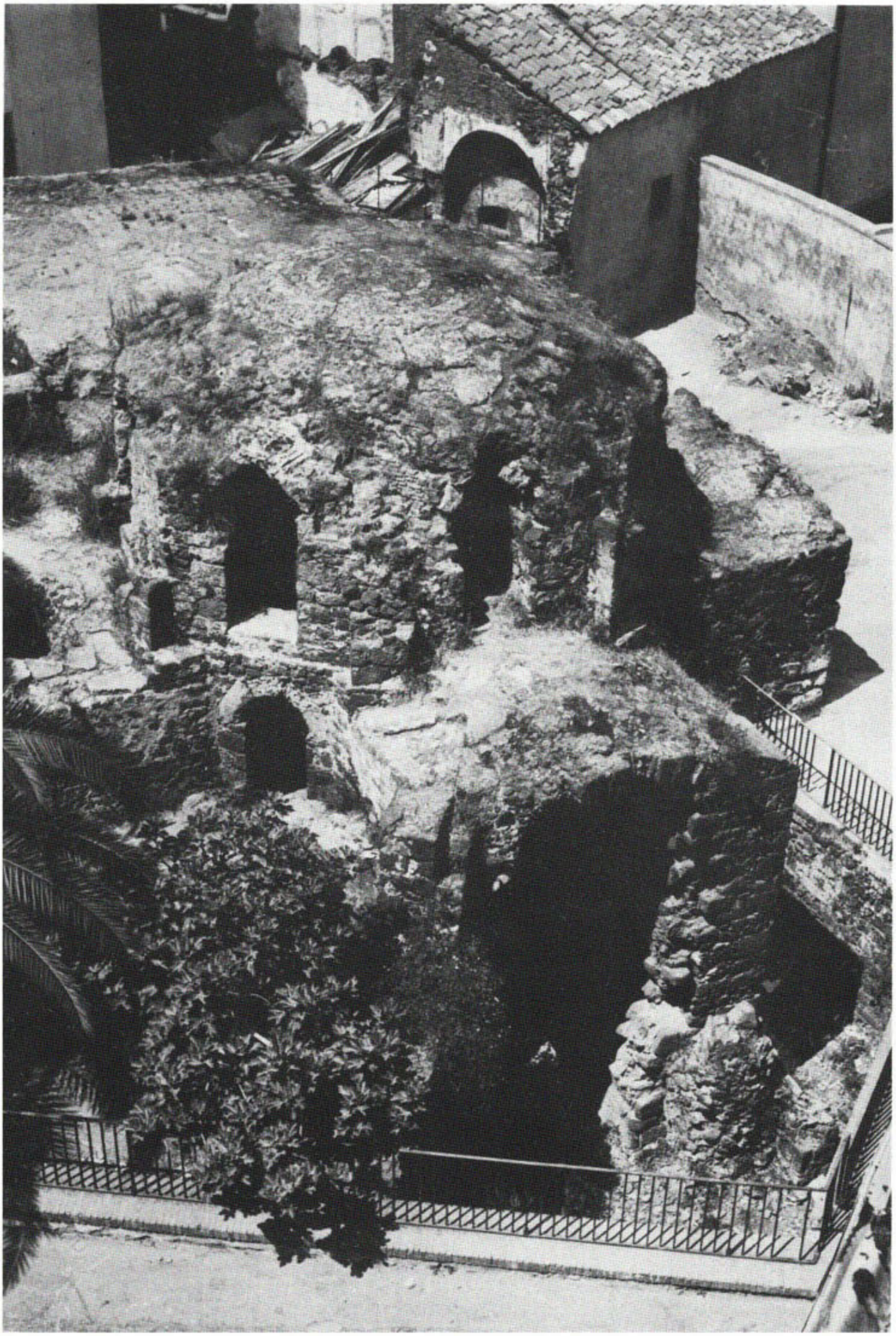
Catania, the odeion



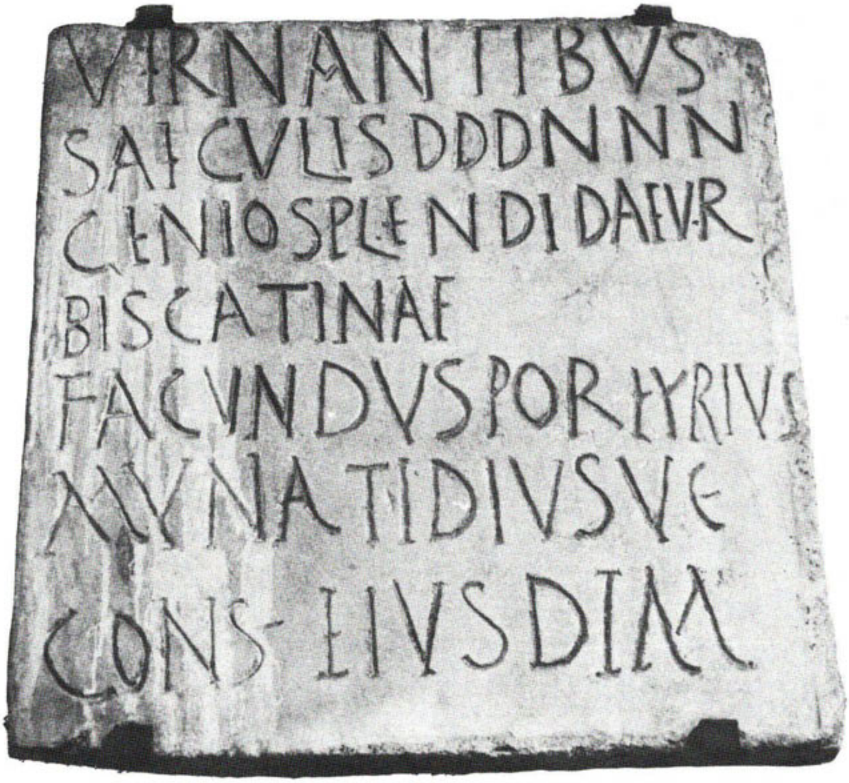
1. Catania, the *nymphaeum* inscription, side 1 (IG XIV, 453, Castello Ursino Museum)



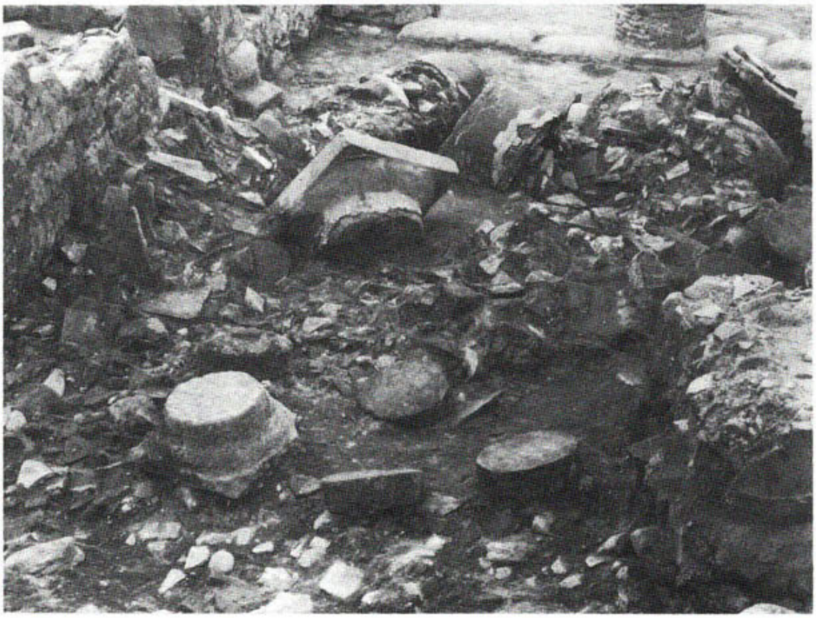
2. Catania, *nymphaeum* inscription, side 2 (CIL X, 7017, Castello Ursino Museum)



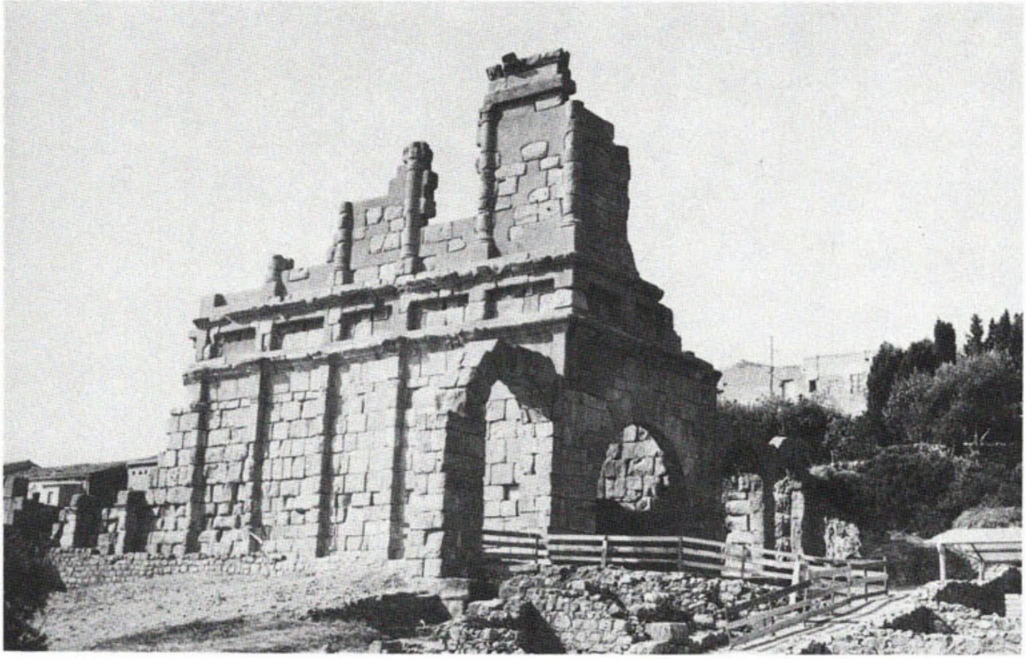
Catania, Terme dell'Indirizzo, general view


VIRNANTIBVS
SAECVLIS DDDNNN
GENIO SPLENDIDAE VR
BIS CATINAE
FACVNDVS PORPHYRIVS
MYNATIDIVS VC
CONS EIVS DIM

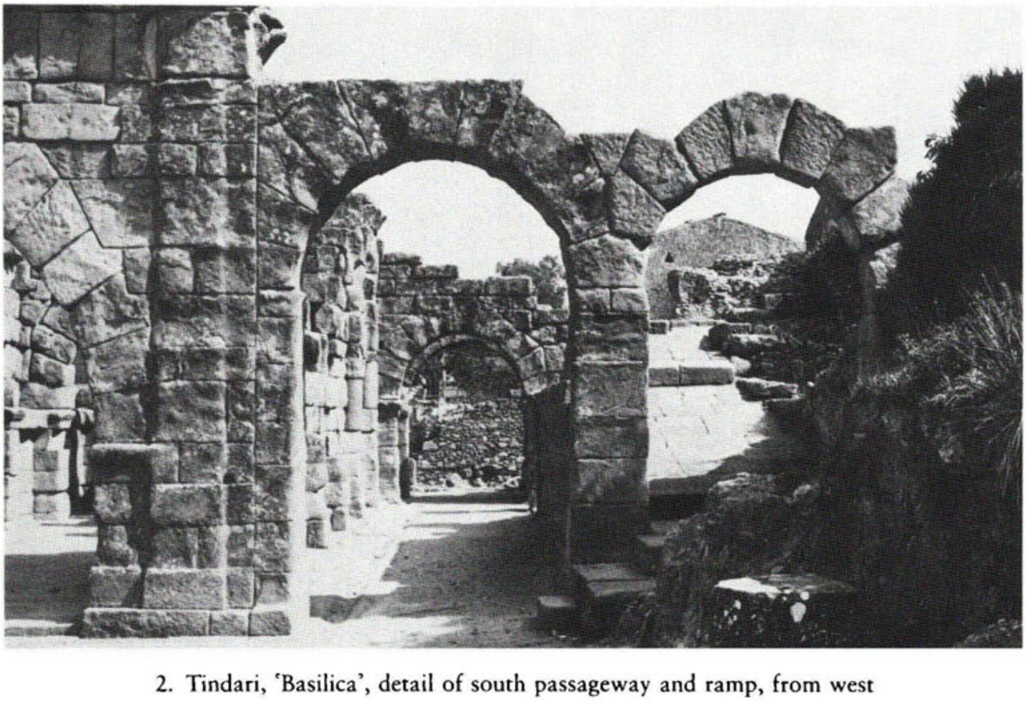
1. Catania, dedication to the Genius of the city (CIL X, 7014, Castello Ursino Museum)



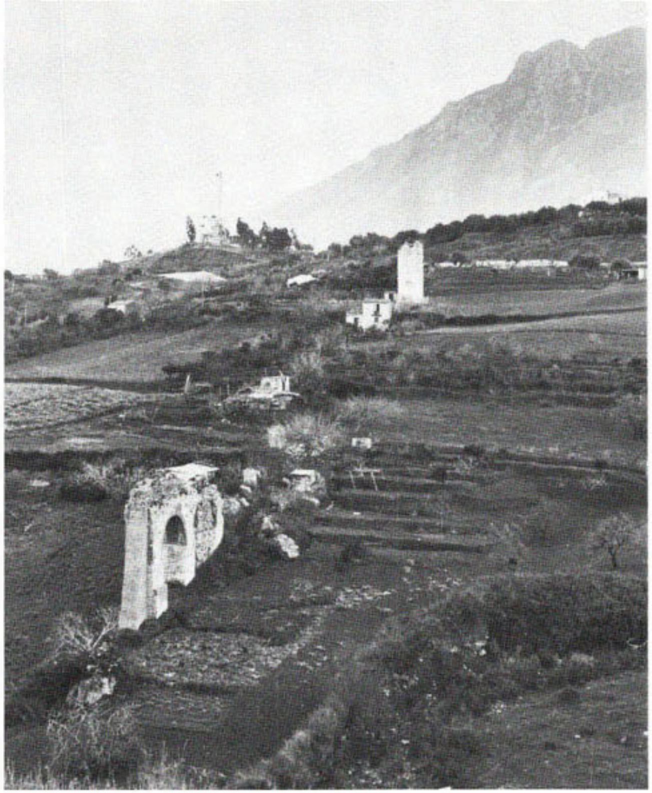
2. Tindari, *insula* IV, casa C, collapsed peristyle debris, during excavation



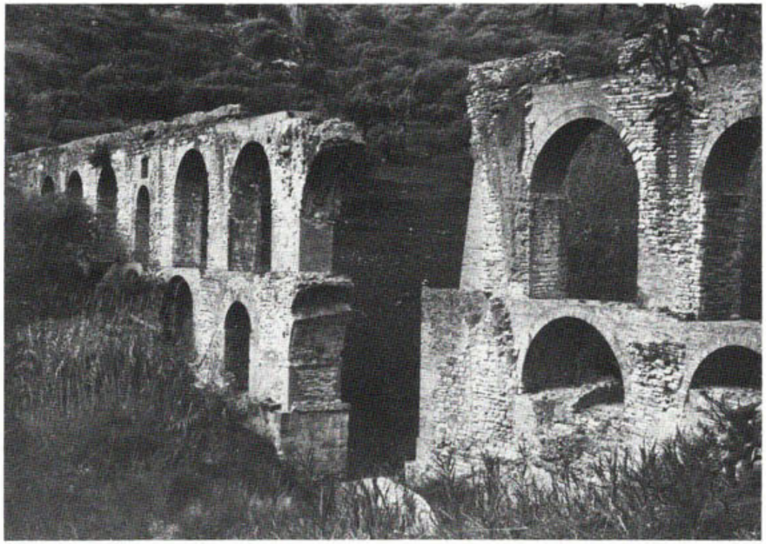
1. Tindari, 'Basilica', general view from north



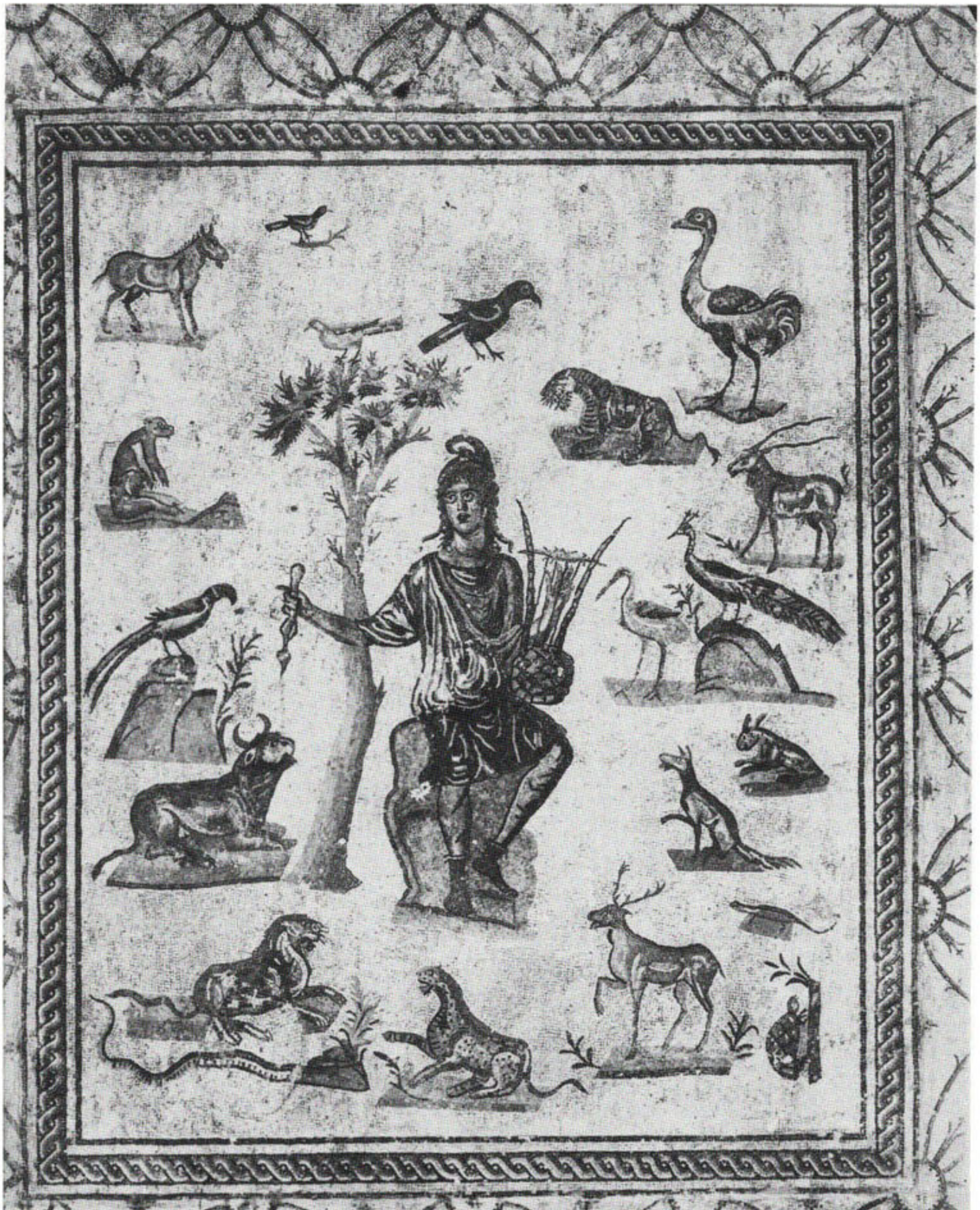
2. Tindari, 'Basilica', detail of south passageway and ramp, from west



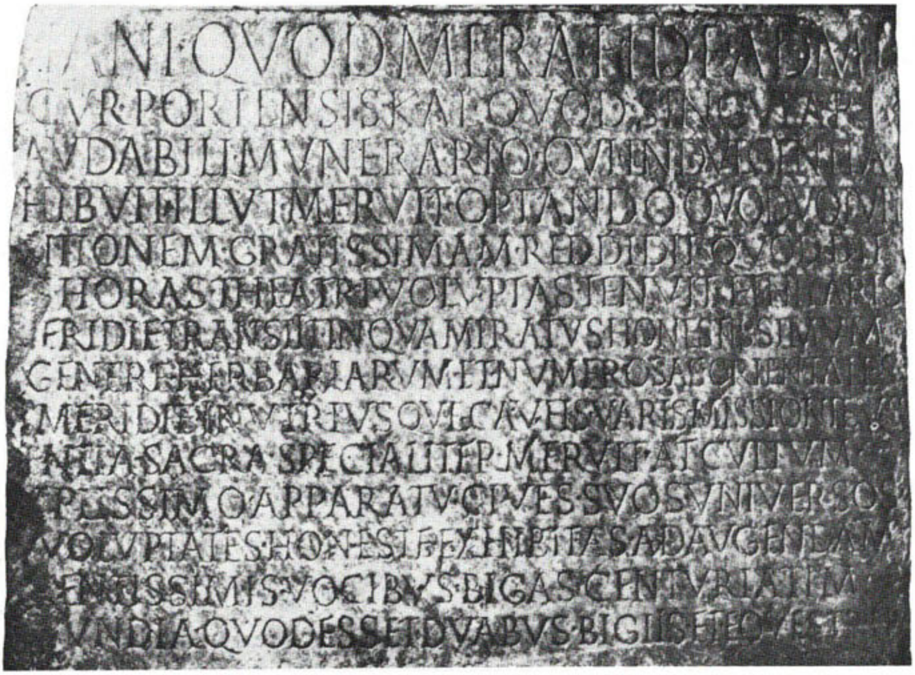
1. Termini Imerese, Roman aqueduct in contrada Mazzarino



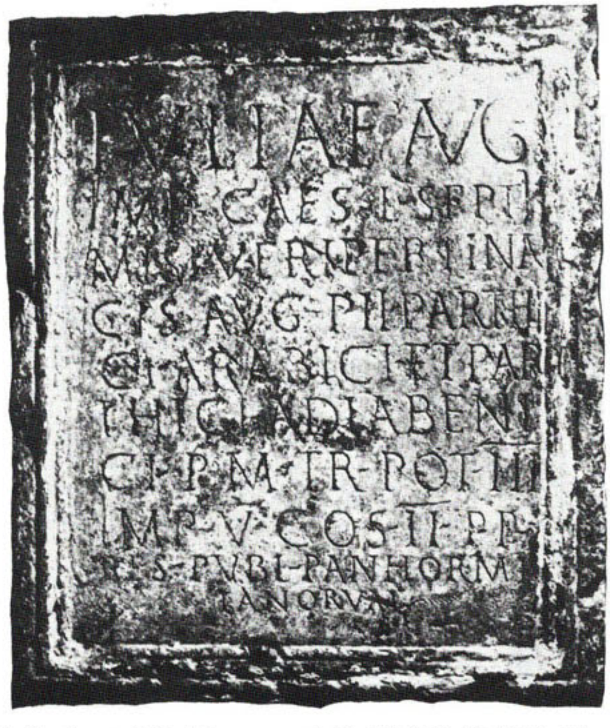
2. Termini Imerese, Roman aqueduct in contrada Figurella



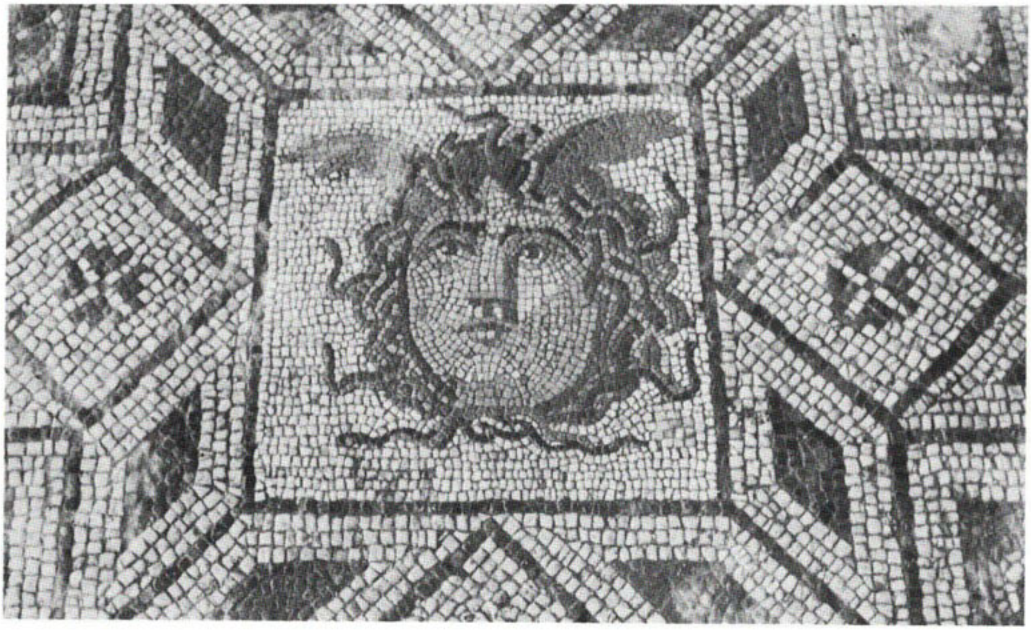
Palermo, house in villa Bonanno gardens, mosaic of Orpheus (Palermo Museum)



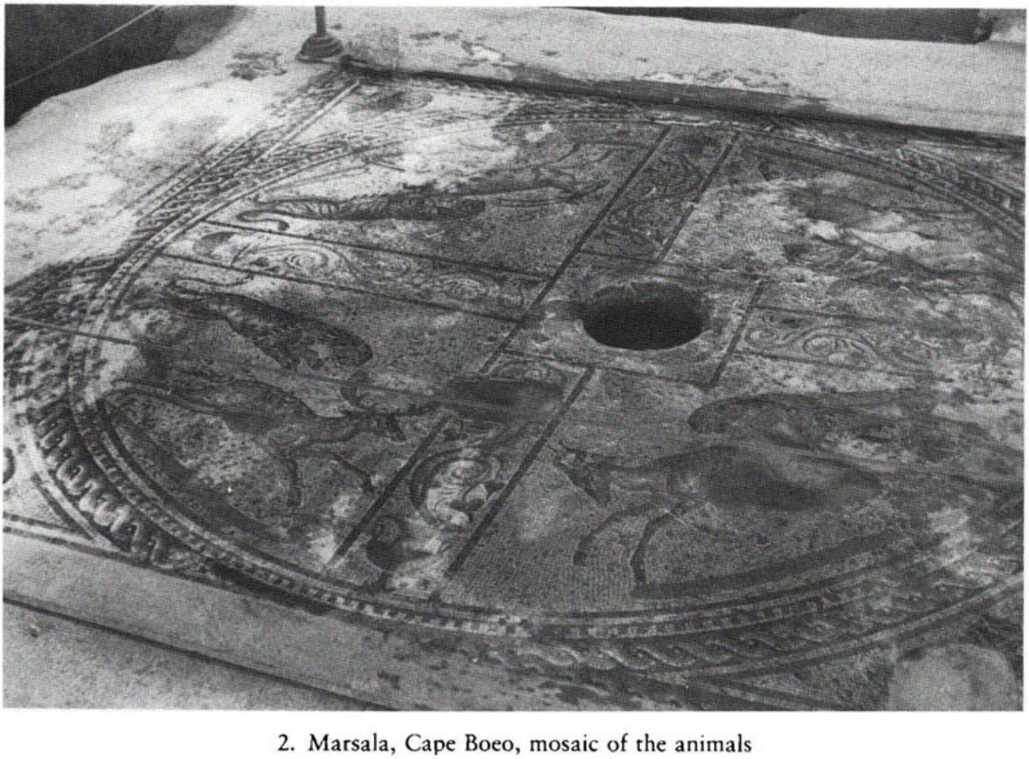
1. Palermo, inscription of the animal show (CIL X, 7295, Palermo Museum)



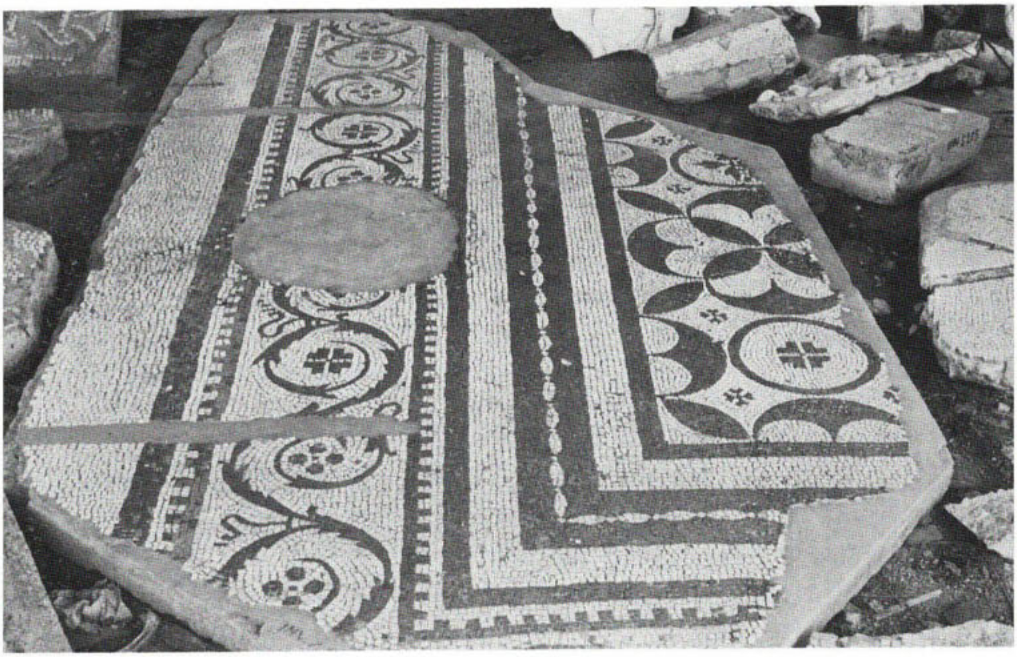
2. Palermo, dedication to Iulia Mammaea, A.D. 195 (CIL X, 7272, Palermo Museum)



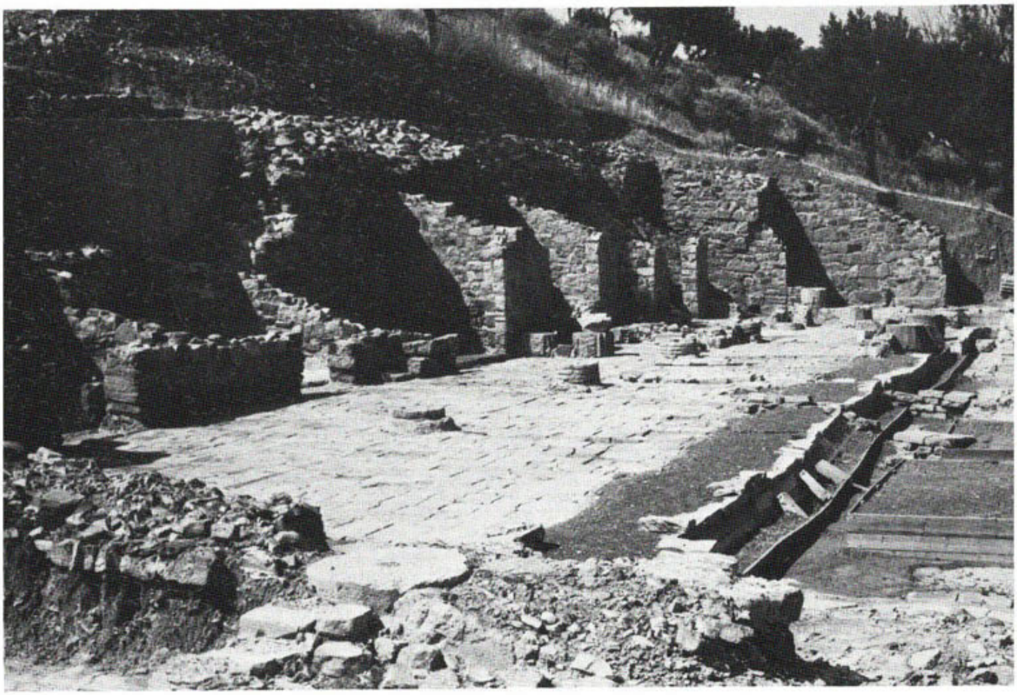
1. Marsala, Cape Boeo, mosaic of Medusa



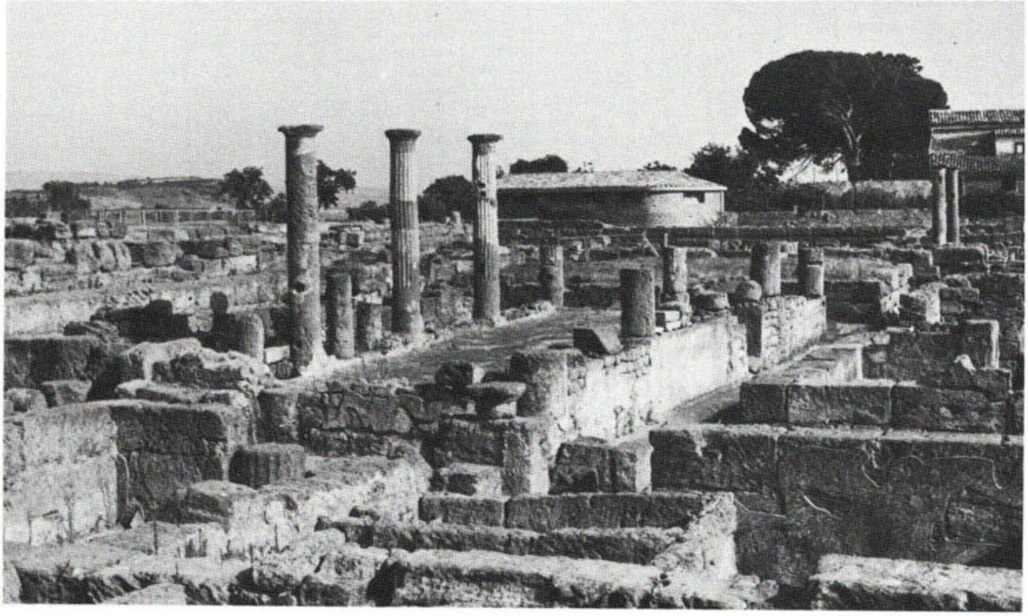
2. Marsala, Cape Boeo, mosaic of the animals



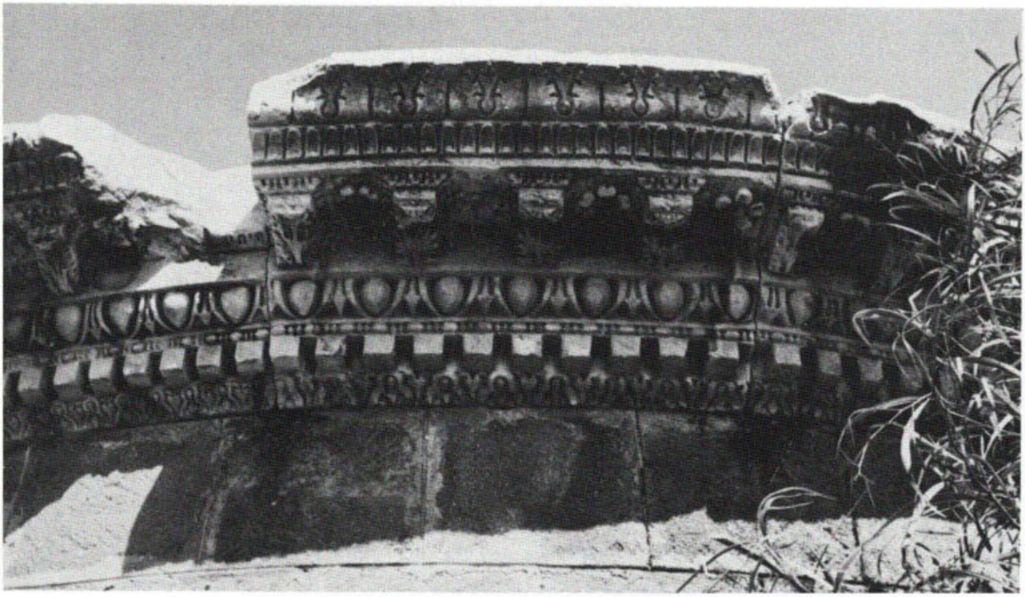
1. Messina, via Garibaldi, fragmentary black-and-white mosaic (Messina Museum)



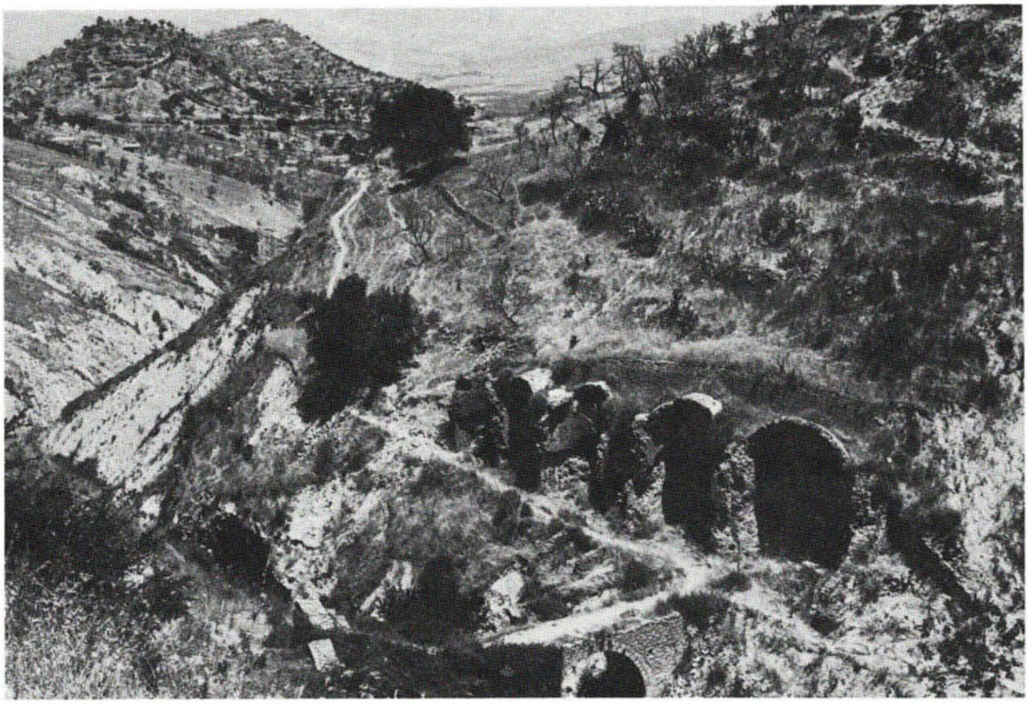
2. Halaesa, general view of stoa



1. Agrigento, 'hellenistic-Roman quarter', 'Casa del criptoportico'



2. Agrigento, marble cornice at S. Nicola



Centuripe, Roman building in contrada Bagni

The undoubted decay of some of these hill-towns, like Monte Iato and Solunto, should not, however, colour our picture of urban life in the province as a whole. None of the sites so far mentioned, with the exception of Segesta, were singled out for special favour in the Augustan settlement: by contrast nearly all of those that were given colonial or municipal rank by Augustus prospered during the early and middle Empire and, in some cases at least, in the late Empire too. Apart from Segesta (which may have been selected for municipal favours for political reasons, because of its control of the all-important sanctuary of Erice), the only exception is Halaesa, where the hellenistic stoa flanking the agora was never rebuilt at any stage during the Empire, and where refurbishments, dedications and statues seem to have come to an end around 200 A.D. Elsewhere, however, a rosier picture of urban life can be depicted. It is a fair assumption that a good deal of building activity accompanied the settlement of *coloniae* in Sicily on the analogy of what we know happened elsewhere, and Strabo specifically says that Augustus restored Syracuse and Catania as well as Centuripe.[433] The list of public buildings of either Augustan or Julio-Claudian date includes at Syracuse the amphitheatre, an honorary arch, the square next to the altar of Hieron, a monumental fountain basin, a repair of the walls (under Caligula), as well as waterworks and a possible bath-house (under Claudius); reorganization of the forum at Taormina and possibly an earlier version of the theatre and the aqueduct there; the aqueduct and possibly an early phase of the theatre *cavea* at Catania; and the Barratina stretch of aqueduct, the amphitheatre, and major buildings in the forum at Termini Imerese. All this, together with evidence for the total reshaping of a private house at Tindari around the middle of the first century, and the suggestion of continued intensive occupation of the residential quarter at Agrigento, is likely to indicate economic vitality rather than stagnation in the early Empire, and points to a comparatively rapid recovery and revitalization of these urban centres after the uncertainties of the Civil Wars. The prosperity of these places was based above all, of course, on corn, and although Sicily was no longer the number one supplier for central Italy, her continued importance as a corn exporter is amply attested by coins, inscriptions and mosaics of the first century A.D.[434] It is further significant that all the *coloniae,* with the possible exception of Tindari, had good harbours and so could take maximum advantage of trading contacts with Italy and elsewhere; significant, too, that of the other communities favoured under Augustus which were not situated on or close to the sea, Halaesa certainly and Segesta possibly went into decline later in the Empire; only Centuripe of the inland towns promoted by Augustus continued certainly to flourish in the second century, and the prosperity here was no doubt due to the exceptional fertility, renowned in antiquity, of her *territorium.*

Nor is there any evidence for a fall-off of building activity in the coastal towns in the second half of the first century or the first half of the second: it was now that many of them, in line with countless other towns in the Italian peninsula as well as in the provinces, were busy equipping themselves with the range of amenities that one comes to expect in any moderately prosperous Roman city of the middle empire in the central Mediterranean world. Marsala received an aqueduct in 84, and in the Flavio-Trajanic period the *scaenae frons* of Syracuse's theatre was modernised, the baths known as Sessanta Letti were probably first built, and the first phase of the 'Gymnasium' complex constructed. The enlargement of Termini Imerese's amphitheatre belongs to this period, and the forum of Catania probably too, while the major rehandling of the theatre may have been started late in Trajan's reign. A fine inscription of A.D. 103 at Tindari looks like a building slab, and the *sphaeristerium* at Centuripe may also be Trajanic or Hadrianic. Hadrian himself came to the island in 119, when he was honoured at Mazara, and again in 126, when coins describe him as *restitutor Siciliae,* probably a genuine reflection of his activity in the island rather than a meaningless propaganda gesture: the theatre and odeion at Taormina at least are very likely to be Hadrianic, but the public baths in their developed form there are probably either Trajanic or Antonine. Other major building projects around the middle of the second century include the theatre-temple complex in the 'Gymnasium' at Syracuse, a major rehandling of the forum there, the construction of the amphitheatre at Catania, a new branch of aqueduct at Termini Imerese, and the repair of a precinct of Cereres at Marsala (in 169/72), as well as various structures, including the Augustales building and possibly the grandiose nymphaeum, at Centuripe. To this catalogue of public building can be added signs of refurbishment in urban housing, such as the spacious second-century peristyle house at Taormina and mosaics (probably laid c. 180 – 200) at Tindari, Agrigento and Marsala. While the odd case of financial difficulty may have occurred during the 160s at Tindari and Catania, requiring the appointment of a *curator rei publicae,* and although at Tindari the apparent blocking-up of the city drains suggests a fall in the standards of civic maintenance, there is no certain evidence to suggest that any of the major towns under review (with the exceptions noted already, Halaesa, Solunto, possibly Segesta) were in a depressed state and in inexorable decline during the second century.[435] Even the abandonment of places such as Eloro and Solunto very probably represents a redistribution of population elsewhere, to the nucleated market settlements and scattered agricultural *borghi* in the valleys and along the main roads, rather than economic decline and depopulation in real terms.[436]

---

[433] Strabo VI.2.4.

[434] See pp. 210 – 11 of this volume.

Comparatively few new public buildings are known in Sicily for the whole of the third century, although exceptions include two sets of baths, a branch of aqueduct and probably the odeion at Catania, street paving and other repair at Marsala, refurbishment of the *bouleuterion* at Agrigento, and possibly the massive Naumachia reservoir at Taormina; but a marked fall-off of public building after the second century is also paralleled in Italy[437] and is probably to be explained by the lack of the need for any further amenities in most cities rather than by real economic decline. Rather private wealth, no longer finding an outlet in public munificence, now expressed itself by, for example, the considerable number of gaudy polychrome mosaics in private houses at Palermo, Marsala, Agrigento, Syracuse and elsewhere, or by the long series of expensive figured marble sarcophagi of which a majority in Sicily belong to the third century.

---

[435] *Pace* F. COARELLI op. cit. in n. 94, 380 – 2: *„i primi secoli dell'Impero rappresenteranno il periodo forse meno brillante per la civiltà urbana della Sicilia ... il livello più basso sembra coincidere con il II secolo"*. For a more balanced account of Sicilian urbanization, which accords much more closely with my own standpoint, see now D. ASHERI, Le città della Sicilia fra il III e IV secolo d. c., Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX, 1982 – 83, 461 – 76.

[436] Cf. especially WILSON, op. cit. in n. 432, 323 – 7.

For the fourth and fifth centuries the case for continuing prosperity and material well-being in all the major Sicilian cities is less compelling. Tindari was struck by an earthquake in the early fourth century when the houses in the excavated *insula* collapsed in ruins, never to be rebuilt, but the extent and consequences of this earthquake elsewhere in Sicily have yet to be ascertained, and although the earthquake has been adduced as the reason for fresh starts being made on sites such as the villa of Piazza Armerina and elsewhere,[438] there is little direct evidence of earthquake damage at this time apart from at Tindari. There was certainly plenty of building work going on in domestic quarters at Marsala, and the Constantinian governor of Sicily, Betitius Perpetuus, may well have promoted public as well as private construction projects among the activities which earned him the label of 'rejuvenator of all the cities of Sicily', but none of this need necessarily have been undertaken in the aftermath of earthquake damage.[439] Apart from the evidence for fresh building, including mosaics, at Marsala and neighbouring Mazara – two cities whose fortunes were closely bound up with north Africa, also flourishing at this time – and apart from the evidence from Lipari which suggests that its known houses were in continuous habitation and receiving periodic alterations and repairs during the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, the case for continuing prosperity elsewhere (except possibly at Catania and Syracuse) is harder to make. At Syracuse the industrial quarter in the villa Maria district became a necropolis in the late third century, and the domestic quarter near Piazza della Vittoria was in decline at the same time; when rebuilding took place here in the late fourth century, the line of the former east-west road was not respected. Syracuse, however, continued to have a large population in late Roman times, as her extensive catacombs so vividly attest, and fresh domestic building included a new peristyle house in corso Gelone later than the mid fourth century, and mosaics in another house (near the station) which may be as late as the fifth century; but it is possible that the size of the city had shrunk slightly since early imperial times. Certainly the theatre was still in use in the late fourth century when the *scaenae frons* was restored. Catania, too, shows signs of continued building activity in the fourth and fifth centuries: the Terme dell'Indirizzo were probably built now, the nymphaeum and the water supply were restored in the 370s, the Terme Achilliane restored in 434, and the theatre, too, was still functioning in the fifth century. Elsewhere, however, there is little evidence of late Roman activity. At Termini Imerese, Palermo, Centuripe and Taormina, all of which have produced hardly any late Roman inscriptions, there is an almost total blank in our record at present. At Agrigento there was apparently a late Roman repair to the *bouleuterion,* but the excavated housing quarter has produced little material for the later fourth and fifth centuries, when the city probably suffered from Vandal raids; burials inside the former line of the city walls were permitted by then, indicative of a city shrinking in size. At Tindari the erection of the grandiose 'Basilica' on the west side of the forum sometime in the late fourth century shows that not all civic pride had been lost, but that too was a shrinking city by the time of the late Empire. All the evidence points to the countryside enjoying an unparalleled era of material comfort and prosperity, and the decline of some towns may be directly linked to a desire on the part of its wealthy citizens to escape the burdens of city taxation by transferring their assets permanently to their country estates;[440] but more evidence, in the form of excavation in the towns, and of field-survey in the countryside, is needed before a fuller picture of the relationship between town and country at this period can be revealed. Marsala suffered (like Agrigento) from the Vandal raids of the fifth century, but Catania, Syracuse and Palermo survived to form the most important cities of Sicily when the island became a Byzantine province on its fall to Belisarius in 535.

---

[437] Cf. DUNCAN-JONES, op. cit. in n. 122, 352, table 12; R. MEIGGS, Roman Ostia, 2nd ed., Oxford 1973, 79.

[438] Cf. A. DI VITA, La villa di Piazza Armerina e l'arte musiva in Sicilia, Kokalos XVIII – XIX, 1972 – 73, 251 – 61, at 254 – 7.

[439] Another earthquake is supposed to have affected Sicily in 365 (so Libanius, Orationes XVIII.292), and some of the mid-fourth century rebuilding at Marsala (and secondary details at the Piazza Armerina villa such as the provision of buttresses) have been claimed as evidence for its after effects; but direct archaeological evidence for earthquake destruction at this time in Sicily has yet to be detected. A second earthquake, however, shook the Tindari area later, causing the 'Basilica' to collapse and also destroying the villa at Patti Marina nearby: this probably occurred sometime in the early fifth century.

List of Illustrations

I. Plates

I. 1	Taormina, Roman theatre, general view of *scaenae frons*
2	Taormina, Roman theatre, general view of *cavea*
II. 1	Taormina, Roman theatre, west hall from south
2	Taormina, Roman theatre, part of outer corridor at rear of *cavea*
III. 1	Taormina, the odeion
2	Taormina, fragment of calendar from Roman baths (Taormina theatre antiquarium)

---

[440] Cf. in brief, R. J. A. WILSON, Piazza Armerina, London 1983, 94–5, and in greater detail in my forthcoming book, 'Sicily under the Roman Empire'. For this period in general see most recently L. CRACCO RUGGINI, Sicilia, III–V secolo: il volto della noncittà, Kokalos XXVIII–XXIX, 1982–83, 477–515.

IV. 1 Taormina, the ‘Naumachia’
2 Taormina, Roman tomb, casa Fontana Vecchia
V. 1 Syracuse, Roman amphitheatre, general view from north
2 Syracuse, plan of amphitheatre
VI. 1 Syracuse, marble fragment from Piazza Duomo
2 Syracuse, ‘Gymnasium’, detail of entablature of the Roman temple
VII. 1 Syracuse, Grotticelli necropolis, rock-cut tomb
2 S. Maria di Licodia, fragment of Roman aqueduct
VIII. 1 Catania, Roman theatre, general view of *cavea*
2 Catania, Roman theatre, the *summa cavea*
IX Catania, Roman theatre, architectural ornament of the *scaenae frons*
X. 1 Catania, Roman amphitheatre
2 Catania, the Julius Paternus inscription (CIL X, 7024, Castello Ursino Museum)
XI Catania, the odeion
XII. 1 Catania, the *nymphaeum* inscription, side 1 (IG XIV, 453, Castello Ursino Museum)
2 Catania, *nymphaeum* inscription, side 2 (CIL X, 7017, Castello Ursino Museum)
XIII Catania, Terme dell'Indirizzo, general view
XIV. 1 Catania, dedication to the Genius of the city (CIL X, 7014, Castello Ursino Museum)
2 Tindari, *insula* IV, casa C, collapsed peristyle debris, during excavation
XV. 1 Tindari, ‘Basilica’, general view from north
2 Tindari, ‘Basilica’, detail of south passageway and ramp, from west
XVI. 1 Termini Imerese, Roman aqueduct in contrada Mazzarino
2 Termini Imerese, Roman aqueduct in contrada Figurella
XVII Palermo, house in villa Bonanno gardens, mosaic of Orpheus (Palermo Museum)
XVIII. 1 Palermo, inscription of the animal show (CIL X, 7295, Palermo Museum)
2 Palermo, dedication to Iulia Mammaea, A.D. 195 (CIL X, 7272, Palermo Museum)
XIX. 1 Marsala, Cape Boeo, mosaic of Medusa
2 Marsala, Cape Boeo, mosaic of the animals
XX. 1 Messina, via Garibaldi, fragmentary black-and-white mosaic (Messina Museum)
2 Halaesa, general view of stoa
XXI. 1 Agrigento, ‘hellenistic-Roman quarter’, ‘Casa del criptoportico’
2 Agrigento, marble cornice at S. Nicola
XXII Centuripe, Roman building in contrada Bagni

Plates III.2, V.2, VI.1 and XIV.2 were kindly supplied by the Soprintendenza archeologica, Syracuse, and pl. XVII and XVIII.1 – 2 by the Soprintendenza archeologica, Palermo. Pl. IX is taken from SERRADIFALCO, Antichità della Sicilia, V, 1842, pl. V. The remaining photographs are by the author. Pl. X.2, XII.1 – 2 and XIV.1 appear by kind permission of the Director of the Castello Ursino Museum. The ranging pole which appears in some of the photographs is divided into foot measures, not half metres. The Figures were drawn by Mrs. M. LYONS.

II. Figures

Fig. 1 (p. 91) Sicily, general map showing location of the towns
Fig. 2 (p. 102) Taormina, general plan
Fig. 3 (p. 103) Taormina, plan of Roman theatre
Fig. 4 (p. 106) Taormina, plan of Roman baths

Fig. 5 (p. 110) Taormina, plan of Roman tomb I in the garden of casa Fontana Vecchia
Fig. 6 (p. 112) Syracuse, general plan
Fig. 7 (p. 115) Syracuse, plan of portico on west side of Altar of Hieron
Fig. 8 (p. 118) Syracuse, plan of 'Gymnasium'
Fig. 9 (p. 124) Catania, general plan
Fig. 10 (p. 130) Catania, plan of Terme della Rotunda, with sketch-plan (lower) of earlier structures below
Fig. 11 (p. 131) Catania, plan of Terme dell'Indirizzo
Fig. 12 (p. 134) Catania, plan of Terme Achilliane
Fig. 13 (p. 137) Tindari, general plan
Fig. 14 (p. 138) Tindari, plan of shops and houses in *insula* IV
Fig. 15 (p. 141) Tindari, plan of baths in *insula* IV
Fig. 16 (p. 145) Termini Imerese, general plan
Fig. 17 (p. 146) Termini Imerese, plan of stoa
Fig. 18 (p. 154) Palermo, general plan
Fig. 19 (p. 156) Palermo, plan of Roman house in the villa Bonanno gardens
Fig. 20 (p. 159) Marsala, general plan
Fig. 21 (p. 179) Agrigento, plan of 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter

The author wishes to acknowledge a grant from the School of Classics, Trinity College, Dublin, towards the cost of illustrations for this paper.

Trade and Industry in Sicily during the Roman Empire

by R. J. A. Wilson, Dublin

Contents

I. Basic products of the land 210

II. Minerals 217

III. The stone and marble industries 221

- 1. Local building stones 221
- 2. Marbles, local and imported 223
- 3. Carving in stone and marble 227
- 4. Mosaics 233

IV. Clay products 239

- 1. Pottery: the fine wares 239
- 2. Pottery: other wares 256
- 3. *Amphorae* 263
- 4. Lamps 275
- 5. Brick and tile 285

V. Glassware 288

VI. Metalware and jewellery 296

VII. Summary 301

List of Illustrations 304

No general survey of the trade and industry of Sicily during imperial times has appeared since the account of V. M. SCRAMUZZA, published in 1937[1],

---

[1] V. M. SCRAMUZZA, Roman Sicily, in: Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, ed. by T. FRANK, III, Baltimore 1937, 343–77, hereafter abbreviated as SCRAMUZZA, ESAR. The following works have also been abbreviated in the references:

BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER	= L. BERNABÒ BREA and M. CAVALIER, Meligunìs Lipára, II, Palermo 1965.
HAYES, LRP	= J. W. HAYES, Late Roman Pottery, London 1972.
LIBERTINI, MB	= G. LIBERTINI, Il Museo Biscari, Rome 1930.

and a fresh review taking account of the archaeological discoveries of the past fifty years is overdue. Some of the archaeological material included below is still unpublished, and I must therefore express my profound gratitude to Professors E. de Miro, G. Voza and V. Tusa and their staff at the three Sicilian Soprintendenze archeologiche[2] for providing generous facilities for studying it in advance of their own definitive publications. Full use has also been made of the literary evidence of imperial date; but such writings sometimes drew on sources of Republican or earlier date and so not all the

---

Pace, ACSA = B. Pace, Arte e Civiltà della Sicilia Antica, 4 volumes, Rome and Naples 1936–1949, second edition of Volume 1, 1958.
Tusa, Sarcofagi = V. Tusa, I sarcofagi romani in Sicilia, Palermo 1957.

Abbreviations for periodicals are those adopted by l'Année Philologique, LIV, 1983, xv–xxxvi, with the following exceptions and additions:

ACIAC = Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Cristiana
V (Vatican–Paris 1957)
VI (Rome 1965)
VII (Vatican–Berlin 1969)
IX (Rome 1978)
ACNAC = Atti del Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana
I (Rome 1952)
II (Rome 1971)
III (Trieste 1974)
AE = L'Année Epigraphique
ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano
ASSir = Archivio Storico Siracusano
ASSO = Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale
AZDA = Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti degli Zelanti e dei Dafnici di Acireale
BdA = Bollettino d'Arte
CronASA = Cronache di archeologia e di storia d'arte
FA = Fasti Archeologici
Mon.Ant. = Monumenti Antichi, Accademia dei Lincei
NSc = Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità
Sic.Arch. = Sicilia Archeologica

This article was originally written in 1977, but I have attempted to update it (in 1986) before publication; it has not, however, proved possible to add to the location map (Fig. 1) the find-spots of the recent discoveries now included in text and notes. For the lesser-known places, the modern *provincie* in which they are situated are indicated in abbreviated form, as follows: AG (Agrigento), CL (Caltanissetta), CT (Catania), EN (Enna), ME (Messina), PA (Palermo), RG (Ragusa), SR (Syracuse) and TP (Trapani).

[2] Especially G. Fiorentini (Agrigento), C. A. di Stefano (Palermo), and G. M. Bacci (Syracuse). I am also grateful for help of various kinds to E. Joly (Palermo), A. M. Fallico and G. Manganaro (Catania), the late S. Ciancio (Avola), L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier (Lipari), P. Pelagatti (Rome), J. W. Hayes (Toronto), A. J. Parker (Bristol), D. M. Bailey (London), the late M. Frederiksen (Oxford), the late J. B. Ward Perkins (Cirencester), the late J. M. C. Toynbee (Oxford), M. Fulford (Reading), P. Kenrick (Abingdon), D. P. S. Peacock (Southampton), and D. B. Harden (London).

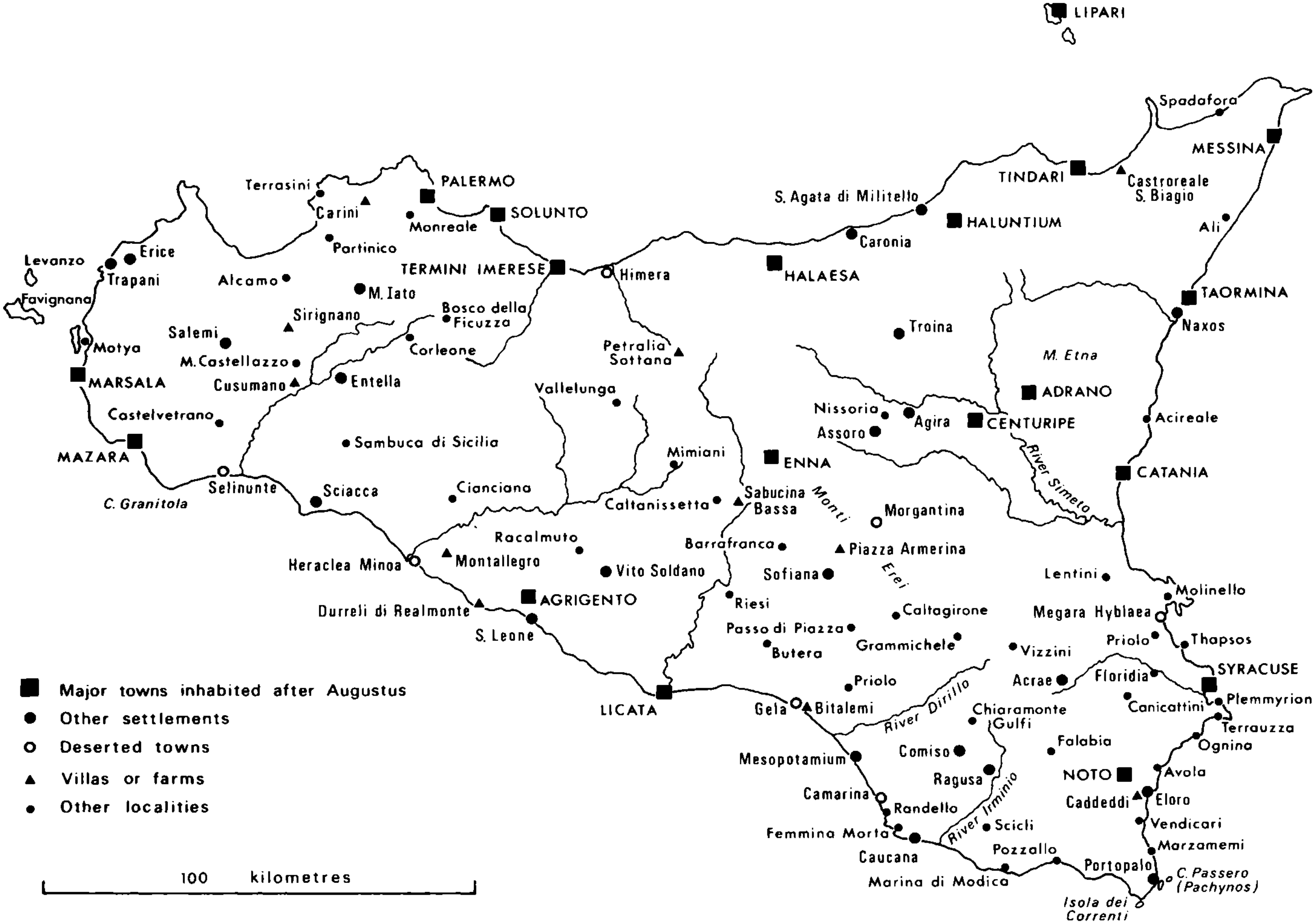

LIPARI
Spadafora
MESSINA
TINDARI
Castroreale S. Biagio
Ali
S. Agata di Militello
HALUNTIUM
Caronia
TAORMINA
Naxos
HALAESA
Troina
M. Etna
ADRANO
Acireale
Nissoria
Agira
CENTURIPE
Assoro
River Simeto
CATANIA
ENNA
Monti Erei
Morgantina
Sabucina Bassa
Caltanissetta
Barrafranca
Piazza Armerina
Sofiana
Lentini
Molinello
Megara Hyblaea
Priolo
Thapsos
SYRACUSE
Plemmyrion
Riesi
Caltagirone
Passo di Piazza
Butera
Grammichele
Vizzini
Priolo
Acrae
Floridia
Canicattini
Terrauzza
Ognina
Gela
Bitalemi
River Dirillo
Chiaramonte Gulfi
Falabia
Comiso
NOTO
Avola
Mesopotamium
Ragusa
Caddeddi
Eloro
Camarina
Randello
River Irminio
Scicli
Vendicari
Femmina Morta
Caucana
Pozzallo
Marzamemi
Marina di Modica
Portopalo
C. Passero (Pachynos)
Isola dei Correnti
LICATA
Terrasini
Carini
PALERMO
SOLUNTO
Monreale
Partinico
Levanzo
Erice
Trapani
Favignana
Alcamo
M. Iato
TERMINI IMERESE
Himera
Sirignano
Bosco della Ficuzza
Salemi
Motya
M. Castellazzo
Corleone
Petralia Sottana
MARSALA
Cusumano
Entella
Vallelunga
Castelvetrano
Sambuca di Sicilia
Mimiani
MAZARA
Selinunte
C. Granitola
Sciacca
Cianciana
Racalmuto
Heraclea Minoa
Montallegro
Vito Soldano
AGRIGENTO
Durreli di Realmonte
S. Leone
■ Major towns inhabited after Augustus
● Other settlements
○ Deserted towns
▲ Villas or farms
• Other localities
100 kilometres

Fig. 1. Sicily, map showing location of principal places mentioned in the text

information to be gleaned from them is necessarily relevant to conditions in Sicily under the Empire. The chronological limits of this survey are 36 B.C. (Octavian's occupation of Sicily) and A.D. 535 (Belisarius' conquest of the island for Byzantium), but neither date represents a strong cultural break and some material from both the late Republican and the early Byzantine periods has also been included.

I. Basic products of the land

Undoubtedly the most important commodity which Sicily produced during the Roman Empire was grain, and this formed the basis of her prosperity then as it had done under the Republic. While Africa and Egypt now exceeded Sicily in the amount of corn shipped to Rome, it is clear from what limited documentary evidence there is that Sicily was still a major exporter during the Roman Empire. Coinage continues to use the motif of Sicilian grain, such as an Augustan coin of the Palermo mint with a bust of Ceres, or the issues of the African pretender Clodius Macer, in 68; and it features too on the imperial coinage of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.[3] The well-known mosaic from the Terme Distrutte at Ostia, laid c. A.D. 40/50, shows Sicily along with Egypt, Africa and Spain as the major wheat-producing countries.[4] Scattered literary sources referring to Sicilian fertility, especially in grain, include Strabo in the first century, Aelius Aristides in the second century, the fourth-century poet Prudentius, and the pamphlet of the same date known as the 'Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium', although to some extent these were no doubt repeating stock literary clichés.[5] But in the fifth century Sicilian grain became once more of paramount importance to Rome, when Vandal control of Africa cut off that major source of supply; and the renewed importance of Sicilian grain is reflected in various passages in Procopius describing Belisarius' operations in the island in the sixth century.[6]

---

[3] C. H. V. Sutherland and C. Kraay, Catalogue of Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum I, Oxford 1975, no. 1088 (Palermo); H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, Roman Imperial Coinage II, London 1926, 450, 456, 467 (Hadrian); ibid. III, London 1930, 106–7 (Antoninus Pius); C. H. V. Sutherland, ed., Roman Imperial Coinage, I, 2nd. ed., London 1984, 195 (Macer). On the corn supply, see G. Rickman, Roman Granaries and Store Buildings, Cambridge 1971, 307–9; and Id., The Corn Supply of Ancient Rome, Oxford 1980, esp. 64–5, 104–6. The recent attempt of E. Gabba (La Sicilia romana, in: M. H. Crawford, ed., L'impero romano e le strutture economiche e sociali delle provincie, Como 1986, 71–85, at 79–80; cf. also Id., in: Kokalos XXVIII–XXIX, 1982–83, 524–5) to downgrade Sicily's importance as a grain-producer in the early Empire seems to me to be unwarranted.

[4] G. Becatti, Scavi di Ostia IV, Rome 1961, no. 68 and pl. CXXIII, cf. no. 275 and pl. CXXXIV (Hadrianic, from the Terme della Trinacria).

[5] Strabo VI 2.7; Aelius Aristides, εἰς Ῥώμην, 12; Prudentius, contra Symmachum II. 937–45; Expositio ... ch. lxv (ed. Rougé 1966).

About the organization of grain collection and distribution we have virtually no information. Presumably it was taken from the individual villas and farms to the market settlements on the main roads, and thence by waggon to the ports; certainly river transport was out of the question, as there are no navigable rivers in Sicily, except for the Simeto in the plain of Catania, and that only for part of the year. In the major cities on the coast there may have been special municipal magistrates in charge of the entry and export of cereals, such as are attested at Taormina during the Republican period,[7] but this responsibility may have been assumed by city aediles during the Empire. One man, C. Vibius Salutaris, is known from an inscription, set up at his home town of Ephesus, to have been *promagister frumenti mancipalis provinciae Siciliae* during the reign of Domitian. It is unclear whether he was concerned only with corn from the *ager publicus,* or whether he was appointed by the *praefectus annonae*'s office in Rome with local responsibility for co-ordinating the Sicilian corn-supply and its shipment to Rome.[8] Salutaris was also at some stage responsible for Sicilian harbour dues, as he is also described as *promag(ister) provinc(iae) portus Siciliae.*

The main wheat-growing areas of antiquity were probably much the same as they are today, especially the rolling clay hills of the interior; but the plain of Catania, where grainfields are less common now, was rated by Pliny, along with Baetica and Egypt, as having one of the highest wheat-yields in the entire Roman Empire.[9] Most of the wheat was probably the autumn-sown durum variety, the *triticum,* but Pliny mentions a spring wheat from the hilly areas of Sicily, which ripened in only two months (*bimestre*).[10] This variety, however, is unlikely to have been cultivated very extensively: today it forms less than 2% of the wheat grown in the island, which is predominantly a rather poor-quality *durum.*

The other major agricultural produce for which Sicily was famous was wine. Of the many Sicilian vintages referred to by Roman writers, the most respected was Mamertine from north-eastern Sicily. This was widely exported, not only to tables at Rome, but to Africa as well.[11] A similar wine came from Taormina, and this was also exported: *amphorae* have been found at Pompeii with inscriptions painted on their necks, *TAVR* followed by initials such as C.C.R., CC PR and M.M.D.F.; these last are probably abbreviations of the names of the different *mercatores*.[12] Vinum Murgentinum from central Sicily was popular enough for experiments to be carried out with transplanted shoots in Campania.[13] The lower slopes of Etna were no doubt vine-clad, and Dioscurides mentions a wine from Adrano which was rather bitter, while from the Syracuse region came another variety, the Pollian.[14] Pliny also mentions a rather sweet wine from Haluntium on the north coast,[15] but the wines of western Sicily receive no mention in our sources, apart from a single reference in Silius Italicus to the produce of Entella.[16] The final known Sicilian vintage of imperial times is attested only epigraphically, from painted inscriptions on *amphorae* found at Pompeii, Carthage, and as far north as Vindonissa.[17] The Carthage example reads *Q. Lepido. M. Lollio cos | AV | vinum mesopotamium | V. Afranio Silvio*, indicating a consular date of 20 B.C.; V. Afranius Silvius is probably the *mercator*. 'Mesopotamio' is recorded in the 'Antonine Itinerary' on the Agrigento-Syracuse coastal route, so this wine came from somewhere south-east of Gela, probably between the Dirillo and Hippari valleys.[18] Further evidence for the Sicilian wine industry, in the form of *amphorae*, will be discussed below (p. 264 f.).

---

[6] Procopius BG III.16.16, cf. I.14.17, II.24.14; III.6.15, 16.20, 19.14.

[7] The σιτοφύλακες and ἀγέρται of IG XIV, 423.

[8] CIL III, 14195, 9 = AE 1899, 64 (A.D. 103/4). For the man, PIR III, V 397, and see the discussion of Rickman, Corn Supply (op. cit. in n. 3), 84. For activity initiated or approved by the *praefectus annonae* at Punta Secca, perhaps in the early third century, see G. Manganaro in: D. Papenfuss and V. M. Strocka, ed., Palast und Hütte, Mainz 1982, 496–7, with pl. I.

[9] Pliny NH XVIII.95 (the *campus Leontinus;* cf. Diodorus V.2.4. and Cicero ii in Verr. III. 18.47, who calls it the *caput rei frumentariae*).

[10] Pliny NH XVIII. 70; for the autumn wheat, ibid. 66, where the type used in Sicily is rated in weight as equal third with Alexandrian, lighter than the wheats of Baetica and Africa. For a discussion of wheat varieties, see N. Jasny, Wheats of Classical Antiquity, Baltimore 1944, esp. 71–3, 79 and 93–4. For two species of *triticum* in fifth-century levels at Montallegro (AG), R. J. A. Wilson, op. cit. (infra, n. 19), 18.

Other archaeological evidence of the Sicilian wine industry is negligible. Wine-vats were found in buildings erected in the third or fourth century over the ruins of the Greek town at Megara Hyblaea and in the fourth-century villa at Patti Marina (ME), and grape pips were among the seeds identified from a site near Montallegro (Agrigento), probably of the early fifth century.[19] Some rough-hewn rock-cut basins (arranged in pairs), found near Petralia Sottana and believed also to be of late Roman date, were probably also used for treading grapes, although the excavator interpreted them in the context of olive oil production.[20] Another group of vats, excavated near Acireale, is of uncertain purpose. Two rows of four ovoid basins, each 1.50 m. in diameter and up to 1.10 m. deep, were uncovered, each lined with hard pink watertight mortar suggestive of a Roman date. They may have been used to store a liquid substance such as wine or oil, but it is more likely that they held grain.[21]

---

[11] Rome: Strabo VI.2.3; Pliny NH XIV.66 and 97; Vitruvius VIII.3.12; Martial XIII.117; Dioscurides V.6.11; Athenaeus I.27 d. Africa: CIL VIII, 22640, 60.

[12] CIL IV, 2618, 5563–8; for the NSc references, PACE, ACSA I^2, 400, n. 2. and cf. M. DELLA CORTE, Publius Paquius Proculus, JRS XVI, 1926, 145–54 at 153–4 and J. DAY, Agriculture in the life of Pompeii, Yale Classical Studies III, 1932, 194.

[13] Pliny NH XIV.35.

[14] Dioscurides V.6.7, possibly identical with a version of the Aminean (Galen X. 634–5), a vine which was widely transplanted: see B. LIOU and R. MARICHAL, Les inscriptions sur amphoras de l'anse St. Gervais à Fosse-sur-mer, Archaeonautica II, 1978, 109–83, at 145–7; RE I, 1836 (Adrano); Pollux, Onom. VI.16, Athenaeus I. 31 b; Aelian, VH XII.31 (Pollian).

[15] NH XIV.80.

[16] XIV.204.

[17] Pompeii: CIL IV, 2602–3. Vindonissa: M. H. CALLENDER, Roman Amphorae, Oxford 1965, 37. Carthage: CIL VIII, 22640, 8 = AE 1893, 111, cf. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, Le vinum Mesopotamium, CRAI XXI, 1893, 240–3.

[18] Perhaps at Berdia Vecchia or Alcerito; for the area in detail, G. UGGERI, Edizione Archeologica della Carta d'Italia, Foglio 275 (Scoglitti), Florence 1974. *AV* may be an abbreviation for the estate name or its owner, as it occurs on tile stamps from the region: WILSON, infra n. 374, 27, fig. 2.2, nos. 15–16. Mesopotamium: It. Ant. 96.1.

Equally meagre is evidence for olive culture. There are no literary references to Sicilian olives after Republican times, and remarkably little archaeological evidence has so far been identified. A number of press bases (*arae*) have now been recognised, not always in closely dated contexts, and these may well have been used in olive oil production; but their use in wine presses is also possible. Examples which may be of imperial date include one in contrada Falabia in the Tellaro valley in south-east Sicily, another in contrada Gaddini near Sciacca (AG), and a third now lying at the 'Gymnasium' site at Syracuse; there are examples at the town-sites of Halaesa and Tripi (both ME); and others are reported from Ustica and from the fourth-century villa in contrada Caddeddi, also on the Tellaro. The most remarkable of such press-bases, discovered at Agrigento in 1973, had clearly been robbed from some other monument and then re-used as a press-block: three of its sides bore a relief frieze, probably of mid-imperial date, depicting scenes of combat between men and animals.[22] More certainly connected with the production of olive oil is the olive crusher (*trapetum*), of which at least three examples have been recorded in Sicily, and the oil-separating vat, usually provided with a step in one corner to ease the process of skimming off the oil on the surface. An example of the latter, of fourth- or early fifth-century A.D. date, was excavated near Montallegro in 1980, and two cement-lined basins excavated near Avola (Syracuse) in the 1960s may also have been olive oil separating vats, although neither date nor purpose was clearly established at the time.[23] Weight-stones which helped to haul down the horizontal wooden beam of the olive-press of lever type have also been noted at the Montallegro site already mentioned and at two sites in the Belice valley further west.[24] This comparative paucity of evidence from Sicily is in marked contrast with the island of Malta, where plentiful evidence for olive pippers and presses of this date has been found.[25]

---

[19] R. J. A. Wilson, Una villa romana a Montallegro (Agrigento), Sic. Arch. XV, 48, 1982, 7–20; G. Vallet, F. Villard and P. Auberson, Megara Hyblaea 3: Guide des Fouilles, Rome 1983, 93–4, with fig. 63.

[20] P. Mingazzini, Petralia Sottana. Avanzi di villa rustica in contrada Muratore, NSc 1940, 227–33.

[21] V. La Rosa, Un rudere in via dell'Asilo ad Aciplatani (Acireale), AZDA II, 1972, 379–86, cf. similar basins at Acrae (0.60–1.10 m. deep), of late Roman or Byzantine date, associated with remains of corn-mills (scene building of the Greek theatre: L. Bernabò Brea, Akrai, Catania 1956, 36–7).

[22] Falabia: A. Curcio, Resti di fattorie antiche nella vallata del Tellaro, Sic. Arch. XII, 41, 1979, 79–90, at 82; Gaddini: P. Tirnetta, Sciacca. Insediamenti rurali di età greca e romana nel territorio, Kokalos XXIV, 1978, 156–74, at 164; Syracuse, Tripi, Halaesa: unpublished; Ustica: G. Mannino, Ustica: risultati di esplorazioni archeologiche, Sic. Arch. XII, 41, 1979, 7–40, at 32; Caddeddi: S. L. Agnello, La villa romana di contrada Caddeddi, appunto bibliografico, ASSir I, 1971, 145–7; Agrigento: unpublished.

Citrus fruits are unlikely to have played an important part in the Sicilian economy in antiquity: by contrast today the island produces 70% of the entire Italian output, especially oranges and lemons. The latter are known at Pompeii, but were not widely cultivated in antiquity; the former was an introduction of the Arabs.[26] The only Sicilian fruits mentioned in sources of imperial date are almonds, plums and quinces; Sicilian quince-juice in particular was highly esteemed abroad for its medicinal value.[27]

Timber provided another not inconsiderable economic asset. Today only a few pockets of trees remain, covering a mere 4% of the total area of the island. The largest is the Caronia forest near the mid-point of the north coast, where the wood is mainly oak and beech, mixed with some ash and elm; this is a fragment of the vast tract of forest that once covered the length of the Nebrodi mountains.[28] Further west there were more forests on the mountain-slopes in the hinterland of Palermo, but again only a tiny portion remains today, the Bosco di Ficuzza, 28 km. south of the city; the trees here are mainly oak, chestnut, ash, elm, maple and cork. The Heraean range of hills in central southern Sicily, another heavily wooded area in antiquity (Diodorus admired its oaks), has now been almost entirely stripped of its trees, although a large area around Piazza Armerina has been replanted in recent years. The pine forests of mount Etna have suffered less, but here too large tracts, especially on the south and east, have been totally eradicated.[29] No doubt the felling, transportation and sale of timber was a major industry in Sicily during the Roman period as before, and a financial inscription from Taormina, attributable to the period of the Civil Wars, refers to the 'export of wood',[30] but there is no specific evidence for the imperial period that Sicilian timber was reaching an overseas market. A cooper at Catania no doubt fashioned timber from mount Etna into barrels to hold the local wine, and carpenters are recorded at Priolo near Syracuse (his tombstone is one of very few of imperial date in Sicily with any form of relief sculpture: Plate I. 1) and on a metrical inscription at Centuripe.[31]

---

[23] Montallegro: WILSON, op. cit. in n. 19, 11–12, 16; Avola: M. T. CURRÒ, Complesso agricolo romano in contrada S. Marco, BdA^5 LI, 1966, 94. Crushers: CURCIO, op. cit. (n. 22), 79 and 81; villa at Patti Marina (ME), west wing, unpublished.

[24] Montallegro: WILSON, op. cit. in n. 19, 16–17 with fig. 11. Belice sites (Cusumano and near Partanna): G. FALSONE, La fattoria romana di Cusumano, Sic. Arch. IX, 31, 1976, 27–38, at 31, where the blocks are incorrectly interpreted as the anchor bases for the two uprights at the other end of the press.

[25] A. BONANNO, Distribution of villas and some aspects of the Maltese economy in the Roman period, Journal of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Malta VI, 1977, 73–81, esp. 73–5 (map of olive-press distribution on p. 76). Cf. also D. H. TRUMP, Malta. An archaeological guide, London 1972, 109, 133, 150. For the export of Sicilian saffran oil (*crocina sicula*) to Pompei in the first century A.D., see AE 1974, 269.

[26] Sicily: J. M. HOUSTON, The Western Mediterranean World, London 1964, 537. Pompeii: W. F. JASHEMSKY, Gardens of Vesuvius, New York 1979, 79, fig. 126 (p. 78) and 296; cf. also S. TOLKOWSKY, Hesperides. A history of the Culture and Use of Citrus Fruits, London 1938, 95–111.

[27] Athenaeus II.49f (plums), 52b–c (almonds); Pliny NH XXIII.103. For other Sicilian plants, SCRAMUZZA, ESAR III, 275–6 (some references erroneous).

[28] Silius Italicus XIV.236–7. For timber in ancient Sicily as a whole, see PACE, ACSA I^2, 407–11, and for a collection of references, mostly relevant to the Republican period, see SCRAMUZZA, ESAR III, 276–7. On Sicilian forests in antiquity, G. LAURE, I boschi siciliani nella preistoria, nella storia, nell'attualità, Monte e Boschi IV, 1953, 253–61, and ID., Produttività montana e arido-selvicoltura mediterranea della Sicilia, ibid. XI, 1960, 253–61.

Of Sicilian livestock cattle, sheep and horses were the most important, and provided the province with further export commodities. Strabo says that the island supplied Italy with 'cattle, hides, wool and the like'.[32] Sicilian horses were especially prized. Vegetius mentions Sicily along with Cappadocia, Spain and Africa as the best sources for circus ponies, and the province appears again in the list for the best mounts, together with Persia, Armenia and Epirus.[33] In particular the reputation of Sicilian horses and charioteers in the circuses of Italy seems to have been high, especially in the late Empire. Gordian made a present of one hundred Sicilian steeds to the circus factions; and Symmachus in 401 arranged for Sicilian charioteers to be sent via Campania to Rome.[34] The horses of the island are also noted by the 'Expositio Totius Mundi' as well as by Procopius.[35] Wool was another important product of the farming economy, and it is mentioned along with grain and pack-animals as the principal *negotia utilia* in the fourth-century 'Expositio'. Indeed flocks of sheep were a familiar part of the Sicilian landscape from well before our period; the Sicilian shepherd had already passed into literature as one of the stock figures of bucolic poetry. Strabo also mentions that the sheep grew so fat in the regions round Etna that they had to be bled from time to time to prevent them suffocating.[36] The weaving of cloth was no doubt a common household industry, as suggested by numerous clay loom-weights from the 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter at Agrigento as well as from many other Roman sites.[37] A catacomb inscription at Syracuse records Zosime who was a τριμιταρία, a maker of thrice-woven fabrics, and at Agrigento evidence for the fulling of cloth has also been found.[38] Syracuse in the late Empire had a state-controlled dye-works under the supervision of a *procurator bafii,* and one of its employees may have been the Σαλάτε πορφυρονίτες recorded on another catacomb tablet from there.[39] The Sicilian cloth-industry may therefore have been of some importance, but it is unknown if any manufactured goods were produced for export. Finer fabrics were no doubt imported, as the tombstone of an Alexandrian linen-merchant at Palermo (of the early Byzantine period) would suggest.[40]

---

[29] Bosco di Ficuzza: Touring Club Italiano, Guida di Sicilia^5, Milan 1968, 288 – 9 (cf. Silius Italicus XIV. 237 and 302 – 15). Heraean range: Guida di Sicilia^5, 95; Diodorus IV.84.1. Etna: Strabo VI.2.8.

[30] ξύλων ἐξαγωγάς: G. MANGANARO, Iscrizioni latine e greche dal nuovo edificio termale di Taormina, CronASA III, 1964, 42 – 52, col. II, lines 25 – 6.

[31] Catania: CIL X, 7040, the tombstone of L. Cornelius Campester, *cuparius*. Priolo: P. ORSI, NSc 1891, 359 – 61, republished by G. MANGANARO in: Helikon II, 1962, 499 – 500. Below the inscription is carved a large wheel against which a man is leaning; below him is a tiny figure (? his slave) holding a sack (?), and below again is a plane and a very large axe. Centuripe: REG LXVI, 1953, 210 – 11 (Bull. Ep. no. 279), originally published by G. LIBERTINI, Sic. Gymn, II, 1949, 94 – 5.

[32] VI.2.7. Cattle, sheep and horses were the animals on Grosphus' Sicilian estates: Horace, Carm. II.16.33 – 7.

[33] Vegetius, Ars Mulomedicina III.6.4. On horses in general, cf. J. M. C. TOYNBEE, Animals in Roman Life and Art, London 1973, 167 – 85.

[34] SHA, Gord. IV.5; Symmachus Ep. VI.33 and 42. Cf. also CIL V, 4512. A fourth-century medallion depicting a horse labelled '*Seracusus*' is interpreted by PACE, ACSA I^2, 414, fig. 172, as 'the Syracusan', but this is far from certain (*Syracusius*, *Syracosius* or *Syracusanus* would be more normal adjectival forms).

[35] Expositio, LXV; Procopius BG III.40.19.

Fishing was another occupation which had more than purely local importance. Juvenal in particular mentions that fish caught in Sicilian waters were regularly supplying the markets of Rome, including mullet from Taormina and lamprey, of which Sicily supplied the biggest.[41] The Sicilians also tried their hand at manufacturing a version of the *garum* sauce, for the series of tanks located in four separate places in Sicily were clearly used as fish-fattening pools for *garum* production. At Portopalo (SR), at the south-east tip of the island, eight tanks, all partly destroyed by marine erosion, have long been visible on the edge of the beach facing Passero island. They are rectangular, of varying sizes, and are built of stone and brick pieces bound in a hard white mortar, originally covered with a red mortar rendering which survives in only a few places. A storm in 1981 revealed more, so that it is now known that there were at least twelve rectangular basins arranged in groups of four bordering the edge of a large courtyard where the fish sauce was probably made. The discovery provides archaeological confirmation of the reputation of Pachynus (= Portopalo) as a tunney-fishing centre noted in the ancient sources.[42] Famous today for tunney is Favignana, one of the Egadi islands off the west coast, and both there and on neighbouring Levanzo series of rectangular rock-cut basins lined with cement have been identified as fish-tanks of the Roman period, while a further group of twelve has been noted at Tonnaro di S. Vito Lo Capo (TP), and others are suspected at Isola delle Femmine (PA) and Tonnara del Cofano (TP).[43]

---

[36] VI.2.3 The importance of sheep/goats in the pastoral economy is suggested also by the finds at Castagna, AG: R. J. A. WILSON, Un insediamento agricolo romano a Castagna, AG, Sic. Arch. XVIII, 57–8, 1985, 11–35.

[37] Agrigento Museum, room VII, case 70 and many in reserve collection: most are plain or with simple geometric decoration (e.g. concentric circles) or flower motifs. Other loom-weights, also unpublished: Caltanissetta Museum (inv. 1660, 1664–6, from Sabucina Bassa, CL); Castroreale S. Biagio villa, ME (also four examples, one decorated with a comic mask); Castagna, AG (decorated with a five-petal design).

[38] NSc 1895, 482, no. 159 (Syracuse). Agrigento: information from Professor E. DE MIRO.

[39] Notitia Dignitatum, Occ. XI.68; S. L. AGNELLO, Silloge di iscrizioni paleocristiane della Sicilia, Rome 1953, no. 42.

[40] CIL X, 7330, A.D. 602; commentary in L. BIVONA, Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1970, no. 37.

[41] Juvenal V.92–3, 99–100; cf. Martial XIII.80.1 and Quintilian Inst. Or. VI.3.80. See also SCRAMUZZA, ESAR III, 283–5 and PACE ACSA I^{2}, 430–7.

II. Minerals

Sicily is not rich in mineral resources. Deposits of lead and iron have been reported in the Peloritani, especially near Alì (between Messina and Taormina), and a pyrite mine, perhaps gold-bearing, has been located in the same area, but the Roman date of these workings has not been established for certain. An Arab historian wrote of a gold mine near Taormina and of iron-ore in the mountains behind Messina. Iron slag has also been found at Agrigento, Selinunte and Erice, presumably derived from local ores, but again the date is uncertain. Slag and smelting furnaces have been reported near Barrafranca (EN), close to a building which produced material from the hellenistic to the late Roman period, and a small-scale smithing furnace with remains of hammer scale is also known at the site near Montallegro (AG), inserted in an abandoned oil-separating vat in the later fifth century.[44] The first-century writer Dioscurides says that lead was mined in Sicily, but he does not specify where.[45] The only lead pigs from the island, the ten found at Cianciana (AG), do not belong to the imperial period, nor are they of Sicilian lead: they bear an anchor-motif and the stamp *L. PLAN L.F.*, also found on pigs in the Mahdia shipwreck, and thus probably of the first half of the first century B.C. Identical pigs are also recorded from Italy, France and Spain; their most likely origin is from the Spanish lead-mines.[46]

---

[42] Solinus V.6, cf. Athenaeus I.4c. The long-visible basins are unpublished, but their existence was noted by P. Orsi (NSc 1898, 36). From north to south the dimensions are (in metres): (i) 1.09 by at least 0.53 by 1.0, (ii) 1.02 by at least 0.48 by at least 0.63 (iii) at least 2.05 by 1.22 by 1.0, (iv) 2.52 by 1.98; depth unknown (still buried), (v) 0.50 by at least 0.45; depth unknown, (vi) fragmentary (vii) 1.73 by 0.84 by 0.81 (viii) 1.83 by at least 1.32, by at least 1.83. For the recent discoveries, G. M. Bacci, Antico stabilimento per la pesca e la lavorazione del tonno presso Portopalo, Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX, 1982 – 83, 345 – 7.

[43] Favignana: A. M. Bisi, Favignana e Marettimo, ricognizione archeologica, NSc 1969, 321. Cala Minnola: F. Bergonzoni, Una industria romana nelle isole Egadi, Antiqua II, 7, 1977, 26 – 31; G. Purpura, Pesca e stabilimenti antichi per la lavorazione del pesce in Sicilia, I. S. Vito (Trapani), Cala Minnola (Levanzo), Sic. Arch. XV, 48, 1982, 45 – 60, at 56 – 7. Tonnara: ibid. 48 – 56. Isola delle Femmine and Tonnara del Cofano: Id., op. cit. infra (n. 300), 62 – 8, 75 – 81.

[44] Lead and iron; O. Davies, Roman Mines in Europe, Oxford 1935, 75. Gold: Edrisi V.139 (cited by Davies, ibid.). Iron slag: Davies, ibid.; A. li Gotti, La penetrazione cristiana nella zona di Barrafranca, Piazza, Pietraperzia, Mazzarino, secondo le recenti scoperte, ASSic. XIV, 1963, 70 – 1, n. 12 (also FA XVIII – XIX, 1963 – 4, 7446). Montallegro: Wilson, op. cit. (n. 19), 13 – 15. It has been suggested (Gibbins and Parker, op. cit. infra in n. 288, 293) that the cargo of iron bars on board a ship carrying African *amphorae* at Plemmyrion (SR) may represent a subsidiary consignment of Sicilian iron

Of other natural substances extracted from the province, alum was one of the more important, since Stromboli and especially Lipari commanded a virtual monopoly of it in the Roman world, where it was used widely in the tanning and dyeing industries as well as in medicine. Lipari also produced pitch, recommended by Dioscurides for its 'beauty and purity'; it was used mainly for torches and the like as well as a preservative for building timber and as a lining for wine- or *garum*-carrying *amphorae.* A related substance, bitumen, which was also used in lighting, was collected from a spring at Agrigento according to Pliny, and a reference to it as 'Sicilian oil' by another writer implies that it was known outside the province and so was exported. Agrigento and Centuripe also mined salt, the latter a purplish variety, and salt was obtained by evaporation at Pachynus, at Lake Cocanicus (a locality of uncertain identification on the south coast) and near Gela. Today this activity is largely concentrated on the west coast, where Trapani is Italy's largest producer. Cocanicus salt was used by druggists in conjunction with Cyrenaican salt, so it too may have been an export commodity.[47]

By far the most significant substance mined in the province was sulphur, much in demand in the Roman world for its use in lighting, medicine and various metallurgical processes. Until its discovery at the end of the nineteenth century in America, sulphur came almost exclusively from the hinterland of Agrigento, and the sulphur industry, together with the fertility of its surrounding territory, were the principal reasons for Agrigento's prosperity during the Roman Empire. No detailed study has yet been undertaken of the mining region, and it is possible that all trace of the Roman workings has been swept away by later extraction; but the nineteenth-century system of mining the sulphur in underground galleries and smelting it in small furnaces at the

---

being carried for sideline profit between Sicilian ports, but the bars like the *amphorae* may have come from Africa.

[45] V.102.

[46] CIL X, 8073.3 (now in Palermo Museum). For the Spanish pigs, C. Domergue in: AEA XXXIX, 1966, 56–7 and for a distribution map, V. Vázquez de Prada (ed.), Historia economica y social de España I, Madrid 1973, 317 (cf. also the related stamp *L. Planii Aniensis* in Nuoro Museum, Sardinia, from Cala Carte: Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 240, n. 88). See too T. S. R. Broughton in: Polis and Imperium (Studies in honour of E. T. Salmon), Toronto 1974, 15–16.

[47] Alum: Pliny NH XXXV.184 (for its uses, ibid. 185–6, 190). Cf. also Diod. V.10.2. Pitch: Dioscurides I.72.5. Bitumen: Pliny NH XXXV.179; Dioscurides I.73.1. Rock salt: Pliny NH XXXI.86; Solinus V.18–19. Salt by evaporation: Solinus V.18; Pliny NH XXXI.73, 79–80.

surface was probably not substantially different from that which operated in Roman times.[48] Something is, however, known about the Roman industry from a series of terracotta tiles (Plate I. 2, II. 3), of which over 70 whole or fragmentary examples have been recorded, most of them from Agrigento itself.[49] These clay tablets, normally about 35 cm. from top to bottom and either square or rectangular, bear letters in relief and retrograde. They were made from wooden moulds (some clearly derive from identical originals) and seem to have been used to stamp each consignment of plastic sulphur with the operator's mark. The tablets can be broadly divided into two groups: those headed with a reference to the emperor, usually expressed anonymously as *imp(eratoris) Aug(usti) n(ostri)*, almost always in the possessive genitive; and those without any indication of imperial control. The latter are dominated[50] by the activities of the Annii, also in the possessive genitive: some name *A. Annius Eros*, others *A. Annius Donatus*, others read simply *Anniorum*. These were presumably freedmen industrialists who at some stage owned the mines, and the tiles which bear the name alone may indicate their direct supervision of the sulphur extraction. But they also leased out workings to *officinae* as the industry expanded, for some of the Annii tiles mention also the *officina Porciana* or the *officina Cassiana*. These *officinae* were permanent set-ups, presumably started by a certain Porcius or Cassius, and remained in existence, as we shall see, over a long period of time. Two tiles reading *ex off(icina) Gelli Pelori* may, by contrast, refer to a newly established *officina* founded by Gellius Pelorus (under whose ownership is not stated), but he is not heard of again.[51] There is unfortunately little dating evidence (for no tile is there record of a stratified context), but examples in the imperial group name specifically Constantine I, and others headed *augustorum nn(ostrorum)* must be Tetrarchic or later, while the much neater lettering of the Annii tiles probably indicates that they belong earlier. If this is right, it seems that the mines were originally in private hands, but that when the industry grew in size and importance it came under imperial control. That happened at least by the end of the second century, for one tile from Racalmuto, in the heart of the mining area 22 km.

---

[48] Ente Autonomo per il Progresso dell'Industria Zolfifera, L'industria mineraria zolfifera siciliana, Turin 1925; for a modern sulphur kiln, R. J. A. Wilson and A. Leonard Jr., op. cit. infra in n. 226, 238–9, with fig. 20. Eighteenth-century workings: J. Houel, Voyage Pittoresque dans les Isles de Sicile, de Lipari et de Malte, IV, Paris 1784, pl. 242. Nineteenth and early twentieth century workings: Pace, ACSA, I², 424–7 with fig. 178–81. Ancient uses of sulphur: Scramuzza, ESAR, 353 for relevant sources. For sulphur extraction of Republican date in Italy, cf. L. Quilici, Arch. Class. XXXII, 1980, 198–205.

[49] For a full list of the examples now in Agrigento, E. de Miro, Città e contado nella Sicilia centro-meridionale nel III e IV sec. d. c., Kokalos XXVIII–XXIX, 1982–83, 319–29, at 320–5 with pl. XXXV–XLIV, with earlier bibliography (see also nn. 50–54 below); cf. also, for same, CIL X, 8044, 1–14.

[50] But also in this category is C. *Honestus*, attested twice (once in conjunction with the *officina Porciana*), and possibly *[Fort]unati* (for the latter, NSc 1901, 36–7).

[51] The second is in Palermo (CIL X, 8044.10 b), not included by de Miro (n. 49).

north of Agrigento, reads *ex praedis M. Aureli Commodi Ant(onin)i.*[52] This particular example makes no mention of an *officina* and may belong to a time when the mines were directly worked by the imperial office, but most of the rest with imperial headings refer to *officinae,* including the *officina Cassiana* and the *officina Porciana* (sometimes called Porcianensis); they were now joined by the *officina Ra* ... Such tiles indicate that the system of leasing out the workings to private contractors continued when the mines were in imperial ownership.[53] The mining operation was by now so large, however, that the *officinae* in turn leased out portions of the workings to lessees (*conductores*): we hear of Stocius[54] and Trigonus, both of whom had contracts with both the *officina Porciana* and the *Cassiana.*[55] The term *manceps,* which should mean much the same as *conductor,* is also used on three tiles. Two are fragmentary, and the third names Constantine I without reference to an *officina*: possibly in the fourth century the *officina* system broke down and the mines were leased directly by the *res privata* to *mancipes.*[56]

Ther name of the sulphur mining district is not known, unless the *Cattianensi(s)* on one of A. Annius Eros' tiles refers to it. The same tile is headed *Romae,* indicating the destination of this and probably the majority of the sulphur consignments: the volume of trade was large enough to warrant a special Rome stamp.[57] Why so many of the tiles have come from Agrigento itself is not entirely clear (although some were reused material), but several were found in the excavated quarter in the heart of the town and are possibly connected with warehousing, and two Porciana tiles from elsewhere in Agrigento were found with ashes and potsherds, interpreted as rubbish from a pottery works where the tiles were made[58]; but possibly some sulphur smelting was carried on in the city itself. How long the industry flourished is not known. The bulk of the tiles on internal evidence fall between the second century and the first half of the fourth century, and Agrigento's apparent decline thereafter may in part have been due to an unexplained fall in the demand for sulphur and the subsequent running down of the industry.

---

[52] A. Salinas, NSc 1900, 659 = AE 1901, 166 (= ILS 8712, where the reading Commodianus, implying that the mines were the property of an imperial freedman, not of the emperor, is unnecessarily preferred).

[53] Compare similar leasing arrangements for imperial mines at Vipasca in Lusitania (D. Flach, Chiron IX, 1979, 399–448), and in the Dacian gold mines (H. C. Noescke, BJ CLXXVII, 1977, 271–416; cf. S. Mrozek, ANRW II, 6, 1977, 95–109).

[54] The man's name is uncertain, despite occurring probably eight times in all; only one tile, however, is complete. de Miro (loc. cit. in n. 49) calls him Ystocius, but this is onomastically impossible. AE 1951, 107 reads the last line of the complete tile as C. *Attii Stocii,* but without reference to the other fragments, where *cond(uctoris)* is clear. P. Griffo, Contributi epigrafici agrigentini, Kokalos IX, 1963, 165–70, at 166, read *condu Sodi,* but *cond.* is the abbreviation used elsewhere for *conductor* and on other tiles the '*u*' clearly belongs with '*Stocii*'. The latter reads as a *V* on one fragment, closer to a *T* or possibly *F* on others (a *praenomen*?).

[55] It is possible that the *conductores* were already in operation before imperial control but none of the Annii tiles refers to them. Sixteen examples listed by de Miro mention *conductores,* three certainly (and one further one possibly) while the mines were imperial property; the rest are too fragmentary to tell.

[56] For the use of the term *manceps* for the manager of stations in the imperial post, A. H. M. Jones, The Later Roman Empire, Oxford 1964, 832. The relevant inscriptions are CIL X, 8044.1–2 and 4. The first refers to the *mancipes sulforis [?pro]v(inciae) Siciliae,* the second appears to name one (Aurelius), as does also the third, Constantinian one (Iustus). There is no need *(pace* de Miro, op. cit. in n. 49, 324–5) to think that this is the same man (Aurelius Iustus), nor that he or any other such *mancipes* were '*di discendenza egregia e ricca*'. The *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)* apparently referred to on another Constantinian tile (CIL X, 8044.5) was not a *manceps.* I do not take CIL X, 8044.9, which does refer to an *officina* operating under imperial control, as evidence for *mancipes;* the reading is extremely uncertain.

III. The stone and marble industries

1. Local building stones

While lacking sources of good quality marble, Sicily was well provided with building stone for everyday needs, and most of the main towns probably had plentiful supplies available from local quarries. Some stone was of sufficient quality to command more than a purely local distribution. The hard and pure white limestone from the Trapani district, for example, which is also the only Sicilian stone epigraphically attested in the imperial period (an inscription at Marsala, probably of the first half of the third century A.D., refers to the laying of paving in a district of the city *lapide Drepanitano*[59]) was a hard-wearing stone used for inscriptions, road-paving and especially for doorway-thresholds; in this last capacity it is found over a large part of western Sicily, probably as far east as Halaesa on the north coast and Agrigento on the south, and at the latter a whole piazza was paved in what appears to have been this stone.[60] Another white limestone, less hard-wearing but very strong, was extracted from all over the tablelands of south-east Sicily, and especially from Syracuse itself. The numerous quarries there which attest ancient working have by tradition been largely associated with the Greek period; but these same quarries continued to supply building stone throughout Roman times. The white Syracusan stone had a distribution mostly confined to south-eastern Sicily, but it was used to face the seats of the theatre at Catania and for some weight-bearing parts of the amphitheatre there,[61] and it was also apparently used for some purposes at Taormina.[62] Taormina, however, had its own hard white limestone, which was employed in such buildings as the hellenistic temple at the Odeion and the contemporary shrine of Serapis, as well as for minor columns in the Roman theatre.[63] Most of Taormina's buildings in the imperial period, however, were of brick-faced concrete: the ease with which bricks could be manufactured, using clay from the nearby beds on the coastal plain below the city, ensured that even the readily-available black basalt from mount Etna was largely passed over as a possible building material in the city. By contrast the basalt was not ignored at Catania and at other places such as Adrano and Misterbianco, under the shadow of the great volcano, where many buildings were faced in irregular pieces of this distinctive material. Even sculptors attempted to work it: in Catania museum a crude relief of fighting gladiators, and some decorated sarcophagi (to be noted below), are all carved from the local volcanic basalt.[64] The most significant use, however, of black Etna basalt was undoubtedly by the mill-stone industry, presumably situated in or near Catania. Both hand-mills and the more elaborate 'Pompeian type' hour-glass corn-mills made of basalt from mount Etna have been found all over the island, and it seems likely that it also supplied markets in north Africa and Calabria, although scientific analysis is required to confirm the exact distribution of the Sicilian products.[65] Only occasionally are corn-mills of a different material found: in Marsala and Mazara are examples made out of a red-brown basalt which may possibly be of Sardinian origin, as may also be the hypocaust *pilae* in a late Roman bath-suite on Capo Boeo at Marsala; a number of volcanic basalts in the Aeolian islands were worked locally, especially a brown basalt used for columns as well as millstones at both Lipari and (on the mainland opposite) at Tindari;[66] while millstones of grey Italian Leucitophyre have been noted at

---

[57] *Romam* would grammatically be more correct; the use of the dative case (uniquely) for Annius Eros is also odd. A consignment from the mine for Eros in Agrigento who was responsible for shipping it to Rome?

[58] GRIFFO, op. cit. in n. 54, 165–6. Reused tile: NSc 1901, 36–7, from the Giambertoni necropolis.

[59] Kokalos VII, 1961, 34 = AE 1964, 182.

[60] Personal observation: in thresholds to the *sacella* of the Halaesa agora and of houses at Agrigento, as well as the surviving fragment of first-century-B.C. paving which covered the site of the former *comitium*.

---

[61] Theatre: NSc 1886, 147–8 (apparently with a quarry-mark (in Greek) to indicate the town of destination); amphitheatre: springing-course for some of its barrel-vaults; also used in door-lintels at the Indirizzo baths.

[62] In graves: NSc 1882, 120–1; ibid. 1886, 462.

[63] Also used for inscriptions at Syracuse (e.g. NSc 1889, 370) and at Messina (personal observation).

[64] Relief: LIBERTINI, MB, 43 no. 85 with pl. XXVI. Sarcophagi: see note 101.

[65] The industry is mentioned by Strabo (VI.2.3). Sicily: examples in museums at Messina, Castroreale S. Biagio (ME), Termini Imerese (PA), Agrigento, Licata (AG), Caltanissetta, Caltagirone (CT) and elsewhere; some *in situ* (e.g. casa del Mulino, Agrigento), and other examples from Vallelunga, PA (NSc 1879, 235), Castagna, AG (WILSON, op. cit. in n. 36, 11), Ponte Malati, SR (Kokalos XXVIII–XXIX, 1982–83, 3427), Gaddini, AG (ASNP^3 V, 1975, 1297) etc. Calabria: examples in Reggio Calabria museum. North Africa (Carthage, Thuburbo Majus): D. P. S. PEACOCK, The Roman millstone trade: a petrological sketch, World Archaeology XII, 1980, 43–53, at 48; (Cyrene): J. A. RILEY, Imported grain mills at Cyrene, Libyan Studies XII, 1980–81, 55–9, at 58.

[66] Personal observation: the Marsala corn-mill is in the 'Scavi Bisi' area near Cape Boeo, the Mazara example is in the Biblioteca Comunale. For the Sardinian basalt, PEACOCK,

Halaesa and at Solunto on the north coast of Sicily, and the sea-borne trade in these objects is indicated by two examples in Palermo museum, from Ustica (Punta Priolo) and Mondello (both PA). This is the same material as that used in the millstones of central Italy and Campania,[67] but inevitably it found few openings in the Sicilian market where the Etna basalt mills predominated. Among other specialized stones, Aeolian pumice was widely exported, and the island also provided mica and a type of green jasper.[68]

2. Marbles, local and imported

Most of the marbles found in Sicily were undoubtedly imported from abroad, but the island does possess a few rather poor quality breccias, some of which were exploited in antiquity. The most significant of these is the white-veined pink breccia of Taormina, which had been quarried from at least the hellenistic period, when Hieron II had a λουτῆρα ποικίλου Ταυρομενίτου λίϑου.[69] Its importance to the city's economy is indicated by the ἐξαγωγὰς ἑδρικοῦ καὶ πλάκου mentioned in a Greek document there, probably belonging to the mid-first century B.C.[70] In the imperial period it was used as a wall veneer for the second-century baths at Taormina itself and at the Piazza Armerina villa in the fourth century, and it was also employed in the second century for columns at the theatres of Catania and Taormina.[71] A hundred tons of stone columns from a wreck off Cape Taormina, a poor-quality *ardesia di marna* with large calcite pockets, came probably but not certainly from the local quarries and were perhaps destined for Syracuse or some other Sicilian port; Taormina stone is unlikely to have had a market outside Sicily.[72]

---

op. cit. (n. 65), 46–7, but I have not had an opportunity to check these Sicilian mills recently against Peacock's description of Sardinian basalt.

[67] Peacock (ibid. 46) identified it as coming from the Orvieto region, but this has been questioned by P. Ferla, G. Alaimo, G. Falsone and F. Spatafora, Studio petrografico delle macine di età arcaica e classica da Monte Castellazzo di Poggioreale, Sic. Arch. XVII, 56, 1984, 25–52, at 47, who state that it is common in the whole of Lazio. Production at Orvieto has, however, now been confirmed: D. P. S. Peacock, The production of Roman millstones near Orvieto, Umbria, Italy, in: Antiquaries Journal LXVI, 1986, 45–51.

[68] Pliny NH XXXVI, 154, 160; XXXVII, 73.

[69] Athenaeus V.207 f. For an account of Sicilian marbles exploited today, A. Bellanca, Marmi di Sicilia, Palermo 1969.

[70] See n. 30.

[71] Personal observation except for Piazza Armerina, on which see R. Gnoli, Marmora Romana, Rome 1971, 159.

[72] On this and other shipwrecks see G. Kapitän, Schiffsfrachten antiker Baugesteine und Architekturteile vor den Küsten Ostsiziliens, Klio XXXIX, 1961, 276–318; Id., Esplorazioni su alcuni carichi di marmo e pezzi architettonici davanti alle coste della Sicilia orientale, Atti del III° Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Sottomarina, Barcelona 1961 (Bordighera 1971), 296–309. For the Taormina wreck, Klio cit., 304–8; Atti, 304–6; one column from it is now outside the main entrance of Hotel Capo S.

Another readily identifiable Sicilian marble is the *rosso fiorito* of S. Marco d'Alunzio, a deep red-brown stone with marked white veins. This was used in several places along the north coast for tombstones, as at S. Agata di Militello (ME) and Termini Imerese (PA), and it was also used in the *opus sectile* floor at the Roman villa at Castroreale S. Biagio (far roundel, plate IV. 5), in pavements at Solunto and Tindari, in wall veneer in the stoa at Halaesa, and for columns in the forum at Syracuse (plate III. 4). It is not yet known if it was exported outside Sicily.[73] At Centuripe a column of rough grey granite with red and white veins, not finally polished, lies at the site of the building interpreted as the seat of the Augustales. This is also likely to represent a local stone, as the quality is too inferior to be worth importing.[74] A small quarry exploiting what appears to have been a very similar stone, described as a grey granite with pink veins, has recently been identified at Rocca Argenteria 10 km. north of Corleone (PA).[75] The date is not certain, but Roman-period working is strongly suggested by the presence of roughed-out columns here, one of them still attached to the parent rock.

For the better quality marbles and granites Sicily had to look beyond her shores, and it is hardly surprising that those stones from Italy, Africa, Egypt, Greece and Asia Minor which enjoyed a huge export market all over the Mediterranean world also found their way to Sicily.[76] The first structural use of such material for columns and the like did not occur, in Sicily as in many other provinces, before the early decades of the second century, but public buildings newly constructed or reconstructed from that period onwards shared in the general fashion for imported marble or granite columns. Grey granite is common, as in the theatres at Catania and Taormina as well as at Agrigento, Termini Imerese, Tripi, the villa at Piazza Armerina and in the museum at Catania: most of this seems to have derived from the quarries of Elba and/ or San Bainzo off Corsica, although the importance of the source at Nicotera in Calabria for the Sicilian market is as yet uncertain. Red granite from northern Sardinia occurs in a pair of Roman column shafts at Catania with Egyptianizing figures. Greece is represented by cipollino columns at the

---

Andrea, but it is too incrusted to be confidently identified. Cf. however V.-J. Bautsch and H. Kelch, Geologie VI, 1960, 692 – 3. Another marble wreck is reported nearby, off Giardini (ME), in 1986.

[73] Personal observation. The inscriptions are published in NSc 1902, 472 – 3, CIL X, 7349, and IG XIV, 367; and for this floor at the Castroreale villa (but not including discussion of the marbles) D. von Boeselager, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien, Rome 1983, 94 – 7.

[74] Unpublished; for the building, G. Libertini, Centuripe, Catania 1926, 40 – 6 and Id., Nuove indagini sulle costruzioni presso il Mulino Barbagallo; campagna di scavo, 1950 – 1, NSc 1953, 353 – 68.

[75] P. Bivona and F. di Maria, Censimento delle zone limitrofe a Marineo di interesse storico-archeologiche, Sic. Arch. XIV, 46 – 7, 1981, 131 – 4.

[76] See especially J. B. Ward-Perkins, Tripolitania and the marble trade, JRS XLI, 1951, 89 – 104; Id., Quarrying in antiquity: technology, tradition and social change, PBA LVII, 1971, 137 – 58, esp. 144 – 8; Id., Nicomedia and the marble trade, PBSR XLVIII, 1980, 23 – 69.

Taormina theatre and settebassi from Scyros in the peristyle at Piazza Armerina, and there are columns of expensive red Egyptian granite there and at Catania. Variegated *"Africano"* columns from Asia Minor, as well as pavonazzetto, also occur in the theatre at Catania.[77] African marble, by contrast, despite the relative proximity of Sicily to the Chemtou quarries in Tunisia, does not seem to have had much favour for structural use in the island. A shaft of the black variety is recorded at Mazara (TP), one of the main ports of entry for African material into Sicily,[78] but the columns of African *giallo antico* from a third-century wreck off Camarina (RG) may have been heading for an Italian rather than a Sicilian destination, in view of the absence of examples so far in the island itself.[79] It is obviously difficult to assess accurately how many of such marble cargoes from wreck sites off the island were actually destined for Sicilian markets. The astonishing haul of Proconnesian marbles from the Marzamemi B site (SR), for example, consisted of 28 column bases and capitals as well as choir screens, a *ciborium* and other church furnishings (apart from parts of a pulpit in Greek *verde antico* from Larisa), and was clearly a consignment from Constantinople in the first half of the sixth century. It may have been destined for Sicily, but since no Sicilian church of that date has yet been discovered with such rich embellishment, an African destination for this cargo seems much more likely.[80] Other marble cargoes in Sicilian waters which may or may not have been intended for use in the island include the 170 tons of blue-grey (Attic ?) marble from a third-century shipwreck at Marzamemi A (SR); a cargo of white marble double that size but of roughly the same date, possibly originating from Asia Minor, which was located at Isola dei Correnti (SR);[81] and about sixty blocks of a white marble with blue-grey veins, also from a mid-imperial wreck, at Capo Granitola near Mazara (TP).[82]

---

[77] Personal observation, except for Piazza Armerina, on which see PENSABENE, op. cit. in n. 89, and GNOLI, op. cit. in n. 71. The Agrigento and Termini Imerese columns and the red granite at Catania are in the museum courtyards at those towns; the last are G. SFAMENI GASPARRO, I culti orientali in Sicilia, Leiden 1973, nos. 136–7. The north Sardinian and San Bainzo quarries will be the subject of a forthcoming article by myself; the grey granite from the latter and from Elba do appear to be distinguishable to the naked eye. For the Nicotera quarries, A. SOLANO, Su una cava romana di granito a Nicotera, Studi Miscellanei XXVI, 1985, 83–96.

[78] A. L. BONANNO, Il porto antico di Mazara, Mazara 1931, 7–9.

[79] A. J. PARKER, Il relitto romano delle colonne a Camarina, Sic. Arch. IX, 30, 1976, 25–9; ID., IJNA IV, 1975, 384–5; and ID., Progress in Underwater Science V, 1980, 46. The wreck is dated by PARKER to c. 240, but by S. TORTORELLA, Ceramica di produzione africana e rinvenimenti archeologici sottomarini, MEFRA XCIII, 1981, 355–80, at 362, to c. 200.

[80] G. KAPITÄN, The church wreck off Marzamemi, Archaeology XXII, 1969, 122–33; ID., Elementi architettonici per una basilica dal relitto navale del VI secolo di Marzamemi (Siracusa), XXVII Corso di Cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1980 (1981), 71–136.

[81] On both of these, see ID., both works cited in n. 72; and for the date of Isola dei Correnti, A. J. PARKER and D. M. SQUIRE, A wreck of the late 2nd century A.D. at Terrauzza (Siracusa, Sicily), IJNA III, 1974, 27–34, at 31.

Much more common throughout Sicily than structural marble was the use of imported panelling for wall veneers and floor slabs, and such material was probably in circulation by the middle of the first century A.D., although few Sicilian examples of that date are currently known. White marble from the Carrara quarries of northern Italy is likely to have been among the earliest. It was used for inscriptions from the Augustan period onwards, and the veneers in the early bath-suite at the Castroreale S. Biagio villa (ME), perhaps Julio-Claudian, may be of this material.[83] But the identification of white marbles by eye is notoriously difficult and isotopic analysis is needed before the full range of imported white marbles reaching Sicily during the Empire can be properly understood: as well as Italian, white marbles from Greece, Asia Minor and perhaps north Africa are also likely to be present.[84] By the end of the first century, if not before, a wide range of the more readily identifiable polychrome marbles from Greece and Asia Minor gained widespread currency, and stones such as Euboean *cipollino*,[85] *semesanto* from Scyros, green porphyry from Laconia[86] and *fior di pesco*, also from Greece, as well as grey-flecked Phrygian and purple *pavonazetto* from Asia Minor,[87] are all attested in Sicily in wall or floor paving of the late first century or the first half of the second century. African *giallo antico* was also in widespread use from that period onwards.[88]

---

[82] G. Purpura, Un relitto con un carico di marmo a Capo Granitola (Mazara), Sic. Arch. X, 33, 1977, 55–9. A third-century date is suggested by a fragmentary *amphora* in red-brown clay, probably part of a Kapitän I *amphora* of Aegean origin (indistinct photograph on p. 58), on which see p. 273 and note 307 below.

[83] Inscriptions: e. g. for the Taormina *fasti*: G. Manganaro, Tauromenitana, Arch. Class. XV, 1963, 13. Castroreale S. Biagio (ME): personal observation.

[84] Cf. in general, Walker, op. cit. infra in n. 95, 204–21. For a recently identified white African marble, T. W. Potter, Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux n. s. XIX, 1983, 462. Proconnesian marble is used to face the arena wall of the amphitheatre at Catania and for coping stones at the Syracuse amphitheatre.

[85] E. g. in the *stoa* at Halaesa (on which see G. Scibona, Epigraphica Halaesina I, Kokalos XVII, 1971, pl. I) and in the *triclinium* at Castroreale S. Biagio, ME, where there also occurs semesanto: all personal observation.

[86] E. g. in the baths at Tindari, in the 'Bagno di Dafne' and in the villa Landolina catacombs at Syracuse, and in the hellenistic Roman quarter at Agrigento: all personal observation.

[87] E. g. *fior di pesco* in the Taormina baths (Gnoli, op. cit. in n. 71, 158–9) and Phrygian and *pavonazetto* at the Durreli di Realmonte villa (AG) (personal observation).

[88] Used in inscriptions at Tindari (museum inv. 65) and Mazara (cathedral), both unpublished, for a stand from Sabucina Bassa (CL) (M. Sedita Migliore, Sabucina. Studio sulla zona archeologica di Caltanissetta, Caltanisetta 1981, 155); unpublished panel with acanthus scroll in Catania; two herms of unknown provenance in Malta (A. Bonanno, Arch. Class. XXIX, 1977, 399–410); and for floor paving at Catania (G. Libertini, Scoperte varie, NSc 1937, 79–81), Syracuse (L. Bernabò Brea, Siracusa. Vestigia di costruzioni termali sulla via di Catania, NSc 1947, 198, fig. 7; also in the 'Bagno di Dafne') and in the baths at Tindari.

The greatest range of polychrome marbles from a single building in Sicily comes from the villa at Piazza Armerina, a vivid testimony, along with the mosaics, to the wealth of its owner.[89] Some of the veneers were undoubtedly reused material, for *lumachella* from Egypt and the *madreponte rossa* from Asia Minor are otherwise known only in first-century contexts. Many of the marbles already noted, including *giallo antico,* green and red porphyry, and Proconnesian (for the capitals), occur here; others include eastern *lumachella* from Thuburbo Majus, and three Asia Minor marbles from Sibillius, Ezine and Caria. Three rarer stones have also been identified, a yellow breccia from Tripolitania, a *lumachella pavonazza* from Gaul or Pannonia, and a *breccia pavonazza sfangiata* of uncertain provenance. Presumably many of these came from a marble stockist in Rome; at any rate there are several stones here which were certainly not in common circulation in Sicily.

3. Carving in stone and marble: sarcophagi and other products

The imported marbles so far discussed were all used in the building industry, but they are by no means the only marble products found in the island. Another important group is the hundred or so expensive carved marble sarcophagi, which provide eloquent evidence of the wealth and taste of the Sicilian upper classes in the middle and late Empire. The Sicilian sarcophagi were catalogued by V. TUSA in a book which was published in 1954, but research conducted since then has indicated that many of his conclusions about the date and place of manufacture of these items stand in need of revision. The vast majority of the sarcophagi are usually reckoned to be of Luna marble,[90] and many no doubt emanated from the workshops of Rome itself, which turned out sarcophagi in enormous numbers. Indeed some of the finest Sicilian examples are demonstrably from this source: they include the sarcophagus side in Palermo closely comparable with the Hadrianic garland sarcophagus in the Lateran, impressive mythological compositions, such as the Amazonomachy in Mazara (TP), or genre scenes such as a hunting sarcophagus in Palermo.[91] These, and a number of others which are undoubtedly of central Italian manufacture,[92] are thought to be of Luna marble; but the sarcophagus workshops there also employed other marbles as well. Thus the outstanding child sarcophagus from Agrigento, discovered in 1975, while securely not of Luna marble, was another high-quality product of a Roman workshop, probably in the second half of the second century; the main side depicts a school scene and the child on his death-bed, while the short sides show the bathing of the new-born infant, and, most charmingly, the child on an outing in his goat-drawn chariot.[93] The subject matter is closely matched by other known products of metropolitan workshops, but the marble was probably imported, perhaps from Greece.[94] A characteristic group of round ended sarcophagi (*lenoi*), often in Proconnesian marble, is also known to have been carved in Rome after being shipped in a roughed-out state from the quarries: the plainer examples of this type have simple but effective decoration consisting of curved strigil patterning along the main face with two projecting heads (usually lions), one near either end (plate V. 7 – 8).[95] Several examples of this type are documented in Sicily, mostly in the Palermo district. Their provenance is not precisely recorded, but if one assumes that these bulky objects have not travelled far from their original find-spots, it seems possible

---

[89] P. PENSABENE, La villa di Piazza Armerina VII: Marmi, MEFRA LXXXIII, 1971, 221–3; GNOLI, op. cit. (n. 71), see index; CARANDINI, RICCI and DE VOS, op. cit. infra in n. 142, passim.

[90] But no marble isotope analysis has yet been carried out on the Sicilian examples: WALKER, for example, op. cit. infra (n. 94), 18, believes that Luna (Carrara) was 'not a significant centre for the production of sarcophagi'. For Sicily, see V. TUSA, I sarcofagi romani in Sicilia, Palermo 1957, hereafter TUSA, Sarcofagi. Cf. the review by S. L. AGNELLO, Sui sarcofagi romani in Sicilia, Sic. Gymn. XIV, 1961, 98–118, and especially that of B. ANDREAE, Gnomon XL, 1968, 820–3. For a recent short but useful discussion of Sicilian sarcophagi, see G. KOCH and H. SICHTERMANN, Römische Sarkophage (Handbuch d. Archäologie), Munich 1982, 288–93.

[91] Garland sarcophagus: TUSA, Sarcofagi no. 75, cf. J. M. C. TOYNBEE, The Hadrianic School, Cambridge 1934, 202–3 and pl. XLIII. 1 (Lateran). Mazara: TUSA, Sarcofagi

---

no. 29. Palermo hunt (c. 270): ibid. no. 59 = B. ANDREAE, Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben I.2. Die römischen Jagdsarkophage, Berlin 1980, no. 64.

[92] ANDREAE, op. cit. in n. 90, also attributes the following with certainty to the Rome or Ostia workshops: TUSA, Sarcofagi nos. 25 (Catania, fragment depicting Mercury), 39 (Monreale, amorini in Circus), 46 (Palermo, Muses; cf. M. WEGNER, Die Musensarkophage, Berlin 1966, 33 – 4, no. 68 with pl. 66), as well as no. 38 (see note 96 below); and the following probably to the same source: TUSA, Sarcofagi nos. 66 (Palermo, Hippolytus and Phaedra), 67 (Palermo, Volusia Longina, flanked by flying Victories) and 96 (Taormina, Bacchic procession). The sarcophagus with Dionysiac scenes of late Hadrianic or early Antonine date belongs to MATZ's Workshop 1, Neo-Attic, probably also situated in Rome (F. MATZ, Die Dionysischen Sarkophage II, Berlin 1970, 182 – 3, no. 74, with pl. 84.2 and 86.1 = TUSA, Sarcofagi no. 79. ANDREAE, op. cit. in n. 90, 823 also attributes the Palermo battle scene sarcophagus (TUSA, Sarcofagi, no. 74) to a Rome workshop, which I doubt.

[93] E. DE MIRO, Relazione sull' attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità di Agrigento (1972 – 1976), Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 1977, 423 – 55, at 427, with pl. XXII.

[94] The marble is uniformly of very high quality, yellowish in colour and with only a few very tiny crystals visible (? Pentelic), certainly very different from the dead white Luna marble. For a list of other child sarcophagi, KOCH and SICHTERMANN, op. cit. (n. 90), 107 – 9; for parallels with Agrigento cf. especially Paris, Louvre 659 (ibid. pl. 114), British Museum, London, Sc. 2315 (S. WALKER, Memorials to the Roman Dead, London 1985, fig. 40), Los Angeles (E. FEINBLATT, BdA^4 XXXVII, 1952, 199, fig. 10).

[95] J. B. WARD-PERKINS and P. THROCKMORTON, The San Pietro wreck, Archaeology XVIII, 1965, 201 – 9; C. CHIARLO, Sul significato dei sarcofagi a *lenos* decorati con leoni, ANSP^3 IV, 1974, 1307 – 45; KOCH and SICHTERMANN, op. cit. (n. 90), 80 – 2; S. WALKER, Marble origins by isotopic analysis, World Archaeology XVI, 1984, 204 – 21, at 211 – 3; EAD., The marble quarries of Proconnesos: isotopic evidence for the age of the quarries and for the lenos-sarcophagi carved at Rome, Studi Miscellanei XXVI, 1985, 57 – 65.

that they too are metropolitan products imported into Sicily in antiquity.[96] To a rather later period belongs another outstanding sarcophagus which was undoubtedly produced in a Rome workshop, the fourth-century Adelphia sarcophagus, found in the S. Giovanni catacombs at Syracuse.[97] This is the only Sicilian example of a highly distinctive group, with elaborate figured scenes on two levels and portraits of the deceased in the central *tondo*; the marble is also Proconnesian (plate IV. 6).

With Sicilian demand for top-quality sarcophagi mostly met by central Italian factories, there was little outlet for the sarcophagi of the eastern workshops in the island. Only three Attic sarcophagi have been identified in Sicily, of which only one survives intact, the magnificent third-century Hippolytus and Phaedra sarcophagus from Agrigento.[98] This work provides a classic example of how these expensive and elaborate products were shipped from Attica in a roughed-out state, the final carving and polishing being carried out only when the sarcophagus reached its destination: the back (depicting a boar-hunt) and the left-hand end (showing the wreck of Hippolytus' chariot) remain unfinished, presumably because they could not have been seen when the sarcophagus was in position in the tomb. The other Attic sarcophagi are fragmentary: one in Taormina depicted Achilles' departure from Scyros, and another, in Syracuse, has a Dionysiac theme.[99] In view of the distribution of these Attic sarcophagi round the south and east coasts, it seems likely that they were shipped direct from Greece rather than supplied by a branch workshop operating in Rome. The sarcophagi of Asia Minor are even more poorly represented in the island. There are no certain examples of Proconnesian sarcophagi in Sicily, and there is only a single representative, now in the Duomo at Catania, of the elaborate columnar sarcophagus in Docimian marble, of so-called Sidamara type.[100] Other Asia Minor products may lie undetected in the Sicilian collections; but it seems unlikely that either these or the Attic sarcophagi made any significant inroads into the Sicilian market.

---

[96] On the other hand the type is not common outside Rome and Ostia, and a post-Roman importation cannot be ruled out. The examples are: TUSA, Sarcofagi, nos. 38 (Monreale), 68, 69, and 106 (Palermo). An earlier more elaborate example of *lenos* type, with scenes of grape-harvesting and treading between the lion heads, is at Messina: TUSA, ibid. no. 32.

[97] Ibid., 173–8, no. 80; S. L. AGNELLO, Il sarcofago di Adelfia, Vatican 1956. For the Proconnesian marble of this group, J. B. WARD-PERKINS, The role of craftsmanship in the formation of early Christian art, ACIAC IX, Rome 1975 [published 1978], I, 637–52, at 649.

[98] TUSA, Sarcofagi, 21–7, no. 1 = A. GIULIANO, Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici, Rome 1962, no. 368; on the date, M. S. ARENA, Sulla cronologia di un sarcofago agrigentino con la rappresentazione del Mito di Fedra, RAAN XXXVIII, 1963, 105–110; and on the wider implications, J. B. WARD-PERKINS, The Hippolytus sarcophagus from Trinquetaille, JRS XLVI, 1956, 10–16, at 11–12 and 15.

[99] Taormina: TUSA, Sarcofagi, 195–6, no. 97 and fig. 238 = GIULIANO, op. cit. (n. 98), no. 369. Syracuse, Dionysiac sarcophagus: TUSA, Sarcofagi, 189–90, no. 93 = F. MATZ, op. cit. in n. 92, I (1968), 119, no. 16 and pl. 25.1. A. GIULIANO and B. PALMA, La maniera ateniese in età romana: i maestri dei sarcofagi attici (Stud. Misc. XXIV, 1978), 30–3, take the Syracuse Erotes sarcophagus (TUSA, Sarcophagi, no. 86) as a genuine Attic import; I follow KOCH and SICHTERMANN, op. cit. (n. 90), 289 and 475, in treating this as an Italian-made copy.

There remains the problem of determining how many of the Sicilian sarcophagi are likely to have been made in Sicily. A good number are described by TUSA or in the standard sarcophagus corpora as being 'provincial' work, because the standard of execution falls below that usually identified with metropolitan products, but such examples need not necessarily have been manufactured in Sicily, as too little is at present known about schools of sculpture in central and southern Italy outside the immediate orbit of Rome: other workshops on the Italian mainland may well have supplied Sicily. To unquestionably local workshops can be ascribed some simply decorated sarcophagi executed in local stone, such as the group in Catania fashioned in black basalt from mount Etna: one is decorated with a triple archway of dressed stone, and another bears a simple decorative scheme, with central rectangular panel flanked by roughed-out 'garlands' (plate VI. 9 – 10), reminiscent of Assos sarcophagi from Asia Minor, which were widely distributed around the eastern Mediterranean during the second and third centuries.[101] If the Catania sarcophagus does indeed represent a local copy of this type, presumably Assos sarcophagi also reached Sicily, although none is yet recorded there.

In addition to sarcophagi worked in local materials, others found in the island are likely to have been carved in Sicilian workshops, using imported marble perhaps mainly from Carrara but also from Proconnesos. Very few can be said to display much originality or any high level of artistic competence, as nearly all derive more or less closely from Italian prototypes: no distinctive Sicilian school of sarcophagus manufacturers ever emerged displaying a marked independence of the mainstream Italian tradition. Some attempted mythological compositions, of which the most notable are one in Messina depicting the story of Icarus and another in Catania featuring Odysseus and Polyphemus, both of them works of moderate competence that do display an original choice of subject matter[102]; some are genre compositions such as hunting scenes; there are Sicilian versions of the ubiquitous garland sarcophagi, and others with cupids or Victories holding up a wreath with a portrait of the deceased within are also copied from well-known Italian prototypes.[103] Most popular of all with the local workshops was another type based on an Italian model, the sarcophagus with figured decoration in the central panel and, occasionally, at either end of the long side, the rest of the side being taken up by fluted ('strigillated') decoration.[104] Sixteen examples of this type are known in Sicily, some of them demonstrably from the same workshop, such as one in Cefalù and another in Palermo which have an identical arrangement in the central panel.[105] But there is nothing in these or most other Sicilian sarcophagi to suggest a particularly distinguished output from local workshops, and for better quality sarcophagi Sicilian customers had to turn to Italian and eastern sources.

---

[100] TUSA, Sarcofagi, 37 – 9, no. 9, G. FERRARI, Il commercio dei sarcofagi asiatici, Rome 1966, 59 – 60; M. WAELKENS, Die Werkstatt der repräsentativen kleinasiatischen Sarkophage, Berlin 1982, 89, no. 124, c. 225 A.D.

[101] Catania: TUSA, Sarcofagi, nos. 15 – 21; A. M. MARCHESE, Osservazioni sui sarcofagi in pietra lavica in Catania, ACNAC III, 427 – 41. Assos: KOCH and SICHTERMANN, op. cit. (n. 90), 515 – 9 with earlier bibliography; add to the distribution map Skopelos (Sporades), where five Assos sarcophagi are built into the church of St. Michael in Skopelos town (personal observation).

[102] Messina: TUSA, Sarcofagi, no. 34; H. SICHTERMANN and G. KOCH, Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen, Tübingen 1975, no. 15. Catania: B. ANDREAE and B. CONTICELLO, Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga (Antike Plastik XIV), Berlin 1974, 66 – 8 with pl. 59. Other Sicilian sarcophagi with mythological scenes: TUSA, Sarcofagi, nos. 30, 33, 45 and 76.

Even many of the smaller objects with carved decoration are likely for the most part to have been imported ready made, such as the table leg in black Numidian marble in Catania Museum, or another magnificent example with leopard's head and claw foot made of alabaster, found in the 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter at Agrigento.[106] The alabaster is probably of Egyptian origin, but several similar table-legs have been found in Tripolitania,[107] and it is possible that the Agrigento example was the product of a Tripolitanian workshop rather than directly imported from Egypt. Also probably imported ready-made were the sigma-shaped marble altar tables, probably of the fifth or sixth centuries, from Syracuse.[108] Three of this group, plain with a simple ribbed border, are undoubtedly of Proconnesian marble;[109] the fourth, however, is of a different, rather creamy white, stone, and is of more elaborate design with a multi-lobed border (plate VII. 11). Several examples of this type are known from the east, from Antioch, Corinth and elsewhere, and a fragmentary table from Rome almost identical in both shape and section to the Syracuse example, which has been subjected to scientific marble analysis, proved to be of Greek marble, probably Parian[110]. The Syracuse altar table was probably also imported ready-made; alternatively, but less likely, it may have come from a workshop in Rome which was carving these tables from imported slabs of Greek marble.

---

[103] I count the following as Sicilian products: TUSA, ibid. nos. 2, 4, 13, 24, 31, 52, 56, 57, 60, 65, 73, 81, 84, 94, 95, and 98.

[104] For Italian prototypes, KOCH and SICHTERMANN, op. cit. (n. 90), 73–6, 241–5. The sixteen are: TUSA, Sarcofagi, nos. 5 (Agrigento), 27, 28 (Cefalù), 36 (Messina), 47, 49, 51, 53, 62, 63, 64, 70, 71, 72 (Palermo), 82 (Syracuse) and 110 (Patti, ME).

[105] TUSA, ibid., nos. 27 and 49.

[106] Catania: unpublished (?), sala III, 40 cm. high, with goat's head. Agrigento: unpublished, Agrigento Museum inv. no. 14082, sala VII, case 71; height 36 cm.

[107] Cf. J. LIVERSIDGE, Furniture in Roman Britain, London 1955, 41 and pl. 55–6.

[108] A. M. FALLICO, Mense d'altare di Siracusa, RAC XLV, 1969, 61–71.

[109] Personal observation.

[110] M. BONFIOLI, Una mensa a sigma polilobata a Rome, RPAA L, 1977–8 [1980], 115–28, at 127, with bibliography of other examples. For another example from Rome, 'perhaps made in Rome or elsewhere in Italy', cf. K. WEITZMANN, The Age of Spirituality, New York 1979, 637–8, no. 576.

The products of other Greek workshops, or else of itinerant Greek sculptors working in the island, are also attested on the east coast. The signature of the Athenian sculptor Glaukon is recorded on a base at Catania, and a statue of a woman, now lost but found at Syracuse, was signed Ζένων Ἀφροδεισιεὺς ἐποίει.[111] It was carved by a member of the prestigious and flourishing school of sculpture based at Aphrodisias in Asia Minor, perhaps in the Hadrianic period; whether the statue was imported ready-made or whether Zenon actually came to Syracuse to execute the commission is unclear, but as we know that in antiquity sculptors were often prepared to travel long distances to meet the demand for work, the latter is by no means unlikely, and there is other epigraphic evidence of the peripatetic sculptors of the Aphrodisian school in other towns in the Italian peninsula.[112] Another likely witness of Greek craftsmen in Syracuse is the lotus and acanthus capital, of which several examples are known: there is a fine one in the courtyard of Syracuse Museum (plate VII. 12), as well as two others in the same collections; a further pair was discovered in the 1950s in Via Arsenale; another, of poor standard, thought to be of Byzantine date, is in the Museo Bellomo of the same city; there are reused examples in the Church of San Martino at Syracuse; and another well preserved example has recently been found in the Piazza Vittoria excavations.[113] The lotus and acanthus capital is common at Athens from the first century B.C. to late antiquity, but is never found in great numbers elsewhere.[114] Some of the Syracuse examples were probably carved by immigrant Greek sculptors, but those of inferior standard (in Luna marble?) were probably the work of local men imitating imported models.

A much more significant contribution was made by Italian sculptors, and it is almost certainly they who were responsible for the majority of the marble statues of emperors, divinities and ordinary mortals which have been found in some quantity all over the island. These are not the products of some highly individual provincial workshop but belong to the mainstream of mass-produced Roman art, emanating in great quantities from Italian *officinae*.[115] That does not mean there were no local *officinae*, and obviously the Sicilian grandees who sat for their marble portraits would have done so in Sicily itself. But there is little to distinguish marble portraits carved locally from their counterparts on the Italian mainland, and many may have been executed by itinerant sculptors based, if not actually in Italy, then in Sicilian *officinae* which were producing pieces identical to those of their counterparts in the peninsula.[116] There is of course some sculpture both in the round and in relief which is clearly recognizable as the work of local hands, and these include both pieces carved from local materials as well as works fashioned from imported marble; one Sicilian sculptor, Samius, who carved an image of Priapus in the hinterland of Acireale (CT), is even known by name.[117] But there is little good-quality sculpture which can confidently be ascribed to Sicilian workshops, and the almost total absence of, for example, tombstones bearing pictorial reliefs[118] is a telling indication of the restricted range of local sculptors throughout the imperial period.[119]

---

[111] Syracuse: M. SQUARCIAPINO, La Scuola di Afrodisia, Rome 1943, 17 and 37–8 (CIG III, 5374); Catania: PACE, ACSA II, 150.

[112] Cf. most recently WARD-PERKINS, last op. cit. in n. 76, 64–5.

[113] Museo Bellomo, and San Martino: G. AGNELLO, Le arti figurative nella Sicilia bizantina, Palermo 1962, 112–3 with fig. 121; Via Arsenale and Syracuse Archaeological Museum: G. V. GENTILI, Siracusa. Capitelli tardo-romani da Via Arsenale, NSc 1954, 383–4. The others are unpublished.

[114] J. B. WARD-PERKINS, Severan art and architecture at Lepcis Magna, JRS XXXVIII, 1948, 59–80, at 67–70. The capital in the courtyard of Syracuse Museum is almost certainly of Pentelic marble; those in the museum itself, of rather yellowy hue, may also be.

[115] There is no systematic *corpus* of Roman sculpture in Sicily, and much material remains unpublished, except for the portraits, on which see N. BONACASA, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia, Palermo 1964, and R. M. BONACASA CARRA, Nuovi ritratti romani in Sicilia, Palermo 1977.

4. Mosaics

A further illustration of the limitations of Sicilian artistic creativity at this time is provided by another service industry which involved the use of stone, that of mosaic paving.[120] As with sculpture, there is absolutely no evidence to suggest that native craftsmen made a genuinely original contribution to the medium of mosaic, or that idiosyncracies of style or subject matter

[116] Ibid., 7–8, and Bonacasa, op. cit. (n. 115), p. ix, on the negative evidence for much local production.

[117] Samius: G. Libertini, Acireale. Scoperte a Casalotto, NSc 1922, 493–8, at 494 = AE 1923, 75. Some examples of local production: (a) in local stone, statues at Avola, SR (M. T. Curro, BdA^5 LI, 1966, 94), Case Adotta, PA (V. Giustolisi, Parthenicum e le Aquae Segestanae, Palermo 1976, 45 and pl. XXXII), Favignana, TP (A. M. Bisi, Sic. Arch. I, 4, 1968, 32–3 and fig. 12); relief from Megara Hyblaea (Vallet, Villard and Auberson, op. cit. in n. 19, fig. 81); (b) in marble, portraits (e.g. Bonacasa, op. cit. in n. 115, no. 108; cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, CR LXXIX, 1965, 369–70) and many reliefs, e.g. well-head at Syracuse (Tusa, Sarcofagi, no. 109), reliefs from the Catania theatre (G. Rizza, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 770 with pl. CLXXIV and CLXXXVII) and columnar reliefs from the same city (G. Libertini, ASSO XIX, 1923, 64 = Id., Scritti su Catania antica, Catania 1981, 58 with pl. I. 1), the Palermo relief of the Vestals, probably but not certainly from Sicily (A. Bonanno, MEFRA XCI, 1979, 348, note 25 for references).

[118] For one of the few, from Priolo (SR), see Orsi and Manganaro, works cited in n. 31. Marble cinerary urns from Syracuse (NSc 1881, 250; NSc 1882, 85; NSc 1884, 310; E. Gabba and G. Vallet, ed., La Sicilia Antica, II, Naples 1980, pl. 138) and Palermo (NSc 1883, 567) were undoubtedly metropolitan products imported to Sicily ready made.

[119] Cf. in general B. Pace, Mon. Ant. XXV, 1917, 563–71; Id., ACSA II, 142–52 (but with a misguided emphasis on Sicilian creativity); for a more balanced but very brief review, F. Coarelli, La cultura figurativa in Sicilia dalla conquista romana a Bisanzio, in: Gabba and Vallet, op. cit. (n. 118), 373–92, at 381–2.

[120] D. von Boeselager, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien, Rome 1983, is a full survey down to the early fourth century.

make it legitimate to talk of a 'Sicilian school' or 'schools' of mosaicists at work in the province during the Roman Empire.[121] That of course is not to say that all pavements in the island were laid by immigrant *tessellarii,* although some (as we shall see) undoubtedly were; merely that those floors which were certainly laid by Sicilian mosaicists were either simple or crude compositions of no great distinction, or else, in the case of more competent and ambitious floors, were in close imitation of designs first invented in Italy or north Africa, rather than in Sicily. Sicilian originality in the mosaic pavements of the Empire was at all times severely limited; instead it is the influence first of Italy, and then of north Africa, that is everywhere apparent.

The earliest pavements of the period that concerns us, from the Augustan era and throughout most of the first century A.D., are composed almost entirely of ornamental patterns, often simple in design, but invariably pleasing and effective, and indistinguishable from examples in Campania and central Italy.[122] Figured *emblemata* are rare: the outstanding examples come from the House of the Gazelle at Agrigento and are now in the Agrigento Museum.[123] The best-known and finest, showing a gazelle about to drink from a pool set amid a rocky landscape, displays a superb mastery of line drawing as well as great dexterity in the deployment of *tesserae* of minute size and enormous polychromatic range; the other *emblemata* depict chickens and still life subjects. Like the larger and rather earlier *emblema* with the hunting scene at Palermo (probably of the late second century B.C.),[124] the *emblemata* at Agrigento, complete in their terracotta trays, were undoubtedly transported to the site ready-made; they may have been made in Sicily, but an Italian, perhaps Campanian, workshop is more likely. Quite when that happened, however, is far from clear. Stylistically they seem unlikely to be later than the first century A.D., yet the pavements in which they were found at Agrigento are demonstrably not earlier than the late second century A.D.[125] It is possible, therefore, that these *emblemata* had been taken from their original setting and then re-used.

---

[121] *pace* R. CAMERATA-SCOVAZZO, I mosaici pavimentali di Carini. Tradizione pittorica ellenistico-romana su alcuni tessellati siciliani del IV secolo, Arch. Class. XXIX, 1977, 134–60, and now EAD., I mosaici geometrici di Piazza Armerina, CronASA XVIII, 1979, 205–10, who has argued for some Sicilian originality in the fourth century (cf. the comments of WILSON, op. cit. infra in n. 137, 413–5). The recipient of a letter by Symmachus (Ep. VIII.42) is mentioned as having introduced a *novum musivi genus et intemptum,* but although Sicily receives a mention earlier in the letter there is no direct evidence that the man is a Sicilian or had worked in Sicily.

[122] Examples at Agrigento (GABBA and VALLET, op. cit. in n. 118, II, pl. 147), Solunto (M. DE VOS, Pitture e mosaico a Solunto, Bulletin Antieke Beschaving L, 1975, 195–224, at 204–5 with fig. 26) and Tindari (VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 120, 84–90).

[123] VON BOESELAGER, ibid., 135–7 with fig. 86.

[124] Ibid. 47–52; E. GABRICI, Ruderi romani scoperti alla Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo, Mon. Ant. XXVII, 1921, Pl. I, III, and IV.

[125] Cf. WILSON, infra n. 137, 428 with note 102.

In the course of the first century A.D., and more especially during the second century, the new black-and-white style of mosaic, with all-over figured compositions, became increasingly popular in Italy, and this too left its mark on the Sicilian scene. Good examples of this style are the labyrinth floor at Taormina (with a border of dolphins), a mosaic at Catania with a personified bust of Africa in the centre of an overlapping 'shield of triangles' design,[126] and the splendid mosaic in the *frigidarium* of the Roman villa at Castroreale San Biagio (ME), depicting men in a boat fishing for the outsize and often ferocious-looking creatures that swim around (plate VIII. 13).[127] Iconographically this scene recalls the very similar treatment of the same subject in fresco, of Hadrianic date, in the house near the Porto Flumentano in Rome; and the other pavements at the Castroreale San Biagio villa, although all of ornamental, not figured, design, can also be paralleled by examples in Italy of the first half of the second century A.D.[128] The fishing mosaic is a highly competent work and may well have been laid by Italian-trained mosaicists;[129] but later Sicilian black-and-white pavements, from the mid-second century onwards, such as the Taormina labyrinth floor, the Catania Africa pavement, and another Taormina mosaic which incorporated a small black-and-white composition of Lycurgus being throttled by the vine,[130] were all probably laid by local workmen who were following very closely stock Italian patterns. Another attempt by a local hand, on a rather more ambitious scale, is witnessed by the late-second- or early-third-century black-and-white mosaics in the small bath-house at Tindari, proudly autographed by their creator, Neinas slave of Dionysios (plate VIII. 14).[131] One panel has a crude depiction of Trinacria, the symbol of Sicily; another shows the athletes, Verna and Afer, competing for the palm-branch and wreath of victory; a third floor has a spirited rendering of a sea-horse (very similar to an unsigned black-and-white mosaic of the same subject in a bath-house on the nearby island of Lipari, perhaps also Neinas' handiwork)[132]; and his *chef d'œuvre* at Tindari has a central tondo depicting Dionysos with a companion, alongside a very emaciatedlooking leopard (plate IX. 15). This subject was also popular in north Africa,[133] but the black-and-white medium suggests that the principal influence here at Tindari still came from the Italian mainland. The date of these floors is not absolutely certain, but Neinas was probably active in the late second or early third century.[134] Italian dominance waned thereafter, but another crude local effort in black-and-white mosaic at Comiso (RG), featuring Neptune in a marine scene (probably of the fourth century), shows more affinity with floors of that date in mainland Italy rather than with the main African series;[135] and the polychrome mosaic featuring the Months of the Year from Catania, perhaps of Constantinian date, is also closer to Italian models than to anything so far known in north Africa.[136]

---

[126] Taormina: P. Orsi, Taormina. Mosaico rappresentante il Labirinto, NSc 1920, 340–5 (fragments now in Syracuse Museum); von Boeselager, op. cit. (n. 120), 97–105. Catania: ibid., 109–12.

[127] Ibid., 92–4 and fig. 52.

[128] Porto Flumentano fresco: W. Dorigo, Late Roman Painting, London 1971, 56 and pl. 37. For the ornamental floors at Castroreale S. Biagio and their parallels, von Boeselager, op. cit. (n. 120), 90–97.

[129] *pace* Coarelli, op. cit. in n. 119, 383; illustrated as his pl. 147, where the caption mistakenly describes it as 'Augustan'. For further discussion of black-and-white mosaics in north-east Sicily, cf. my review of von Boeselager in: JRS LXXV, 1985, 300–1.

[130] von Boeselager, ibid., 103–5; and for other (non-figural) mosaics in the same house, see now G. M. Bacci, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, 744–5 and pl. CLXXIII.

[131] von Boeselager, op. cit. (n. 120), 114–27; L. Bernabò Brea and M. Cavalier, Tindari, area urbana. L'insula IV e le strade che la circondano, BdA L, 1965, pl. 33–6.

[132] W. H. Smyth, Account of an ancient Bath, in the Island of Lipari, Archaeologia XXIII, 1831, 98–102, with pl. XV.

The second major group of Sicilian mosaics, which comprises the majority of pavements in the province from the end of the second century onwards, are those which show, to a greater or lesser degree, the influence of the African mosaics and mosaicists.[137] The earliest floors in Sicily which bear the hallmarks of the rapidly developing African mosaic workshops belong to the closing years of the second century and come, not surprisingly, from the two Sicilian cities closest to the continent of north Africa. One is a mosaic from the S. Nicola district of Agrigento, perhaps of c. 180 – 200, featuring a series of intersecting cable circles intertwined with an independent network of sinusoid tendrils (plate X. 16), a scheme which first appears about the same time at Oudna and Utica in northern Tunisia.[138] Another is the approximately contemporary mosaic of the Seasons at Marsala, set within a polychrome floral style framework which is so close to examples in Carthage and elsewhere that there can be no doubt that the Sicilian floor is the work of an immigrant north African mosaicist.[139] The same is also true of a 'cushion' pattern floor at Syracuse, probably c. 200, almost identical in every detail to a mosaic in El Djem.[140] It was in this region of eastern Tunisia that the cushion design was first developed, and as all the examples of it down to c. 250, with the sole exception of the Syracuse floor, come from a very restricted area (Acholla, El Djem and La Chebba, all within 35 km. of each other), there can be no doubt that the Syracuse mosaic was laid by a mosaicist imported specially into Sicily.[141]

---

[133] K. DUNBABIN, The triumph of Dionysus on mosaics in Roman north Africa, PBSR XXXIV, 1971, 52 – 65; EAD., The Mosaics of Roman North Africa, Oxford 1978, 173 – 87.

[134] The date given by BERNABÒ BREA and CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 131, is 'not earlier than the third century', but the dating evidence has not been published in detail. COARELLI, op. cit. in n. 119, 383, suggests the late second century; VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 120, 127, dates them stylistically to 'not before the second half of the second century'.

[135] B. PACE, Comiso, edificio termale presso il Fonte Diana, NSc 1946, 162 – 74; for lifting and conservation, L. BERNABÒ BREA in: BdA LI, 1966, 97; and for the date, G. BECATTI, in: G. PICARD and H. STERN, ed., La Mosaique Gréco-Romaine, Paris 1965, 26.

[136] G. LIBERTINI, MB, 309 – 10, no. 1516; H. STERN, Le Calendrier de 354, Paris 1953, 210 – 12 and pl. XXXIX. Compare the Ostia mosaic, G. BECATTI, Scavi di Ostia IV, Rome 1961, 235 – 41, no. 438. For a recent survey, see now H. STERN, Les calendriers romains illustrés, ANRW II.12.2, Berlin and New York 1981, 431 – 75 (471 for the Catania mosaic, with pl. XXXV – XXXVI).

[137] R. J. A. WILSON, Roman mosaics in Sicily: the African connection, AJA LXXXVI, 1982, 413 – 28, discusses some of the mosaics which show strongest African influence, and also speculates on the implications; cf. also in brief VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. in n. 120, 193 – 5.

[138] Ibid., 134 – 5; P. MARCONI, Agrigento. Scoperte minori negli anni 1927 – 30, NSc 1932, 405 – 22, at 405 – 7; WILSON, op. cit. in n. 137, 421 – 2.

The presence of African mosaicists in Sicily can also be documented at a later period, especially in the fourth century, as most dramatically illustrated by the floor of the sumptuous country mansion near Piazza Armerina (EN). Here the detailed researches of several scholars have pointed to parallels, often extremely close parallels, among the mosaics of Roman north Africa, especially in the Carthage area, and it is beyond all reasonable doubt that the pavements of the villa were laid, not by local workmen struggling to master African-inspired designs, but by actual squads of imported African mosaicists, probably belonging to a single *officina* based in Carthage.[142] Piazza Armerina is not the only late Roman site where the case for immigrant African mosaicists is strong – the hunting mosaic in the Caddeddi villa on the Tellaro south of Syracuse is one, the geometric mosaic in another villa near Carini west of Palermo is probably another[143] – and even when the presence of Africans cannot be postulated with any confidence, the influence of African motifs and ideas continues to pervade nearly all the major mosaic floors of Sicily down into Byzantine times. The problem here is one of determining what precisely this 'African influence' implies in practical terms: does it mean that African master craftsmen sometimes supervised Sicilian mosaicists, perhaps in African-

---

[139] F. Canciani, Un mosaico di Marsala con i busti delle stagioni, CronASA X, 1971, 121–30; Wilson, ibid., 417; von Boeselager, ibid., 146–9.

[140] Ibid., 149–54; Wilson, op. cit., 416–7; G. Cultrera, Gli antichi ruderi di Via del Littorio, NSc 1940, 194–224, at 222 with fig. 28; cf. L. Foucher, Découvertes archéologiques à Thysdrus en 1961, Tunis n. d. = Notes et Documents 5, 55 and pls. 27e and 37b.

[141] G. Picard, Les thermes du thiase marin à Acholla, Ant. Afr. II, 1968, 95–151, esp. 115–35 (Syracuse mosaic at 127).

[142] Out of an enormous bibliography, see especially G. V. Gentili, La villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina. I mosaici figurati, Rome 1959; A. Carandini, Ricerche sullo stile e la cronologia dei mosaici della villa di Piazza Armerina, Stud. Misc. VII, 1964; Id., La villa di Piazza Armerina, la circolazione della cultura figurativa africana nel tardo impero ed altre precisazioni, DArch I, 1967, 93–120; K. M. D. Dunbabin, second op. cit. in n. 133, 196–212; A. Carandini, A. Ricci and M. de Vos, Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Armerina, Palermo 1982; and R. J. A. Wilson, Piazza Armerina, London 1983, ch. 2 (where the essential unity of the floors is stressed, and the possibility of a single Carthaginian workshop being responsible for all of them is considered).

[143] Tellaro: G. Voza, Le ville romane del Tellaro e di Patti in Sicilia e il problema dei rapporti con l'Africa, in: 150-Jahr-Feier, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom, Mainz 1982, 202–9; Id., Aspetti e problemi dei nuovi monumenti d'arte musiva in Sicilia, in: R. Farioli Campanati, ed., III Colloquio internazionale sul mosaico antico, 1980, Ravenna 1983, 5–18. Carini: Camerata-Scovazzo, op. cit. in n. 121.

owned branch workshops in the island? Or does it mean simply that Sicilian firms managed to get hold of African copybooks which they slavishly imitated with little or no novel ideas of their own?[144] The animal scenes, for example, in the *frigidarium* mosaic of a town-house at Capo Boeo, Marsala,[145] are a stock theme in the north African, and especially in the Carthaginian, mosaic repertoire; yet the framework in which they are set at Marsala is not readily paralleled in north Africa. The intact Orpheus mosaic at Palermo[146] is very close in overall style to several examples of the same theme in Africa Proconsularis; yet at the same time the surrounding border-mat of overlapping circles of tendrils is not precisely matched in African examples, and is also too poorly executed to have been the work of an imported African mosaicist. In both cases the precise part, if any, played by African mosaicists in the actual laying of these floors remains uncertain. Less competent mosaics, on the other hand, although still often showing clear influence of north Africa, are too unrefined to be other than the work of local craftsmen drawing on African motifs and ideas. Several third-century floors in the 'hellenistic-Roman quarter' at Agrigento are excellent illustrations of this.[147] One room, for example, in the Casa del Maestro Astrattista has a series of poorly-drawn running animals enclosed within laurel-wreath medallions, and these are set within a framework of triangles, rectangles and hexagons (each filled with a fish, a bird or a piece of fruit) with rosettes at the points of intersection. This pavement is undoubtedly based on schemes which enjoyed wide popularity in north Africa; but no precise parallel seems to exist there for the Agrigento design, and the poor standard of figure drawing also suggests that this is a Sicilian version of what is basically an African idea. Again, a floor in the nearby Casa delle Pelte contains a series of small circular figured panels in polychrome, each featuring a bird, a fish, or an animal head; and while each of these may have been ultimately based on African cartoons – the fish, for example, are surrounded by zig-zag lines, the normal African convention for showing the sea – the figure-drawing of each is too incompetent for it to have been the work of specially imported African mosaicists. These and other mosaic pavements in third- and fourth-century Sicily[148] show that the Sicilian mosaic industry, although one undoubtedly existed, never distinguished itself by any notable original contribution to the medium, but instead contented itself with copying to the best of its ability the well-tried, and highly successful, formulas of the north African mosaicists.

---

[144] These problems, and the mosaics mentioned in the rest of this section, are discussed at greater length by WILSON, op. cit. in n. 137. COARELLI, op. cit. in n. 119, 383–4, 386–7, while acknowledging the presence of African influence, also speculates on the possibility of eastern mosaicists (383) working in Sicily in the late Empire; but I know of no evidence to support such a contention.

[145] Unpublished in detail; for references see WILSON, Towns of Sicily etc., above in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 161, n. 245, with pl. XIX. 2; ID., op. cit. (n. 137), 419; also VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. (n. 120), 144–5.

[146] H. STERN, La mosaique d'Orphée de Blanzy-les-Fismes, Gallia XIII, 1955, 41–77, at 71; WILSON, op. cit. (n. 137), 420–1; VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. (n. 120), 186–92.

[147] *Pace* COARELLI, op. cit. in n. 119, 384 and 387, who does think most of the mosaics of this quarter were laid by Africans. For illustrations of some of them, E. DE MIRO, Il quartiere ellenistico-romano, RAL XII, 1957, 135–40.

IV. Clay products

1. Pottery: the fine wares[148a]

The study of pottery of Roman imperial date in Sicily is still in its infancy. Very few of the relevant excavation reports have been accompanied by full pottery lists containing a detailed analysis of the material by fabric and form; indeed even published pot profiles are relatively hard to come by. Important studies, however, of the early sigillata deposits at Morgantina and Monte Iato,[149] now nearing completion, will represent a major step forward and lay the foundations for future study of the wares current in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods; but until much more material has been systematically presented, and until the quantitative studies which have recently borne such fruit elsewhere in the central Mediterranean (for example at Carthage and Benghazi)[150] are also applied in Sicily, our knowledge of both the imported fine wares and the local products circulating at any one period during the Roman Empire in Sicily will continue to be woefully lacunose. The account offered below can at best be a preliminary sketch of a picture blurred in its main outlines as well as devoid of substantial detail at present.

The principal fine tablewares circulating in Sicily during the second and first centuries B.C. were the black gloss 'Campana' fabrics, manufactured in a number of different centres and widely distributed throughout the whole of the central and western Mediterranean. Sicily herself contributed to this production with the pottery classified by LAMBOGLIA as 'Campana C'; the clay of this is grey, light or medium in colour, and the slip is black and thick, sometimes lustrous, sometimes dull, and it flakes easily.[151] Little is still known about either the detailed chronology or the production centres of this ware, but kilns have been identified at Syracuse and Morgantina.[152] It enjoyed more than a merely local distribution, and was widely exported from the second half of the second century B.C. onwards as far afield as the Aegean, northern Italy, southern France and north Africa from Morocco to Tripolitania. It is, as MOREL has written[153], the first and only ancient pottery Sicily herself managed to produce in big quantities with a wide export market, although the possibility that there were other Campana C production centres outside Sicily cannot be entirely ruled out. The Campana black gloss pottery industry must have sufferred a disruption of trade during the turbulent period of the Civil Wars, and soon afterwards the sudden rise in popularity of the new red-gloss pottery manufactured at Arezzo from c. 40–30 B.C., resulted in the discontinuation of most black gloss wares. The Syracuse potteries, however, did continue after this date, but now production was geared only for local consumption: bowls and plates in the Campana C tradition, although not always slipped, were still being made there in the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods, until the industry went into decline about the middle of the first century A.D.[154]

---

[148] E. g. third-century mosaic in the House of the Gazelle at Agrigento (for a photograph, Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica I, fig. 222 = GABBA and VALLET, op. cit. in n. 118, pl. 164), and a floor of closely similar design at Centuripe (G. LIBERTINI, second work cited in n. 74, 362, fig. 11); on these see now VON BOESELAGER, op. cit. (n. 120), 141 – 2. The poor quality and limited range of the figured mosaics of the Patti (ME) villa, as well as the careless and untidy layout of the geometric floors there, suggest that these fourth-century mosaics were laid by Sicilians, not Africans; VOZA, second work cited in note 143, 14 – 15, is non-commital.

[148a] Cf. A. MANDRUZZATO, La sigillata italica in Sicilia. Importazione, distribuzione, produzione locale, below in this same volume (ANRW II. 11.1), 414 – 449.

[149] The hellenistic and early Roman pottery at Morgantina has been studied by S. C. STONE, whose report will be published as a volume in Morgantina Studies (Princeton); the study of the sigillata deposits at Monte Iato will appear in the series Studia Ietina (Zurich).

[150] For Carthage, cf. especially the American reports of J. H. HUMPHREY (ed.), Excavations at Carthage conducted by the University of Michigan, I – VII, 1976 – 82; for Benghazi, J. A. LLOYD (ed.), Excavations at Sidi-Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), I, Tripoli 1977 [1981], and cf. KENRICK, op. cit. in note 173 below.

The black gloss wares were not the only fine table pottery circulating in Sicily in the middle of the first century B.C.[155] In 1951 LAMBOGLIA published an article in which he coined the term *'pre-sigillata'* for a red gloss ware which he noted in levels of Sullan and Caesarian date at Ventimiglia in north Italy and at Tindari in Sicily.[156] Like many of the Campana products it tended to have a rather dull, metallic finish and the slip was often flaky; he therefore assumed that pre-sigillata represented Italian (and Sicilian) experiments in early red-gloss ware after the manner of Campana black gloss pottery, before the rise of the Arezzo industry c. 30 B.C. Despite the fact that these conclusions were challenged by Goudineau in the 1968 publication of 'arretine' wares

---

[151] The pioneering study was N. LAMBOGLIA, Per una classificazione preliminare della ceramica campana, in: Atti del I° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Liguri (Bordighera 1950), Bordighera 1952, 139–206. The study of this pottery has now been set on a firm footing by J.-P. MOREL, Céramique Campanienne: les Formes, Rome 1981.

[152] Ibid. 47, 520–1, with bibliography of the Sicilian material at 541 and 548–9; but see especially ID., La Sicile dans les courants commerciaux de la Méditerranée Sud-occidentale, d'après la céramique à vernis noir, Miscellanea di Studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni V, Rome 1980, 1561–82.

[153] Ibid. 1582.

[154] S. LAGONA, Vasai a Siracusa in età ellenistica-romana, ASSir II, 1972–3, 91–8; S. L. AGNELLO, Recenti esplorazioni nelle catacombe siracusane di S. Lucia, RAC XXX, 1954, 7–60, at 52–3; ID., Siracusa. Nuovi ipogei scoperti nel cimitero di Vigna Cassia, NSc 1955, 221–65, at 242–3; A. M. FALLICO, Siracusa. Saggi di scavo nell'area di Villa Maria, NSc 1971, 581–639, at 604–8, 636. AGNELLO suggests that earthquake damage caused the demise of the pottery industry, for which I see no evidence: the material excavated in the S. Lucia catacombs is probably part of a potters' dump cut through by the catacomb builders.

[155] Late Republican imports of Iberian pottery with painted decoration, which are not strictly relevant as they have no bearing on early imperial pottery in Sicily, are documented at Tindari (M. A. MEZQUIRIZ, AEA XXVI, 1953, 156–61), Lipari (L. BERNABÒ BREA and M. CAVALIER, Il castello di Lipari e il Museo archeologico eoliano, Palermo 1958, 62), Marsala (C. A. DI STEFANO, Sic. Arch. IX, 32, 1976, 30, with fig. 4 on p. 27) and Heraclea Minoa (E. DE MIRO, NSc 1958, 270, fig. 39). Another class of late

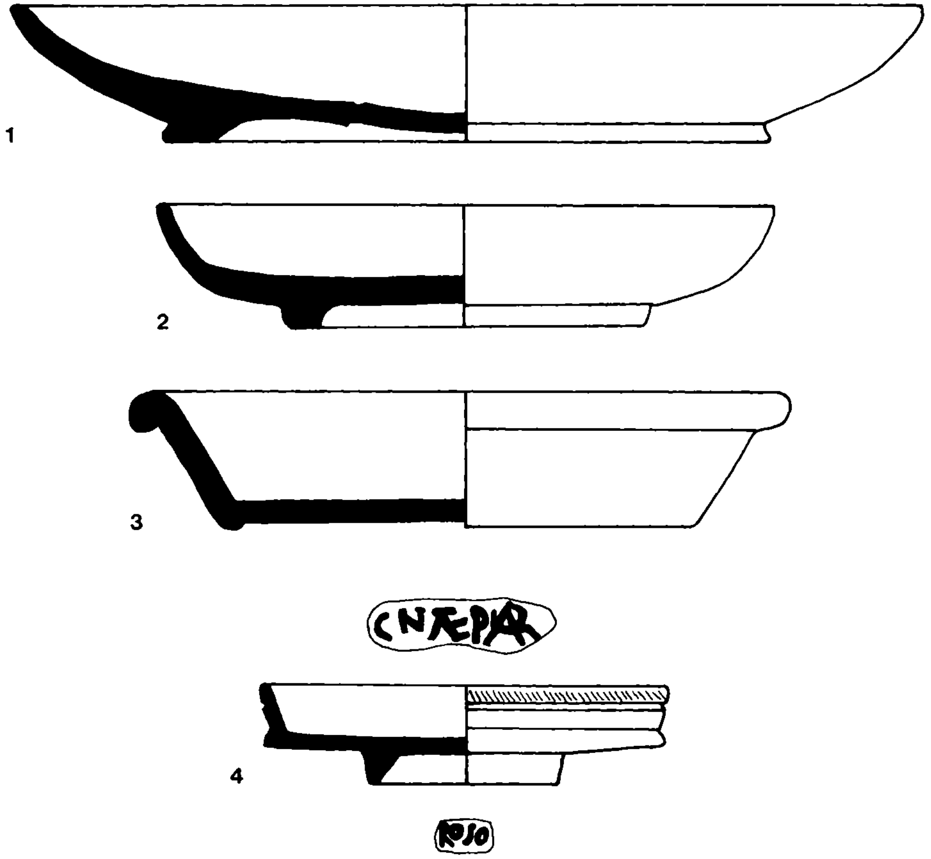


Fig. 2. Eastern sigillata and 'Tripolitanian' sigillata (?) wares in Sicily. Scale 1:2, stamps actual size. 1. Eastern Sigillata A, from Malta. 2. Eastern Sigillata A, from Syracuse. 3. Eastern Sigillata B, from Syracuse. 4. Sigillata dish, perhaps 'Tripolitanian' sigillata, from Syracuse

---

hellenistic ware found in Sicily but probably made in Campania, is Magenta ware: see note 222 below.

[156] N. Lamboglia, Ceramica 'presigillata' a Ventimiglia, a Minorca e in Sicilia, AEA XXIV, 1951, 35–41.

from Bolsena,[157] the term 'pre-sigillata' has become firmly established in Italian archaeological literature. It is, however, abundantly clear that LAMBOGLIA did not recognize for what they were the products of the eastern red-gloss factories, probably centred in the Syria-Palestine region, which were beginning to reach the western Mediterranean in reasonable quantities in the first half of the first century B.C.[158] This ware, formerly known as 'Pergamene ware' because of a mistaken belief that it was manufactured in western Asia Minor, is now generally called Eastern Sigillata A.[159] The body-clay ranges from yellow to light orange, and the slip, which at its best can be bright and glossy, varies in colour from orange-red to browny-red; on the poorer-made vessels it has a tendency to flake. With the exception of a dish with upturned curved rim from Malta, probably of Augustan date (Figure 2.1), and some fragments of the second half of the first century A.D. from Castagna (AG),[160] no published examples of this pottery from Sicilian sites have been interpreted as such; but Eastern Sigillata A is probably to be recognized among pottery profiles published from Syracuse (Figure 2.2),[161] Acrae,[162] Halaesa[163] and Tindari;[164] it has also been noted among deposits of 40/30 B.C. at Morgantina;[165] and it is also present in the museum collections at Palermo and Agrigento.[166] The majority of these shapes belong to the first century B.C. rather than later, and it is possible that more Eastern Sigillata ware was reaching Sicily at that period than in the early Empire, when Italian sigillata and other red-gloss pottery began to challenge for the red tableware market; but Eastern Sigillata A is present at Pompeii in the last two decades of that city's existence, and there are probably small quantites of it in Sicily during the late first and the early second centuries A.D.[167]

---

[157] C. GOUDINEAU, La Céramique arétine lisse (Fouilles de l'École française de Rome à Bolsena 1962–7, IV), Paris 1968, esp. 320–22, 336–47.

[158] First pointed out in a review of GOUDINEAU by E. ETTLINGER, Germania XLIX, 1971, 264–71, at 270.

[159] Following K. M. KENYON in: J. W. CROWFOOT et AL., Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects from Samaria, London 1957, 309–57; this and F. O. WAAGÉ, Hellenistic and Roman tableware of north Syria, in: Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV. 1, Princeton 1948, 1–60, are the fullest published typologies of Eastern Sigillata A; but a new type-series by J. W. HAYES, to be published in a Supplement to Enciclopedia d'Arte Antica, has been made available to me in typescript through the kindness of Dr. M. FULFORD, and is referred to below (in notes 160–3, 167, 173 and 209). On this ware see now also KENRICK, op. cit. infra (n. 173), 223–44.

[160] Malta: F. D'ANDRIA, Un piatto di ceramica "pergama", in: G. BUSUTTIL et AL., Missione archeologica italiana a Malta: rapporto preliminare della campagna 1968, Rome 1969, 81–2 with fig. 6.1 and pl. 16.1–2: HAYES form 4 B (= Samaria form 1, Antioch form 126: references in n. 159). Castagna: WILSON, op. cit. in n. 36, fig. 23.1–2 = HAYES forms 48 (c. 40–70 A.D. +) and 50 (c. 60/70–100).

[161] LAMBOGLIA, op. cit. in n. 156, 40, fig 4.5 (HAYES form 4 B), possibly also fig. 4.4 (? HAYES form 4 a); FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 601, fig. 26, A 80–1, and 627, fig. 46, F 12 (both rim fragments probably of HAYES 4 a).

[162] P. PELAGATTI in: NSc 1970, 454, fig. 21 d (HAYES form 7, c. 50–1 B.C. = Samaria form 5, Antioch form 105: references in n. 159).

[163] G. CARETTONI in: NSc 1959, 338, fig. 40 f, described as 'similar to sigillata' on p. 332 (HAYES form 9 = Samaria form 8a, Antioch form 101), c. 50–25 B.C.

[164] LAMBOGLIA, op. cit. in n. 156, 39, fig. 3, with Isis-type stamps (cf. KENYON, op. cit. in n. 159, 320, fig. 75, no. 12).

[165] S. C. STONE in: AJA LXXXIV, 1980, 234; for other Sicilian examples, see now ID., AJA LXXXVII, 1983, 12, n. 16.

[166] E. g. material in store from the hellenistic-Roman quarter at Agrigento in both museums.

Not all the vessels described as 'presigillata', however, fit into the typology of Eastern Sigillata A, and it is certain that experiments with red gloss wares

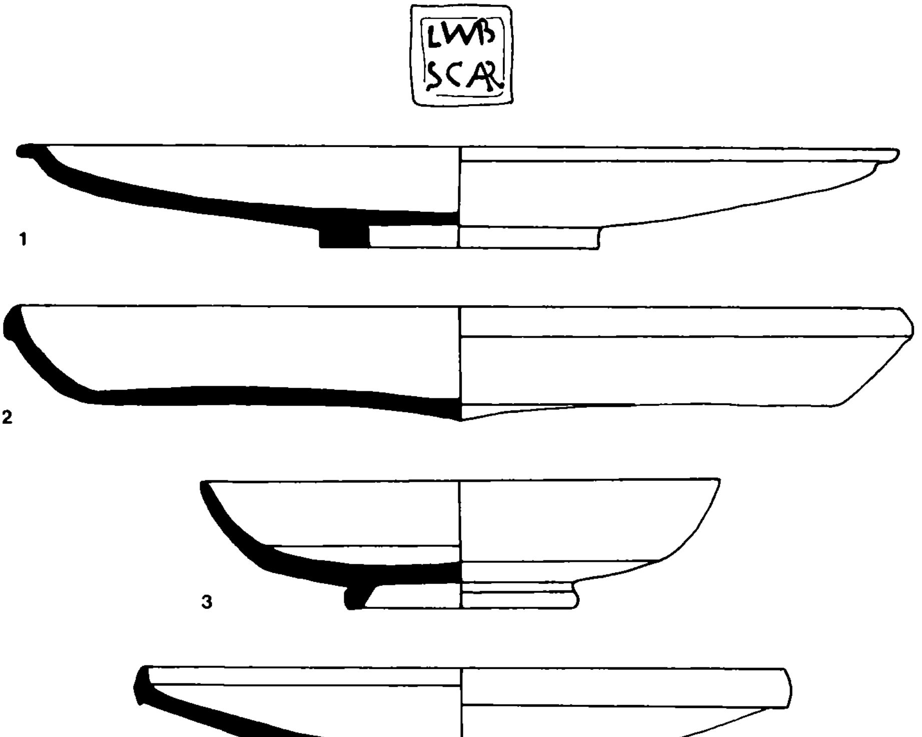


Fig. 3. Sicilian ware and Tripolitanian sigillata and red wares in Sicily. Scale 1:4, stamp approximately 1:2. 1. Red-slipped plate from Lipari, perhaps Sicilian made. 2. Red-slipped footless dish, from Lipari, probably Sicilian made. 3. Bowl from Syracuse, perhaps 'Tripolitanian' sigillata. 4. Tripolitanian Red Slip ware dish, from Barrafranca (EN)

were being made, almost certainly in Sicily, during the second half of the first century B.C. Some of these red-slipped Sicilian wares copied the forms of Eastern Sigillata A pottery.[168] One probable instance of this is a large plate from Lipari (Figure 3.1) which is closely comparable with HAYES' form 7 of the Eastern Sigillata A repertoire, dated by him to c. 50 – 1 B.C.[169] The Lipari vessel is described as 'presigillata', but it cannot represent a genuine eastern import as it bears the Latin stamp, *L.VMB SCAVR*, repeated several times; by contrast stamps on Eastern Sigillata A, when they appear (which is normally only on first century A.D. shapes), always occur singly, and are exclusively in Greek. L. Umbricius Scaurus, furthermore, is attested on early arretine ware, mainly with as Tuscan distribution;[170] yet the shape of the Lipari plate certainly does not correspond to any known profile in the Italian sigillata series. It therefore seems possible that Umbricius Scaurus first experimented with red gloss wares in Sicily, perhaps c. 50 – 30 B.C., before heading north to join the Arezzo potters; alternatively, but perhaps less likely, he was an Arezzo potter who later moved south (before the end of the first century B.C.) and chose to imitate an Eastern Sigillata shape rather than an Italian one for this Lipari plate.[171]

---

[167] E.g. BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, pl. i. 7, from Lipari, described as '*presigillata*'; but HAYES, op. cit. in n. 159, suggests that this might be an example of his form 58 of Eastern Sigillata A, of the second century A.D. For first-century examples at Castagna, see note 160, and for the evidence from Pompeii, G. PUCCI, Le terra sigillate italiche, galliche e orientali, in: A. CARANDINI, ed., L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale, Rome 1977, 9 – 21, at 19 – 20.

In addition to imitating both Campana C and Eastern Sigillata A forms, the red-gloss Sicilian potters also turned out a range of independent shapes, including cups, small vertical-sided bowls,[172] and probably shallow bowls with incurved rims.[173] One of the most distinctive shapes is a very large flat-bottomed footless dish, often rather irregularly made, with a diameter of about 50 cm: examples have been published from Lipari (Figure 3.2), Syracuse and near Acrae, and others have been found at Agrigento, Licata, Morgantina, Palermo and Termini Imerese.[174] The last of these, now in Palermo Museum, has a large and elaborate rectangular stamp in the middle of the bottom, consisting of an inner frame enclosing four rosettes and a series of concentric circles, and of a continuous row of palmettes between the inner and outer frames. The rosettes and palmettes are derived from the Campana and Eastern Sigillata traditions, and the form of these flat-bottomed dishes may have been influenced by similar shapes in Pompeian Red ware;[175] but there can be little doubt that these vessels are Sicilian made, probably in the second half of the first century B.C., and possibly later as well.

---

[168] As noted at Morgantina: STONE, first loc. cit. in n. 165.

[169] BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, 10, fig. 3; 259. The fabric is reddish-brown and finely granular; the slip, which flakes easily, especially in the centre of the plate, is a dullish red (personal observation).

[170] A. OXÉ and H. COMFORT, Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum, Bonn 1968, no. 2396 (cited below in notes 177 – 203 as CVA).

[171] Other Latin signatures on vessels described in the published literature as '*presigillata*' (e.g. the otherwise unattested *POLVS* on a cup at Halaesa: CARETTONI, op. cit. in n. 163, 333) may well also be Sicilian products.

[172] E.g. BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, pl. i. 5 – 6 (Lipari).

[173] E.g. FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 602, A 74 – 5. The shape occurs widely in the Campana range (e.g. MOREL, op. cit. in n. 151, no. 2724 and similar), but mostly in the fourth and third centuries B.C. rather than later, if MOREL's dating is correct. The shape is certainly being reproduced in local plain ware in Sicily in the first century B.C. (e.g. from near Akrai: P. PELAGATTI in: NSc 1970, 478 fig. 56c, in beige fabric with yellowish slip), and these red-slipped versions at Syracuse are probably also Sicilian made. There is, however, a related (but not very common?) shape in Eastern Sigillata A (HAYES 20, typescript cited in n. 159), and the Sicilian bowls may possibly be this ware. For an example from Libya, P. M. KENRICK, Excavations at Sidi-Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), Volume III, Part I: The Fine Pottery, Tripoli 1985, 230, no. B 322.

[174] Lipari: BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, 9 and pl. i. 9 (diam. 49.5 cm.; found with the dish stamped *L. VMB SCAVR*); Acrae: NSc 1970, 488, no. 74, with fig. 76b (diam.

In the early years of the reign of Augustus the pottery industry was revolutionized by the sudden introduction of very high quality red-gloss pottery, often called 'arretine' ware, which rapidly captured a major share of the market for fine tablewares in Sicily as elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. The fabric of this ware is pink in colour, varying from a pale pinkish-buff to a darker reddish-pink; and the slip is a thick, rich red-brown, usually with a brilliant high gloss. While Arezzo (Arretium) was undoubtedly the earliest and most important of the centres producing the new pottery, Lyon in southern France and Pisa on the coast of Tuscany are also known to have been manufacturing 'arretine' ware, which to the naked eye is impossible to distinguish from the pottery made at Arezzo; and a further production centre at Pozzuoli has for long been known after the discovery of wasters there in the 1870s.[176] The results of thin-section analysis, intended to help identify the various production centres, have so far been disappointing; and in view of the fact that no doubt other production centres of 'arretine' await discovery, 'Italian sigillata' is a more satisfactory term to describe this class of pottery. Enormous quantities of Italian sigillata were reaching Sicily in the last decades of the first century B.C. and throughout the whole of the first century A.D., especially the plain forms. Many of the best known Italian potters, such as M. Perennius Tigranus, L. Gellius and Cn. Ateius and his associates, including Xanthus, Zoilus and Euhodus, are all attested in Sicily.[177] Most of these were

---

c. 35 cm); Syracuse: NSc 1971, 626, with fig. 46, F 12 (diam. c. 30 cm); the others are unpublished.

[175] On this ware, see below n. 244.

[176] On Italian sigillata, see most recently P. M. KENRICK, Arretine pottery, a changing scene, in: H. BLAKE, T. W. POTTER and D. B. WHITEHOUSE (ed.), Papers in Italian Archaeology I, Oxford 1978, 237–41 with bibliography, and G. PUCCI, La ceramica italica (terra sigillata), in A. GIARDINA and A. SCHIAVONE, ed., Società romana e produzione schiavistica II: merci, mercati e scambi nel mediterraneo, Bari 1981, 99–121; see also note 178 below.

[177] Some Sicilian examples of the work of potters listed by OXÉ-COMFORT, CVA (op. cit. in n. 170) as based in Arezzo: M. Perennius Tigranus – CIL X. 8056. 252 (Catania); Sic. Arch. XIII, 44, 1980, 25 with fig. 26a–b (Monte Iato); cf. CVA 1239–49. L. Gellius – S. ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER, Die Geschäfte des Herrn Lucius G. Ein Arbeitsbericht, RCRF Acta XXI–XXII, 1980–1, 105–115; cf. CVA 737.28 (Solunto) and G. UGGERI, RAL XVII, 1962, 78 (Camarina). Cn. Ateius and associates – CVA 144–186. Cn. Ateius – CVA 145. 69, 72–9 (Catania, Syracuse, Selinus). Euhodus – CIL X. 8056.139 (Trapani). Xanthus – CVA 177.13–14 (Solunto, Syracuse), Sic. Arch. X, 35, 1977, 26, fig. 26 (Monte Iato). Zoilus – CVA 181, 17–18 (Solunto), 22–5

probably based at Arezzo, but Ateius and some of his freedmen are now also known to have had kilns at Pisa.[178] The Arezzo industry seems to have declined after c. A.D. 35, when production of relief ware ceased; the plain forms, however, continued to circulate widely down to c. A.D. 60, but in the next decade or so manufacture at Arezzo seems to have stopped altogether. Other Italian factories, however, continued to produce Italian sigillata into the second century A.D., and of these factories (which probably included Rome and others in central Italy),[179] Pozzuoli (Puteoli) probably played an important role in the Sicilian market; the name-stamps of several securely identified Puteolan potters are attested in the island.[180] In the second half of the first century A.D., Italian sigillata tends to become increasingly heavy and less carefully made, and in addition to the plain forms a rather degenerate mould-made decorated ware enjoyed a widespread export market from the 80s down into Hadrianic times.[181] The production centres are still unclear,

---

(Syracuse), NSc 1919, 82, no. 17 (Marsala). C. Gavius – CVA 730, y–z (Syracuse), NSc 1951, 329 (Syracuse). L. Tettius Samia – Mon. Ant. XLI, 1951, 803–4, fig. 74.3 (Syracuse); cf. CVA 1968.65 (Syracuse). T. Rufrenus Fronto – CVA 1605; Mon. Ant. XLVII, 1966, 310, note 1 (Eloro). T. Rufrenus Rufio – CVA 1599 (unpublished example from Palermo in Palermo Museum). P. Cornelius – CVA 479, NSc 1956, 115 (Syracuse). Memmius – CVA 984.40–2 (Catania, Solunto, Syracuse). Camurius – CVA 397, 32, 36 (Catania, Solunto), Sic. Arch. XI, 36, 1978, 20 with fig. 11.3 (Lipari).

[178] T. O. JEFFERSON, G. B. DANNELL and D. F. WILLIAMS, The production and distribution of terra sigillata in the area of Pisa, Italy, in: A. C. ANDERSON and A. S. ANDERSON, ed., Roman Pottery Research in Britain and North-West Europe: papers presented to Graham Webster, Oxford 1981, 161–71, esp. 161; cf. also M. PICON, E. MEILLE, M. VICHY and J. GARMIER, Recherches sur les céramiques d'Ateius trouvées en Gaule, RCRF Acta XIV–XV, 1972–3, 128–35.

[179] Examples of potters who worked in central Italy (according to the lists in OXÉ-COMFORT, CVA – op. cit. in n. 170) and whose products are attested in Sicily include the Messeni (e.g. Messenus Menop(h)ilu(s), CVA 1015, NSc 1959, 333 [Halaesa]; P. Messenus Sindaeus, CVA 1017, unpublished example in Tindari Museum, inv. no. 133) and Fortunatus (CVA 709h, Syracuse).

[180] E.g. N. N(aevius) H(ilarus), CVA 1083 (Kokalos XII, 1966, 15, from Bitalemi); Agathermus, CVA 1086, c, p (Syracuse, Catania); Heracleida, CVA 799 f (Solunto); Mari, CVA 697 (S. Castrogiovanni); probably Ingen ..., CVA 828 (Catania); and possibly Rasinius who worked at both Arezzo and Pozzuoli: see H. COMFORT, Rasinius at Puteoli – or Cumae?, in: W. A. VAN ES et AL., (ed.), Archeologie en Historie, opgedragen aan H. Brunsting bij zijn zeventigste verjaardag, Bussum 1973, 271–4; for Sicilian examples, cf. CVA 1504, *CISSV* | *RASINI*, NSc 1959, 334 (Halaesa); and *FIRMU* | *RASINI*, Sic. Arch. XIV, 46–7, 1981, 61 with fig. 12 (Monte Iato). It is also possible that Cn. Ateius Arretinus, one of Cn. Ateius' associates who set up an offshoot factory somewhere in south Italy, also worked in Campania: CVA 150–1 (Syracuse; also Tindari: unpublished, museum inv. no. 305), and cf. H. COMFORT, Late Ateius signatures, RCRF Acta IV, 1962, 5–25, at 8–12. Apart from Pozzuoli, south Italian sigillata production is also attested by the presence of moulds at Ordona and Limbadi (Catanzaro): J. P. MOREL, in: Atti del XV Convegno di Studi Sulla Magna Graecia, Naples 1976, 283, n. 31.

[181] On late Italian sigillata the main general discussions are H. COMFORT, A preliminary study of late Italian sigillata, AJA XL, 1936, 437–51; A. STENICO, Ceramica arretina e

but the finding of a mould for the decorated ware at Pisa shows that it was certainly being manufactured in Tuscany.[182] One of these 'late Italian sigillata' potters widely attested in Sicily is L. Rasinius Pisanus,[183] whose name suggests that his original connection was with Pisa; other manufacturers of late Italian sigillata include *S.M.F.* (Sex. Murrius Festus), *S.M.P.* (probably Sex. Murrius Pisanus) and *C.P.P.* (of uncertain interpretation), all of whose pottery has been found in Sicily.[184]

At least one production centre of decorated late Italian sigillata pottery is thought to have been in Sicily, and there may well have been others. In 1952 a fragment of mould was found in an unstratified dump at Tindari on the north coast of Sicily (Figure 4).[185] The mould was designed to produce a vase decorated with a running frieze of leaves with rudimentary 'grapes', bordered by an ovolo along the lip, and a bead and double reel below the main field. Also found in the excavations was a fragment in a red-brown fabric with an almost identical decoration, except that a running scroll (or 'Greek wave') pattern had been substituted for the ovolo along the upper

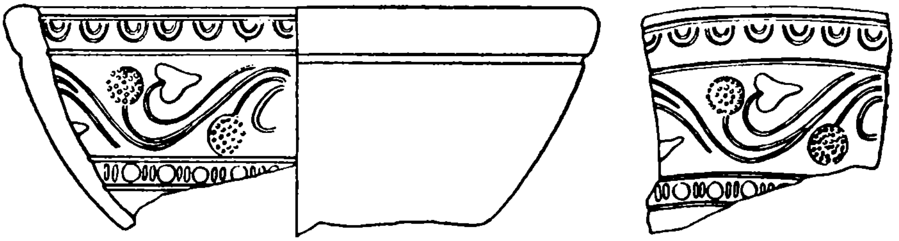


Fig. 4. Tindari, fragment of mould for manufacturing local decorated ware

---

terra sigillata tardo-italica, RCRF Acta II, 1959, 51 – 61; H. Klumbach, Das Verbreitungsgebiet der spätitalische Terra Sigillata, Mainz Jahrbuch III, 1956, 117 – 33; and G. Pucci, Le officine ceramiche tardo-italiche, in: Céramiques héllenistiques et romaines (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, vol. 36, University of Besançon), Paris 1980, 135 – 57. Cf. also M. T. Marabini Moevs, New evidence for an absolute chronology of decorated Late Italian sigillata, AJA LXXXIV, 1980, 319 – 27, for a piece from Cosa firmly dated to c. 128/34 (coin of Sabina impressed into mould).

[182] G. Pucci, Una matrice per terra sigillata tardo-italica decorata da Pisa, Antichità Pisane XI. 4, 1975, 1 – 4.

[183] Oxé-Comfort, CVA, op. cit. in n. 170, no. 1558. 105 – 6 (Stromboli); cf. also NSc 1947, 224 (Panarea); NSc 1954, 327 with fig. 17.3 (Syracuse); Sic. Arch. XIII, 43, 1980, 14 (Marsala); ibid. XVIII, 57 – 8, 1985, 26 (Castagna, AG).

[184] S.M.F. (Neronian-Vespasianic): Oxé-Comfort, CVA (op. cit. in n. 170), 1054. 57 – 8 (Bauli, Palermo), 63 – 5 (Syracuse); S.M.P.: CVA 1059, o, p, q (Termini Imerese, Trapani); C.P.P.: CVA 1191. 56 – 7 (Catania, Solunto, Syracuse), cf. NSc 1951, 270, fig. 8B (Syracuse), NSc 1954, 327 with fig. 17.2 (Syracuse), Sic. Arch. XVIII, 57 – 8, 26 with fig. 23 (Castagna, AG), Klumbach, op. cit. in n. 181, 126 (Taormina), who lists other *tria nomina* initial signatures known in Sicily up to c. 1953 on pp. 125 – 6.

[185] N. Lamboglia, Una fabbricazione di ceramica megarica a Tindari e una terra sigillata siciliana, Arch. Class. XI, 1959, 87 – 91 (Tindari Museum, inv. no. 380 – 1).

edge; and enough survived to show that the base of the bowl was decorated by overlapping 'leaf' triangles. These pieces are clearly Sicilian versions of the familiar class of hellenistic pottery known as 'Megarian' bowls.[186] The chronology of these bowls is uncertain, but the main period of production seems to have been from the mid second to the mid first century B.C., and the Tindari imitations were presumably being made sometime before Augustan times, although a later date is not impossible.[187] More directly relevant, however, to the topic of decorated sigillata ware is another fragment found at Tindari which is clearly modelled on DRAGENDORFF 11, an elegant shape common in Italian sigillata in the Claudian period and used in contemporary south Gaulish pottery as well (Figure 5). The rather rudimentary mould-made decoration consisted of a series of swags with a rosette above each loop, while an ovolo ran above and a row of circular 'grape clusters' below the main field. Both the similarity of the ovolo and the grapes and the identical red-brown fabric tally with the imitation Megarian pieces just mentioned, and it seems likely that a pottery industry produced at Tindari a version of decorated sigillata, perhaps sometime in the second half of the first century A.D.[188] A similar fragment from Monte Iato, also reckoned to be of Sicilian manufacture,

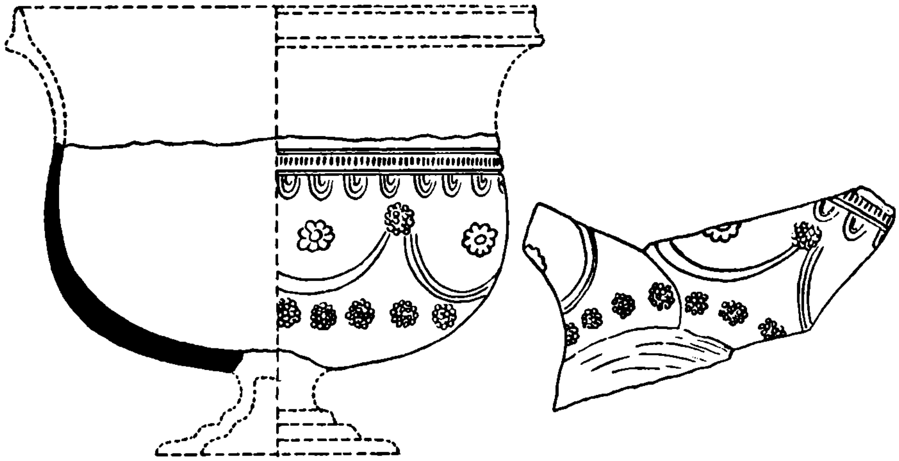


Fig. 5. Tindari, fragmentary crater in local sigillata ware, first century A.D.

---

[186] Cf. most recently A. LAUMONIER, Délos XXXI: La céramique hellenistique à reliefs. 1. Ateliers "ioniens", Paris 1977 (p. 7 for chronology); M. T. MARABINI MOEVS, Italo-Megarian ware at Cosa, MAAR XXXIV, 1980, 165–227 (c. 175–50 B.C. at Cosa: ibid. 210); S. L. ROTROFF, Athenian Agora XXII: Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and imported mould-made bowls, Princeton 1982 (production in Athens extends from the late 3rd. to the early first century B.C.).

[187] Cf. next note.

[188] But not necessarily as early as the Claudian period; cf. PUCCI, op. cit. in n. 181, 137–8, for an example of a late Italian sigillata copy of c. A.D. 75 of an arretine calyx of Tiberian date.

may be from the same source,[189] and another has been noted from Benghazi in Libya;[190] if correctly identified it would indicate that Sicilian sigillata enjoyed a modest export market. Even more remarkable, however, is an analagous crater of DRAGENDORFF 11, with very similar decoration to that on the Tindari piece (an ovolo above festoons), which is now in the Museum at Stoke-on-Trent in England.[191] It was found in Hanley, Staffordshire, and is apparently not a modern import. Clay analysis is clearly necessary before this piece can be confidently claimed as of Sicilian manufacture; but if superficial appearances are confirmed, Sicilian decorated sigillata may have been a larger scale industry with a more widespread distribution than is at present appreciated. Further work is clearly needed.

While Italian sigillata captured the lion's share of the market for fine tableware in Sicily during the first century A.D., it was not the only imported red gloss pottery reaching the island. One other type was South Gaulish sigillata pottery ('samian ware'), which successfully challenged Italian sigillata for the decorated ware market and enjoyed great success in Italy from the Claudian to Flavian periods. Very little of it has so far been recognized in Sicily, and it is unlikely that it ever made a significant impact there.[192] The distribution of it seems to have been mainly coastal – Lipari, Tindari, Syracuse and elsewhere[193] – and the name-stamps of a few south Gaulish potters are also recorded in the collections at Syracuse, Catania, and possibly Tindari.[194]

---

[189] H. BLOESCH and H. P. ISLER, AK XV, 1972, 37 and pl. 13.4 = NSc 1972, 649, fig. 8. A tiny fragment, also with swags and a rosette, found during survey work near Montallegro by the present writer (unpublished), may similarly be of Sicilian manufacture.

[190] KENRICK, op. cit. in n. 173, 193, B 291.

[191] H. COMFORT, An Italian Sigillata crater in Britain, Hommages à Albert Grenier I, Brussels 1962, 448 – 56. COMFORT thinks it was made c. 30 – 40 and survived long enough to be carried to Britain with the army c. 50; but it may be rather later in date (cf. note 188). The piece is also published in A. R. MOUNTFORD, J. GEE and G. SIMPSON, The excavation of an early Neronian pottery kiln and workshop at Trent Vale, Stoke-on-Trent, North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies VIII, 1968, 19 – 38, at 36 with fig. 8.14 (I am very grateful to Dr. GRACE SIMPSON for this reference).

[192] Cf. the evidence from Africa Proconsularis, where South Gaulish appears to count for 5% or less of the first century A.D. fine tableware: R. GUÉRY, L'importation de la terra sigillata gauloise en Afrique, RCRF Acta XXI – XXII, 1980 – 1 (publ. 1982), 63 – 70.

[193] PELAGATTI, op. cit. infra in n. 196, 81. Examples at Lipari (BERNABÒ BREA and CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 155, 63), Tindari (RIA XIV, 1964 – 5, 136), Troina (EN) (MILITELLO, op. cit. infra in n. 335, 344, fig. 16b – c), Castroreale San Biagio (ME) and Syracuse (unpublished); also one piece in Lentini (S. LAGONA, La collezione Santopaolo nel museo archeologico di Lentini, Catania 1973, 102, no. 280). Gaulish sigillata has also allegedly been identified in the Partinico district west of Palermo (V. GIUSTOLISI, Parthenicum e le Aquae Segestanae, Palermo 1976, 35 and 43).

[194] *Capito:* CIL X, 8056. 79 (Catania), a Claudian-Neronian potter at La Graufesenque (F. OSWALD, Index of potters' stamps on terra sigillata, 'samian ware', Margidunum 1931, 59); *Pater:* CIL X, 8056. 250 (Catania), Claudian-Vespasianic (OSWALD, 229). CIL X, 8056. 564, *OF ... STIC* (Catania), is presumably also a Gaulish stamp, and ibid. 535, stamped by (T.) Malius Fortunatus (Syracuse), is 'perhaps a S. Gaulish or German

Small quantities of Eastern Sigillata B ware made in Asia Minor, especially the thick and often poorly-made vessels with a flaky, dull orange-red slip (so-called B 2), are also likely to be present in Sicily, as this later version of the ware enjoyed a distribution as far west as Italy between about A.D. 75 and 150; but it has not so far been widely recognized in Sicily.[195] A flat-bottomed dish in Syracuse, however, with steeply sloping wall and rolled rim (Figure 2.3), probably belongs to this class,[196] as may a group of similar vessels fired black from the S. Giuliano hypogeum at Syracuse;[197] and another red-slipped dish with down-turned rim known to me from Agrigento is also of this fabric.[198] The same may also be true of a red-slipped flat-bottomed dish in

---

potter' according to Oxé-Comfort, CVA (see n. 170) 942. Other possible Gaulish stamps in Sicily include *IOAIN* (CIL X 8056. 504, Catania), perhaps *Ioenalis*, the Central Gaulish potter (Oswald, 146); *ION* (CIL X 8056, 506, from Catania and Syracuse), presumably *Ionio* (Oswald, 146–7, only three instances); *PETRO* (CIL X 8056. 258, Catania) = Oxé-Comfort, CVA no. 1295 (only two other instances), but surely the S. Gaulish Neronian potter *Petro* (Oswald, 240); *IVVN*, unpublished stamp from Tindari, perhaps *IVVEN(alis)* (Oswald, 156); and *IAA*, another unpublished stamp from Tindari, perhaps *Iabus*, a South Gaulish potter who worked at Banassac in the Flavian period (Oswald, 140). The two Tindari stamps were culled from a register of Tindari material in Syracuse Museum; I have not examined the material myself and cannot therefore confirm the fabric of these as South Gaulish. Comfort (second op. cit. in n. 180, 10) suggests that the stamp *SIICVNDI* from Syracuse (Mon. Ant. XLI, 1951, 803–4, fig. 74.1) is 'presumably the La Graufesenque potter Secundus, Claudius–Flavian', but this form of the stamp is not precisely paralleled in Oswald, 287–9 (except for the late Antonine central Gaulish potter of the same name, but he is most unlikely to be represented at Syracuse), and this Secundus is perhaps more likely the Italian (probably Puteolan) potter of the same name: Oxé-Comfort, CVA, 1721 esp. e, s; cf. D. F. Williams and G. B. Dannell, Petrological analysis of arretine and early samian: a preliminary report, in: P. Arthur and G. Marsh, ed., Early Fine Wares in Roman Britain, Oxford 1978, 5–13, at 6, for Secundus as a 'Puteolan' potter.

[195] H. S. Robinson, The Athenian Agora V, Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology, Princeton 1959, 12 with references, for this ware ('Samian A and B'); cf. also J. W. Hayes, Roman pottery from the south stoa at Corinth, Hesperia XLII, 1973, 416–70, at 452–3, and Kenrick, op. cit. in n. 173, 245–56. A new typology by Hayes will appear in a forthcoming supplement to Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica.

[196] P. Pelagatti, Stato e prospettive degli studi di ceramica romana in Sicilia, RCRF Acta XI–XII, 1969–70, 76–84, at 87 with fig. 3 f. The form is no. 63 in Hayes' new classification (see n. 195); cf. Robinson, op. cit. in n. 195, pl. 61, G213.

[197] G. V. Gentili, Siracusa. Contrada S. Giuliano. Area sepolcrale con ipogei ellenistici e tombe tardo-romane, NSc 1956, 151–64, at 157, fig. 8 (= Pelagatti, op. cit. in n. 196, fig. 3a–e), where they are listed as hellenistic material 'in the Campana C tradition'; cf. however, Hayes, forthcoming (see n. 195), where they are included among Eastern Sigillata B2 forms 63 and (for the smaller dishes) 74A (for the latter, cf. T. N. Knipowitsch, Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Ermitage, Frankfurt 1929, pl. I. 10).

[198] Unpublished; among material kept in store at Palermo Museum from the 1922 excavations of the 'Casa Greca' (= Casa del Peristilio) of the 'hellenistic-Roman' quarter at Agrigento. Diameter 11 cm., ht. 5 cm., form Hayes 74A.

the same tradition, found in a grave at Sofiana in company with African red slip ware of the late first or early second century A.D.[199]

Another first-century sigillata may also be present in Sicily in rather greater quantities, but little is at present published about it as it is a class of pottery which has only recently been recognized on sites in the central Mediterranean. In 1976 Hayes published a preliminary typology of what he called 'imitation terra sigillata', based on 125 sherds from the 1975 Michigan University excavations at Carthage;[200] further pieces, as yet unpublished, are known from Sabratha;[201] but the most detailed study so far published is that of P. M. Kenrick on material from Benghazi in Libya.[202] The fabric of this 'imitation terra sigillata' is orange or orange-buff, and the slip is a bright orange-red and often has a high gloss, especially on the interior of the vessels. The forms are usually closely modelled on those of Italian sigillata. Production probably started in Augustan times and continued well into the first century A.D., but where it was made is still unknown; Kenrick suggests a south Tunisian or Tripolitanian origin, although recent work at Pompeii has demonstrated that it comprises some 60% of all fine wares in Augustan levels there, in which case a Campanian origin is perhaps more likely. How much of this 'imitation' or 'Tripolitanian' sigillata is present in Sicily only further detailed work will show; if found there in considerable quantities the possibility of a Sicilian production centre cannot be entirely ruled out. Pending such fresh investigation, the account here offered can at best be extremely tentative.

Among the name-stamps on this 'Tripolitanian' sigillata from Sidi-Khrebish which have been studied by Kenrick are several which can also be paralleled in Sicily. One is ΒΛΑCΤΙ ΜΟΥΝ(ατι) in Greek, which is recorded at Catania and on a sherd found near Lentini; another is *AMPHIO*, which occurs in the Catania collections; and a third is the ligatured *MAR*, which may be related to *MARIV(s)*, a stamp only recorded on a single example, from Syracuse.[203] The *Blasti Munati* stamp in Greek suggests a connection with the Munatii potters of Pozzuoli, who stamped in Latin,[204] and it is possible, as Kenrick has noted, that the 'Tripolitanian' sigillata production was an offshoot industry set up from there; and in this connection it is interesting to note that *EROS*, another 'Tripolitanian' sigillata stamp found at Benghazi, is also known on Puteolan sigillata.[205] Whether an analogous stamp recording *EROS* from a farm at Canne Masche (PA), near Himera on the north coast of Sicily, is likely to be on a vessel of Puteolan sigillata fabric or 'Tripolitanian' sigillata, the published account does not make clear.[206] Another enigmatic dish, which perhaps is also of 'Tripolitanian' sigillata, comes from Syracuse (Figure 2.4).[207] The vessel is stamped twice in Latin: *Cn. Ate(ius) Par* ... on the inside, and Roso on the outside. Neither of these stamps is so far definitely attested elsewhere, but Cn. Ateius Par ... is presumably linked with the Atei so common on Italian sigillata.[208] The Syracuse dish, however, is described as *'terra sigilllata chiara'*, which suggests an orange rather than a red colour, and its shape is not precisely paralleled in the Italian sigillata repertoire. It does, however, correspond exactly to form 35 of HAYES' Eastern Sigillata A classification, which was circulating according to his chronology c. A.D. 40 – 70;[209] yet it cannot be Eastern Sigillata A, as the signatures on that ware always occur singly and in Greek. The shape is, however, also known in 'Tripolitanian' sigillata,[210] and the Syracuse dish may therefore belong to this range; re-examination of it is clearly desirable. Other published vessels which may also belong to the same class of pottery are the deep bowls described as 'pre-sigillata', one from Lipari and the other from Syracuse (Figure 3.3);[211] and among unpublished material there are further examples of 'Tripolitanian sigillata' in museum collections at Aidone (from Morgantina), and no doubt elsewhere.[212,213]

---

[199] Morel, op. cit. in n. 151, 89, n. 63.

[200] J. H. Humphrey (ed.), Excavations at Carthage 1975 conducted by the University of Michigan, I, Tunis 1976, 75–7. More of this ware has been found in the British excavations at Carthage and will be published in a forthcoming volume by M. Fulford.

[201] Information kindly supplied by Dr. P. M. Kenrick. Some pieces have now been published from here: see Id., Excavations at Sabratha 1948–1951, London 1986, 179 with fig. 85.

[202] Kenrick, op. cit. in note 173, 283–302, on which my account draws heavily. I am most grateful to Drs. Fulford and Kenrick for showing me samples of this pottery and discussing it with me. Campanian: G. Soricelli, Libyan Studies XVIII, 1987, 73–87.

[203] ΒΛΑCΤΙ: CIL X, 8056. 65 (Catania; cf. Oxé-Comfort, CVA, op. cit. in n. 170, 1033. c); ΒΛΑCΤΙ ΜΟΥΝΑΤΙ: S. Ciancio, Leontinoi-Lentini, Rome 1967, 56, fig. 7 (Lentini); *AMPHIO*: CIL X, 8056. 23 (Catania; cf. CVA 65. b); *MARIV*: CIL X, 8056. 207 (Syracuse, cf. CVA 971).

[204] Cf. Oxé-Comfort, CVA, 1033.

---

[205] Ibid. 641.

[206] N. BONACASA in: BONACASA et AL., Himera II, Rome 1976, 658, described as 'terra sigillata, with surface not uniform, especially on the outside'; 701 for the stamp (*IIROS*, a form also used by the Pozzuolan potter – see n. 205; the Benghazi one, however, is *EROS*: KENRICK, op. cit. in n. 173, 301, no. X 157).

[207] G. CULTRERA in: Mon. Ant. XLI, 1951, 803 – 4 with fig. 75.

[208] COMFORT, second op. cit. in n. 180, 10 – 11, for discussion (without conclusion) of this Syracuse dish. CIL X, 8056. 457, *Cn. Ate(ius) P* ... (Catania), may possibly be a related stamp.

[209] HAYES, typescript cited in n. 159.

[210] Cf. KENRICK, op. cit. in n. 173, 291, no. B 412, from Cape Bon, in Manchester Museum, no. R 908.

[211] Lipari: BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, pl. i. 8; Syracuse: LAMBOGLIA, op. cit. in n. 156, 40, fig. 4.3 (in neither case is the precise context recorded); cf. KENRICK, op. cit. in n. 173, 294, B 417. 1 – 2 for this shape in 'Tripolitanian' sigillata.

[212] For the Morgantina material, see S. C. STONE, American Journal of Archaeology XCI, 1987, 85 – 103 (assuming the imported micaceous fabric is 'Tripolitanian').

[213] Lead-glazed ware appears to be hardly represented at all in the Sicilian collections; there is, however, a green-glazed skyphos with ring handles and olive-branch decorations on the body from Lipari (L. BERNABÒ BREA and M. CAVALIER, Il castello di Lipari e il Museo archeologico eoliano, Palermo 1977, 149). This is probably Tarsus ware, the most popular of the eastern lead-glazed factories and the most widely distributed: they first reached Italy in the second half of the first century B.C. and continued into the first century A.D. Cf. A. HOCHULI-GYSEL, Kleinasiatische glasierte Reliefkeramik, Bern 1977, 107 – 22, with distribution map on p. 21; the distribution of the products of other

Towards the very end of the first century A.D. there appear on the Sicilian market the first examples of the pottery which was soon to sweep all before it and banish serious competition for the fine ware market in the island for well over 300 years. This is the pottery in a new orange-red fabric, with a similarly coloured slip, known as African Red Slip ware, or, in Italian, '*terra sigillata chiara*'.[214] The earliest form of this represented in Sicily (HAYES 3 B) started production in the last quarter of the first century, and by the Hadrianic period[215] the African industry had begun its massive export programme which took this class of pottery to most quarters of the Mediterranean until well into the Byzantine period. The exact production centres within Tunisia have not all been located, but recent work has put beyond all doubt that Carthage was one of the most important places of manufacture;[216] and in view of her proximity to Sicily it is hardly surprising to find African tableware completely saturating the Sicilian market for fine pottery from the beginning of the second century onwards. All the common open forms are found in abundance all over the island, but the closed forms are rare.[217] In addition several examples of bowls with appliqué decoration (the later variety, HAYES 52 B and 53 A, mostly fourth – early fifth century) have been published,[218] as well as some

---

lead-glazed wares – 'Smyrna', 'West Asiatic' and north Italian – makes a Sicilian presence unlikely. A green-glazed bowl of 2nd. century A.D. date imitating HAYES form 8 of the African Red Slip series has also been published from Syracuse: GENTILI, op. cit. in n. 197, 158 with fig. 10.4. A few pieces are also known from Morgantina.

[214] HAYES, LRP 13 – 299, with bibliography of most published Sicilian examples at 437; cf. also ID., Supplement to Late Roman Pottery, London 1980 (cited below as HAYES, LRP Supplement), for recent work and revision of some of the conclusions in LRP. For a different classification (not followed here), A. CARANDINI, ed., Atlante delle forme ceramiche I: ceramica fine romana nel bacino mediterraneo (medio e tardo impero), Rome 1981, Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Supplemento, 11 – 183. For African Red Slip ware in Sicily, cf. PELAGATTI, op. cit. in n. 196, 80 – 2; C. VOZA PIPITONE, Ceramica tardo-imperiale nella Sicilia orientale, ACNAC II, 463 – 71; and for a group from Chiaramonte Gulfi (RG), A. M. FALLICO, Ceramica romana dal territorio di Chiaramonte, RCRF Acta XI – XII, 1969 – 70, 8 – 16. Among other published groups from Sicily not included in HAYES' bibliography are those from Lipari (L. BERNABÒ BREA and M. CAVALIER, Meligunìs-Lipára I, Palermo 1960, 127 – 32), Syracuse (NSc 1971, 607 – 8, fig. 30 – 1; Palladio XXIII, 1973, 15, fig. 10) and Femmina Morta (Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 77, pl. CXXXVI).

[215] On the date, HAYES, LRP Supplement, 515.

[216] Cf. ibid. 518 with references.

[217] Examples: HAYES 123 (three specimens) from Lipari: HAYES, LRP 176 with references; HAYES 160 from Agrigento, hellenistic-Roman quarter, unpublished (inv. no. 14086).

[218] HAYES form 53A: HAYES, LRP Supplement, 497, no. 22 with references (from Catania). HAYES form 52B: VOZA PIPITONE, op. cit. in n. 214 (from Noto, Floridia, Scicli, and Syracuse; cf. HAYES, LRP 77 no. 18 and LRP Supplement, 496, nos. 28 – 30); A. M. FALLICO, Avanzi monumentali di età paleocristiana a Lipari, Palladio XXIV – XXV, 1974 – 6, 143 – 52, at 149 with fig. 5a (from Lipari). Rim fragments only (probably mostly on form 52B): G. LIBERTINI, Catania. Necropoli romana e avanzi bizantini nella Via Dottor Consoli, NSc 1956, 170 – 89, at 179, fig. 15 (from Catania); BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 214, pl. XXXV. 1 (from Lipari); also unpublished examples from field work near Heraclea Minoa.

specimens of mould-made ware, which is not widespread in the African Red Slip series. Apart from a fragment of a rectangular dish (HAYES 56) from Tindari showing a *venator,* the mould-made pottery comprises a unique jug from Piazza Armerina decorated with an assortment of animals and palm trees (HAYES 180, perhaps fifth century: plate XI. 17), and a rare flat-sided flagon in the Catania collections with mythological scenes, probably of similar date (HAYES 169).[219] With good-quality African pottery dominating the market there was little room for competition, at least until the fifth century. A few examples, however, of the rather mediocre relief-decorated bowls in pale-brown fabric, which were made in Corinth during the first half of the third century, did find their way to Sicily, where they are known from Syracuse, Catania, Messina, Motya (TP) and Chiaramonte Gulfi (RG).[220] The bowls mainly have an eastern Mediterranean distribution but scattered examples are known as far west as Ostia and Aquileia in Italy, Nora in Sardinia, Split in Yugoslavia and Mallorca and Barcelona in Spain.[221] Also from Syracuse are two fragmentary examples of what is probably Cnidian relief ware from Asia Minor: one is a plastic vase in the shape of a ram, the other is a ram's head patera handle; both were probably made in the third century.[222] Another fragment of what is possibly the same ware has also been published from

---

[219] Tindari: VOZA PIPITONE, op. cit. in 214, 466 and fig. 2b. Piazza Armerina: HAYES, LRP, 199–200 with references. Catania: ID., LRP Supplement, 490 with references. There is apparently also an unpublished fragment of form 56 in Syracuse with a scene from the Achilles cycle: FALLICO, infra note 226, 480.

[220] Syracuse: P. ORSI, Di alcuni ipogei recentemente scoperti a Siracusa, NSc 1913, 270–1, fig. 13; Catania: LIBERTINI, MB, 198–9, no. 857; Messina: G. SCIBONA, Ritrovamenti archeologici in via F. Faranda, NSc 1969, 198–209, at 207 with fig. 7b on 205, dating incorrect; Motya: A. CIASCA ET AL., Mozia VI, Rome 1970, pl. IX. 1, bottom left, incorrectly identified; Chiaramonte Gulfi: FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 214, 9 with fig. 1a–b. There are also further unpublished fragments in Syracuse.

[221] For Corinthian relief ware, see D. C. SPITZER, Roman relief bowls from Corinth, Hesperia XI, 1942, 162–92; J. O. GRANADOS GARCÍA, Estudios de ceramica romana Barcelonesa; un vaso de ceramica corintia hallado en la necropolis romana de las Corts, in: Estudios de Ceramica romana V (Studia archeologica 50), Valladolid 1978, 21–34; and in brief HAYES LRP, 412 and ID., LRP Supplement, 536. For the Nora bowl, which is unpublished (?), see photograph in Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, pl. XXIV. 2.

[222] Plastic ram: G. V. GENTILI, Siracusa. Saggio di scavo a sud del Viale Paolo Orsi, in predio Salerno Aletta, NSc 1954, 302–33, at 322, with fig. 24.3 on 332, described as of pink fabric with red-brown slip. Patera handle: example in pink fabric with metallic grey slip exposed in showcase in room XIX of first floor of Syracuse Museum (along with Corinthian relief ware). It is not clear if these are Cnidian imports (whose fabric is normally orange or grey, although it can be fired pink on the surface) or imitations made in (e.g.) Africa; on the ware in brief, HAYES, LRP 411–2 and LRP Supplement, 535, with references. The plastic vases are clearly to be differentiated from those of a different period (c. 80–0 B.C.) in a cream or pale yellow fabric and an orange-brown slip, known as Magenta ware. Several examples of this ware, which was probably made in Campania, are known in Sicily: see R. HIGGINS, Magenta ware, in: British Museum Yearbook 1: The Classical Tradition, London 1976, 1–32.

Marsala.[222a] Rather less ambitious is the series of one-handled mugs with a simple painted decoration (usually spirals or leaves) in white slip. Examples of these, probably made in the late second or early third centuries, have been published from Syracuse and Lipari, and several others are known in south Italy, where they were probably made.[223]

The Corinthian, Cnidian and painted pottery just mentioned represent only a trickle of non-African tablewares in a market completely dominated by the Tunisian products throughout the period of the middle Empire. Whether or not there was a dramatic fall in these African imports in the second and third quarters of the fifth century, only stratified deposits in Sicily of the right date will be able to demonstrate (none is currently available); but it would be surprising if the constant raids of Geiseric into Sicily between 440 and 475, and the resulting insecurity of many parts of the island, especially the coastal regions (reflected, for example, by several mid-fifth-century coin hoards), did not leave some mark on the pottery trade between Tunisia and Sicily.[224] At any rate it was during the fifth and sixth centuries that small quantities of fine wares from the eastern Mediterranean began to reach the island, especially the pottery known as Late Roman C or Phocaean Red Slip ware, made in Asia Minor.[225] Sherds of this are known from Syracuse, Agrigento, Naxos (ME), Punta Secca (RG) and Sofiana (EN), as well as on rural sites at Castroreale San Biagio (ME), near Heraclea Minoa (AG), and on Malta, but it never appears to have been very plentiful.[226] The earliest probably arrived at the beginning of the fifth century and so may predate Vandal control of Africa, but a possible restriction in the supply from Tunisian sources may have encouraged the import of this pottery from the eastern Mediterranean. There is also what is probably an example of Cypriot Red Slip ware in Agrigento, but this represents an isolated specimen of a pottery which did not have a general distribution west of Cyrenaica and the Aegean.[227] One other class of imported tableware present in late Roman Sicily is likely to be Tripolitanian Red Slip ware, but very little of it has so far been identified, apart from an example of the sixth century from Barrafranca (Figure 3.4).[228] This pottery, generally of orange-red or pinkish-red fabric with a slightly metallic slip, probably reached Sicily, and especially eastern Sicily, in small quantities from the fourth century onwards, no doubt in company with the related Tripolitanian lamps of similar fabric (below p. 281). But none of this late Roman tableware made significant inroads into the Sicilian market, and there is no doubt (whatever the precise situation in the mid fifth century) that enormous quantities of African red slip ware continued to reach Sicily at the end of the fifth and throughout the sixth centuries.[229] All the classic forms in the African series of that date, such as HAYES 88, 89, 91, 99, 104 and 105, are found in abundance not only in many of the towns of Sicily, but on rural sites such as villas and market settlements as well; these, in contrast to their counterparts in central Italy, show an Indian summer of affluence in late Roman and early Byzantine times.[230]

[222a] A. M. Bisi, op. cit. infra in n. 238, 337, fig. 29, top left, with 315 (fabric not described). The rim bore a discontinuous ovolo (a group of three survives) and may have been part of an animal-headed patera in Cnidian ware, as Kenrick, op. cit. in n. 173, 333–5, B 498.1 (from Benghazi); cf. also H. Goldman, Tarsus I, Princeton 1950, 296, no. 1049 with fig. 177, and, for a complete example with continuous ovolo, AA 1909, col. 561–2 (photo). I am grateful to Dr. Kenrick for suggesting this possible identification of the Marsala fragment to me.

[223] Syracuse: P. Orsi, op. cit. in n. 220, 271–2 with fig. 14; Lipari: Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, pl. CCXXII. 8 and 10. For this class of pottery, Hayes, LRP, 412 with note 16.

[224] For a historical account of the troubles of 440–75, with discussion of the sources, F. Giunta, Genserico e la Sicilia, Kokalos II, 1956, 104–41, especially 121–41. Coin hoards: NSc 1909, 61 (Syracuse), AIIN III, 1956, 167–77 (Butera), RAL VIII, 1953, 422–40 (Comiso), RIN XXIII, 1910, 353–9 (Lipari). For general discussions of the possible repercussions on the pottery industry of Vandal control in north Africa, see Hayes, LRP Supplement, 516–7, and, more fully, M. G. Fulford, Carthage: overseas trade and the political economy, c. A.D. 400–700, Reading Medieval Studies VI, 1980, 68–80, esp. 70–3, and Id., in: M. G. Fulford and D. P. S. Peacock, Excavations at Carthage: the British Mission I, 2, Sheffield 1984, 113–4, 258–60.

[225] Hayes LRP, 323–70; Id., LRP Supplement, 525–7.

[226] Syracuse: Gentili, op. cit. in n. 222, 329–30, fig. 17.7 (Hayes motif 72, LRP 367); Punta Secca ('Caucana'): Hayes form 8 (LRP, 342); Naxos: unpublished, but cf. A. M. Fallico, Alcuni caratteri di prodotti artigianali, ACNAC III, 480, n. 24; Heraclea Minoa: R. J. A. Wilson and A. Leonard, JFA VII, 1980, 232, form 3F; Malta: Missione archeologica italiana a Malta: rapporto preliminare della campagna di scavi 1966, Rome 1967, 68, fig. 9.20 (form 3). The rest are unpublished: at Agrigento, forms 1D and 3F, at Castroreale

2. Pottery: other wares

While our knowledge of the fine tableware circulating in Sicily during the Empire is still very imperfect, the information available about other pottery

---

San Biagio 1D and 3C (personal observation) and at Sofiana forms 1A, 3C and 5 (information from Dr. M. G. BRANCIFORTE).

[227] HAYES LRP, 371 – 86 for this ware (and LRP Supplement, 528 – 9). The dish in Agrigento Museum (inv. no. 14106, from hellenistic-Roman quarter) is probably form 2 of this fabric, imitating form 84 of African Red Slip ware; the fabric throughout is pale brown, there is black discolouration on parts of both inside and outside of the vessel, and there is coarse rouletting on the exterior wall. All these features suggest Cypriot rather than African red slip ware, although some poorly-fired versions of the latter can have a light-brown colour at this period (HAYES LRP, 291).

[228] HAYES LRP, 304 – 9 for this ware; but a fuller type series has now been published by KENRICK (op. cit. in n. 173, 387 – 98) on the basis of the Benghazi material. The Barrafranca dish (NSc 1956, 167, fig. 2b), suspected by HAYES (ibid. 309) to be this ware, has been shown by KENRICK to be a sixth-century shape in Tripolitanian Red Slip (related to HAYES form 104 in the African red slip series), despite the finding of a third-century coin with the Barrafranca dish (cf. B 702 in KENRICK, op. cit. in n. 173, 394).

[229] Cf. FULFORD, first op. cit. in n. 224, 72 and second op. cit. in same note, 113 – 4, for the view that African red slip regained a widespread Mediterranean market from c. 475 to c. 550 after a slack period in the middle of the fifth century.

[230] The evidence will be presented more fully in a chapter of my forthcoming book, 'Sicily under the Roman Empire'. On the absence of African Red Slip on rural sites in Italy from the mid fifth century, HAYES, LRP Supplement, 516.

of this date is so sketchy and deficient that hardly anything of value can be said about it at present. If relatively few profiles of the fine wares have been published from Sicily, even less attention has been paid to other pottery: virtually no groups of coarse wares have been adequately described and drawn, and only a handful of kilns have been located. An enormous amount of work needs to be done on identifying and cataloguing the various fabrics circulating in the island during the Roman imperial period and on assessing the range of distribution of each. For the moment our ignorance about the contribution of local pottery production to the Sicilian economy is almost total.

The most detailed evidence at present available concerns the pottery industry of Syracuse. In addition to versions of black-gloss Campana C, already mentioned (p. 240), the kilns here were producing at least two other types of pottery, as well as lamps, in the second half of the first century B.C. and first half of the first century A.D.[231] One type is the so-called S. Giuliano pottery, in a pink fabric with a generally yellowish slip: some open forms, especially craters, beakers and shallow dishes, were made in this ware, but the main production concentrated on closed forms, such as small mugs, single-handled flagons (both wide- and narrow-mouthed), jugs with trefoil mouths, and two-handled storage jars. The other main class of pottery being turned out at Syracuse during the late Republic and early Empire was thin-walled ware („*vasi a pareti sottili*") in a red or grey fabric, sometimes fired reddish or dark brown on the surface; quantities of this have been studied at Syracuse itself and from a country district near Acrae.[232] Some of the forms, including jugs and flagons, are very similar to those of the S. Giuliano range; as well there are cups, bowls and beakers of a type familiar in thin-walled wares elsewhere in the Empire. How wide a distribution any of this Syracusan pottery enjoyed is at present not clear. Thin-walled wares, for example, are represented in several Sicilian museum collections, but in a number of different fabrics. Some may be the product of other local industries, and it is likely that a proportion of them are imported from the Italian factories, of which several are known or suspected.[233]

---

[231] Cf. especially all works cited in n. 154 and PELAGATTI, op. cit. in n. 196.

[232] EAD., NSc 1970, 480–6 (near Akrai); FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 602–4 with fig. 27, 618, 623 (Syracuse). Cf. now also a group of coarse ware including thin-walled ware from an Augustan tomb at Naxos: G. M. BACCI SPIGO, Coppa vitrea ed oreficerie da sepolture di età ellenistica e romana da Naxos, BdA^6 25, 1984, 59–68, at 64–5.

[233] There is no adequate publication covering this class of pottery; but for the most important recent discussions, see especially F. MAYET, Les céramiques à parois fines dans la Péninsule Ibérique, Paris 1975; M. T. MARABINI MOEVS, The Roman Thin-Walled Pottery from Cosa (= MAAR 32), Rome 1973; E. SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA, Die dünnwandige Gebrauchskeramik vom Magdalensberg, Klagenfurt 1975 (cf. G. PICCOTTINI, Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg – ein spätkeltisches und frührömisches Zentrum im südlichen Noricum, ANRW II. 6, Berlin and New York 1977, 263–301, at 293); and K. GREENE, The Pre-Flavian Fine Wares (Report on the Excavations at Usk 1965–76), Cardiff 1979, 75–84. Italian factories are known or suspected in the north Adriatic, the Po Valley, central Italy and probably Campania. A. RICCI, I vasi potori a pareti sottili, in: GIARDINA and SCHIAVONE, op. cit. (n. 176), 123–38, at 133, claims that

The Syracuse potteries, as mentioned above (p. 240), appear to have ceased production around the middle of the first century A.D., and there is at present no direct evidence for a pottery industry at Syracuse again until the late Empire, perhaps as late as the fifth century. Much of the coarse ware excavated by ORSI in the Grotticelli necropolis is likely to have been locally produced,[234] and similar material, including cups, jugs and two-handled jars, often with horizontal rilling on the bodies, has also been published more recently from the villa Maria district; the latter includes wasters and thus proves that production was indeed local.[235] The villa Maria/vigna Cassia area on the north side of Syracuse was one of the principal potters' quarters (kilns as well as wasters have been found there); there is evidence of further pottery production (perhaps part of the same industrial zone) 500 m. S.E. in the S. Lucia district; and wasters have also been discovered on the west side of the city, in the Achradina district near the railway station.[236]

Few other production centres of coarse wares in Sicily have yet been identified, and no kilns have been adequately published. A late Roman pottery kiln is reported near Portopalo in the south-east corner of the island, perhaps producing the jugs, jars and other closed forms published from the catacomb there,[237] and other examples of kilns or kiln debris have been noted at Marsala,[238] Catania, Agrigento, Sofiana (EN), Salemi (TP), and on rural sites near Heraclea Minoa (AG) and Riesi (CL);[239] in addition wasters at Solunto

---

Syracusan thin-walled ware reached the coastal towns of Spain and Gaul, and SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA, op. cit., 175, considers Sicily to be the source of late Republican uncoated wares found at Magdalensberg, but 'it seems premature to consider it [sc. Sicily] a major centre' (GREENE, op. cit., 79). For a fragment of non-Syracusan fine-walled ware from Castagna, AG, see R. J. A. WILSON, Sic. Arch. XVIII, 57–8, 1985, 34 with fig. 23.11 and note 31 (made in S. Italy or elsewhere in Sicily?).

[234] P. ORSI, Di una necropoli dei bassi tempi rinvenuta in contrada Grotticelli, NSc 1896, 334–356.

[235] FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 610–3.

[236] Cf. works cited in n. 154.

[237] Portopalo kiln: unpublished, information from Dr. S. CIANCIO (see Vita Diocesana, published in Noto, 14th April 1972). Catacomb: S. L. AGNELLO, Scoperta di una piccola catacomba a Portopalo (Pachino), RAC XXIX, 1953, 167–83, at 176 with fig. 6.

[238] Marsala: A. M. BISI, Lilibeo (Marsala). Ricerche archeologiche, NSc 1966, 310–47, at 321 with fig. 23–4 (and plan, 314 with fig. 3). The kiln is rectangular, a type more normally associated with brick-production; but the Naxos kilns (below n. 241), also rectangular, produced pottery as well as bricks; no pottery or any other indication of its use was apparently found in this Marsala kiln (BISI, 321). The date is probably late imperial. For another brick-built kiln at Marsala, of uncertain date, cf. ibid. 311.

[239] Catania: P. ORSI, Catania. Avanzi di edificio termale di Quattro Canti, NSc 1912, 412. Agrigento: P. MARCONI, Agrigento, Florence 1929, 119. Sofiana: D. ADAMESTEANU, op. cit. (infra, n. 432), 264. Salemi: unpublished find of 1952, S. Michele (information from Dr. SPAGNOLO of Salemi). Heraclea Minoa: R. J. A. WILSON, The hinterland of Heraclea Minoa (Sicily) in Classical Antiquity, in: G. BARKER and R. HODGES, Archaeology and Italian Society, Oxford 1981, 249–60, at 258. Riesi: F. DI P. AVOLIO, Delle Antiche Fatture di argilla in Sicilia, Palermo 1829, 122–7 (an entire kiln in the Strazzo locality, associated with 'beautiful Christian lamps', presumably African). For a partial list of

and near Himera probably indicate pottery production there in the late Republic or early Empire.[240] In no case, however, have adequate details been published. Of particular importance is a group of late Roman kilns at Naxos (ME), dated by their excavator to the fifth century A.D., on which a preliminary note has appeared.[241] Five kilns were found in all, but from the published plan it is clear that there were three separate stages in building them, not more than two kilns being in use at any one time. A variety of products seems to have been fired here, including tiles, small *amphorae,* jugs and large dishes; the fabric is mostly a dark brownish grey. The tiles were marked with two types of circular stamps, a flower and a five-petalled star; the jugs have horizontal rilling on their bodies; and the dishes, which are footless, have a heavy knobbed rim, perhaps in imitation of HAYES 104 in the African red slipped series (in which case the kilns are likely to have been still active in the sixth century).[242] The full publication of these kilns and their wares should make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of local coarse pottery in the eastern part of the island.

The vast majority of the coarse wares circulating in Roman Sicily were probably produced in the island and were designed to meet mainly local needs, but recent research elsewhere in the central Mediterranean has shown that domestic pottery, and especially cooking wares, sometimes travelled long distances and enjoyed wide export markets in much the same way as fine wares;[243] it is therefore likely that a proportion of such pottery used in Sicily was not made in the island but is of Italian, African, or even Eastern manufacture. One easily recognisable instance of such imported pottery is the range of large flat-bottomed cooking vessels in Pompeian Red ware, a type of pottery which circulated all over the Mediterranean region and beyond during the first century B.C. and the first century A.D.[244] PEACOCK has

---

Sicilian kilns of all periods, see N. CUOMO DI CAPRIO, Proposta di classificazione delle fornaci per ceramica e laterizi nell'area italiana dalla preistoria a tutta l'epoca romana, Sibrium XI, 1971 – 2, 371 – 464, at 457 – 61; cf. also EAD., Pottery- and tile-kilns in south Italy and Sicily, in: A. MCWHIRR, ed., Roman Brick and Tile, Oxford 1979, 73 – 95.

[240] Solunto: unpublished (in Palermo Museum). Himera: N. BONACASA, Quaderno Imerese, Rome 1972, 2; ID., op. cit. in n. 206, 659.

[241] A. M. FALLICO, Naxos: fornaci tardo-romane, Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 7, 632 – 3, supplemented by personal observation; cf. also, for an earlier kiln destroyed in 1963, P. PELAGATTI, Naxos II. Ricerche topografiche e scavi 1965 – 70: relazione preliminare, BdA LVIII, 1972, 211 – 20, at 213.

[242] HAYES LRP, 160 – 6. Production of this form started c. 500: FULFORD and PEACOCK, op. cit. in n. 224, 73.

[243] Cf. for example J. A. RILEY, Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean in the hellenistic and early Roman periods: the evidence of coarse pottery, in: BARKER and HODGES, op. cit. in n. 239, 69 – 78.

[244] The principal studies are C. GOUDINEAU, Note sur la céramique à engobe interne rouge-Pompéien, MEFRA LXXXII, 1970, 159 – 86; and D. P. S. PEACOCK, Pompeian Red Ware, in: ID., ed., Pottery and Early Commerce: Characterisation and Trade in Roman and Later Ceramics, London 1977, 147 – 62.

identified two slightly different fabrics found in the Mediterranean area. One is a warm reddish-brown with much medium-grained black sand in it, the other is slightly paler in colour and is highly micaceous; the interior of both is covered with a distinctive thick smooth slip, deep red in colour.[245] The first was almost certainly manufactured in Campania, where production may have been brought to a halt by the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.[246] The other may be of eastern Mediterranean origin, or possibly south Italian. No examples of Pompeian Red ware have yet been published from Sicily, but fragments of it occur at Agrigento and on rural sites at Montallegro (AG), Cusumano (TP), Castroreale San Biagio (ME), and no doubt elsewhere.[247] Another simple kitchen vessel also known to have had an export market is the *mortarium*: the wreck in Mellieha Bay, Malta, probably of the early third century A.D., for example, was carrying a cargo of mortars believed to be of north Italian manufacture, and a *mortarium* of Italian fabric has been published from Castagna (AG).[248] But most of the currently available information about the trade in *mortaria* comes from the stamps on them, a practice current only from about A.D. 20 to the middle of the second century.[249] The central Italian *mortarium* maker C. Satrinus Communalis is attested at Taormina and another at Catania, and Italian *dolia* also occasionally made their way to Sicily, such as the example at Mazara (TP) stamped by its maker Cogitatus, slave of L. Rufenus Proculus.[250] Another regular supplier of kitchen equipment to Sicily, at any rate in the period of the middle Empire, was north Africa. Alongside the fine tableware, enormous numbers of the distinctive African casserole with rounded, grooved bottom were exported to Sicily in both slipped and unslipped versions (HAYES 23 and 197), from about the beginning of the second century onwards;[251] and already during the first century A.D. (before, that is, the production of fine wares had commenced) African kitchenware was being exported overseas, especially flat-bottomed saucepans and open dishes (or

---

[245] With the exception of the Montallegro fragment, which is definitely PEACOCK's fabric 1, I have not been able to re-examine the Sicilian sherds listed below after the publication of PEACOCK's article in 1977, when the distinction was first made.

[246] Although J. W. HAYES, Early Roman wares from the House of Dionysos, Paphos, RCRF Acta XVII – XVIII, 1977, 96 – 108, at 99, notes it in a mid second century A.D. context ('perhaps Campanian fabric').

[247] All unpublished; personal observation.

[248] Castagna: WILSON, op. cit. in n. 233, 28 with fig. 13.1 and note 42. Malta: H. FROST, The Mortar Wreck in Mellieha Bay, London 1969, 19 – 20.

[249] K. F. HARTLEY, La diffusion des mortiers, tuiles et autres produits en provenance des fabriques italiennes, Cahiers d'archéologie subaquatique II, 1973, 49 – 60.

[250] Taormina: CIL X, 8051. 29, described as on an amphora, but probably a mortar: cf. HARTLEY, ibid. 52. Catania: NSc 1956, 175 and fig. 9, cf. CIL XV, 904. *Dolia*: Mazara, unpublished (cf. CIL XV, 2487); also CIL X, 8056. 370 = XV, 2509 (Syracuse).

[251] HAYES, LRP, 45 – 8 and 209. The unslipped series he now calls 'Black-topped ware': J. H. HUMPHREY, ed., op. cit. in n. 200, 87 – 8. For African cooking ware in general, ibid. 87 – 94 and CARANDINI, ed., op. cit. in n. 214, 208 – 27.

'lid-plates').[252] Examples have been recognized at Ostia and Cosa,[253] but to date they have been noted in Sicily only at Castagna (AG), in a deposit of the late first century.[254] Even more remarkable is the export market enjoyed throughout the Roman imperial and early Byzantine period by a crude, handmade cooking ware shown by petrological and other evidence to have been made in the remote island of Pantelleria, mid-way between Sicily and Tunisia. The precise distribution of this pottery has not yet been studied in full, but it is present along the north African littoral from Carthage to Sabratha, as well as in Sardinia and at Cosa and Ostia in Italy. So far it has been recognized in Sicily only at Agrigento and at two rural sites in its hinterland, but it must be also present at Marsala and elsewhere in the island, at least along the south and west coasts closest to Pantelleria itself. Further work is needed.[255]

Whether other types of coarse pottery apart from cooking wares and *mortaria* were also imported into Sicily, only more detailed publication of the relevant material, in Italy and Africa as well as in Sicily, will show. Some late painted wares, for example, of fourth to sixth century date, are reported from southern Sicily, from Bitalemi (CL), Avola (SR), Caltanissetta and Sofiana (EN), and are assumed to be local products: the best preserved is a jug from Sofiana, perhaps of the first half of the fifth century, in an orange-buff fabric, painted with three birds and an ivy tendril in brown slip.[256] Fragments of what appears to be a similar ware are known from fifth- and sixth-century levels at Carthage and Thuburbo Maius and are believed to be from potteries at the latter,[257] and it is therefore possible that the Sicilian finds, despite their crude decoration, were imported from Tunisia rather than made locally: comparison of the fabric of the Sicilian and African examples is clearly desirable. But the majority of the ordinary undecorated coarse wares circulating in Sicily during the Roman Empire were presumably turned out by local potters, sometimes following their own choice of shape, but frequently as well copying the shapes of the imported African tableware, both the open forms[258] and the closed vessels. A two-handled globular flagon from the Grotticelli necropolis at Syracuse, for example, has been compared to a similar example in reddish coarse ware from Raqqada in Tunisia, and both may ultimately have been modelled on a third-century flagon with appliqué decoration in the African red slip series, although the Sicilian examples are rather later in date.[259] The Syracuse vessel, however, has a distinctive bi-conical neck which looks to be a variant of the local potters. Similar treatment of the neck can be closely paralleled on single-handed jugs of similar type found in graves at Michelica and on the Dirillo (both in Ragusa province),[260] and they probably indicate that the products of the late Roman Syracusan potters had at least a distribution over a wide area of south east Sicily. Another distinctive late Roman coarse pottery, in a brick-red fabric with powdery white slip, is decorated with freehand wavy lines, sometimes combed. It is common on rural sites west of Agrigento and it has also been found in excavations on Monte Castellazzo (TP), in the Belice valley some 50 km. away , as well as at Monte Iato.[261] The production centre is not known, but it may have been

---

[252] J. W. Hayes in: J. H. Humphrey, ed., Excavations at Carthage 1976 Conducted by the University of Michigan, IV, Ann Arbor 1978, 75.

[253] E.g. A. Carandini, Ostia III (= Stud. Misc. 21), Rome 1973, nos. 331–4; S. L. Dyson, Cosa: The Utilitarian Pottery (= MAAR XXXIII), Rome 1976, fig. 44–5, nos. 22–II. 22–5; fig. 47, nos. 22–II. 49–51; fig. 48–9, nos. 22–II. 74–7. The fabric is red-orange.

[254] Wilson, op. cit. in n. 233, 26 with note 36 and fig. 13.5–6. It is possible that the round-bottomed casseroles with broad, flat down-turned rim, from late hellenistic (?) deposits at Syracuse (Fallico, op. cit. in n. 154, 632, fig. 49, H 45, fabric not indicated), and near Acrae (NSc 1970, 489, fig. 75; 'reddish' fabric), are African ware: cf. Hayes, in: Humphrey, ed., op. cit. in n. 200, 94, ware 1, cooking pot type A.

[255] Pantelleria ware is mentioned in brief by D. P. S. Peacock, Archaeology, Ethnology and Ceramic Production, in: H. Howard and E. L. Morris, ed., Production and Distribution: a Ceramic Viewpoint, Oxford 1981, 187–94, at 189; Id., Pottery in the Roman World: an ethnoarchaeological approach, London 1982, 77–80. For full details see now Id., in: Fulford and Peacock, op. cit. (n. 224), 8–10 and 157–9. Further examples have now been published by Dr. Fulford from Sabratha, in: Kenrick, op. cit. (n. 201), 189, 191–2, 207, 209. Cf. also Peacock, Archaeological Investigations on the island of Pantelleria, Research Report of the National Geographic Society, forthcoming (I am grateful to Dr. Peacock for providing me with a typescript of the latter). Apart from Agrigento (see Peacock's distribution map), it is present in a second-century context at Castagna, AG (Wilson, op. cit. in n. 233, 19 with note 17 and fig. 11, 12 and 13.2 and 3) and in a fifth-century deposit at Montallegro, AG (unpublished). Cf. also Fulford and Peacock, op. cit. (n. 224), 12–13, 17, for other coarse wares of possible Sicilian origin in north Africa.

[256] Sofiana: D. Adamesteanu, Vaso figurato dal retroterra di Gela, BdA XLI, 1956, 158–61. Bitalemi: P. Orlandini, Lo scavo del Thesmophorion di Bitalemi e il culto delle divinità ctonie a Gela, Kokalos XII, 1966, 8–35, at 14, with pl. VII. 1–2 (fabric not stated).

Avola: P. Orsi, NSc 1884, 443–4 (blackish fabric). Caltanissetta: unpublished, from via Salleni, Caltanissetta Museum, room 1, case 11 (orange-buff fabric, red slip).

[257] J. W. Hayes, in: Humphrey, ed., op. cit. in n. 200, 89; Fulford and Peacock, op. cit. (n. 224), 16 and 225–8. Cf. also similar pottery from Egnazio, F. D'Andria, Osservazioni sulle ceramiche in Puglia tra tardo-antico e altomedioevo, ASNP^3 VII, 1977, 75–89, at 81–2 with pl. II. 11, 13, and now also from Tharros in Sardinia: E. Acquaro et al., Tharros IX: lo scavo del 1982, RSF XI, 1983, 49–70, at 69–70.

[258] E.g. Syracuse, copy of carinated dish, form 16 (Hayes) in the African Red Slip series: Fallico, op. cit. in n. 154, 633 with fig. 49, H 46. Versions of flanged bowls (Hayes 91) are common among material on late Roman rural sites in the region of Heraclea Minoa (e.g. Wilson and Leonard, op. cit. in n. 226, 232).

[259] Cf. discussion of A. M. Fallico, Necropoli romana tarda alla diga del Dirillo, ASSO LXVIII, 1972, 127–35, at 131–2; also Ead., op. cit. in n. 226, 482. The flagon in the African series is Hayes 172 (LRP, 195–7); for the Raqqada vessel, J. W. Salomonson, Études sur la céramique romaine d'Afrique, BABesch XLIII, 1968, 80–141, at 126, fig. 38.

[260] Michelica: P. Orsi, Cimitero cristiano del IV secolo in contrada Michelica presso Modica, Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana XII, 1906, 172–5; cf. NSc 1907, 486–7. Dirillo: Fallico, op. cit. in n. 259, 129 with fig. 4b.

[261] Sites west of Agrigento: unpublished, found during fieldwork conducted by the writer. Castellazzo: G. Falsone and A. Leonard Jr., La seconda campagna a Monte Castellazzo, Sic. Arch. XII, 39, 1978, 59–78, at 74 with fig. 29 (fabric not stated, but I have examined this material myself, thanks to the kindness of Dr. Falsone). Monte Iato: H.

made somewhere in central southern or western Sicily, although analogous ware is also known in southern Italy.[262] Scores more coarse ware industries await identification and detailed study in the island.

3. *Amphorae*

The importance of *amphorae* for our understanding of the maritime trade routes of antiquity, and above all of the food supply, is now fully recognised, and the quantitative studies now available from Ostia, Carthage, Benghazi and elsewhere are providing a detailed data base with which to rewrite the economic history of the central Mediterranean. Sicily's position at the very heart of the Mediterranean ensured that she lay at the cross-roads of the two principal axes of maritime commerce in the area, the north-south route linking Italy with Africa, as well as the east-west trade route; and the systematic exploration of wreck-sites in the waters off Sicily, where the pioneering studies of G. KAPITÄN have been given fresh impetus in recent years by the surveys of A. J. PARKER, is making a significant contribution to the wider understanding of ancient maritime commerce. Most of the *amphora* evidence discussed below comes indeed from wreck sites off the Sicilian coasts, simply because it is almost exclusively from these sites that the material has been adequately published. Yet many of the ships which foundered off Sicily need not have been making for a Sicilian destination; even when wrecks are found in or near harbours, that need only imply that a ship was putting into port for supplies or shelter, not because she intended to discharge her cargo. The evidence, therefore, from Sicilian wreck sites throws light on the wider aspects of maritime trade; it does not necessarily provide specific evidence of the imports to, and exports from, the island itself. That is something which can be provided only by *amphorae* excavated in Sicily on sites on dry land; but although Sicilian museums are rich in *amphorae* collections, the systematic study of this class of artefact from excavation sites in Sicily, with full publica-

---

P. ISLER, Eine Fundgruppe des 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus der Siedlung auf dem Monte Iato, MDAI(R) LXXXIX, 1982, 213–25, at 217 with fig. 4 and pl. 78.4; ID., ed., Studia Ietina II, Zurich 1984, 133, nos. 76–8, classed as medieval, might also be this ware.

[262] Similar pottery has been published from Malta (V. BONELLO et AL., Missione archeologica italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1963, Rome 1964, 57 with fig. 16.1–3), fabric not described. A related ware has been recognized in recent years in south Italy, for example at Egnazio (F. D'ANDRIA, op. cit. in n. 257, 83, n. 31 with pl. II. 18), Metaponto (ID., Metaponto romano, in: Atti del XV Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Graecia, Taranto 1975, publ. Naples 1976, 539–44, at 543 with pl. XXXVI B), Posto (M. COTTON, The Late Republican Villa at Posto, Francolise, London 1979, 182–91), Vagni (S. L. DYSON, The Roman villas of Buccino, Oxford 1983, 100) and especially S. Giovanni di Ruoti (J. FREED in: Lo scavo di S. Giovanni di Ruoti ed il periodo tardoantico in Basilicata, Bari 1983, 99–100, her 'Painted Common Ware'), but this lacks the white slip. Neither appears to be frequent at Carthage (on the basis of published finds from the British and American excavations).

tion of fabrics and profiles, has hardly yet begun. A large share of the *amphorae* was presumably locally made, but the types and fabrics have yet to be isolated, and the relative proportions of imported and local vessels at any one time have yet to be worked out. Even when such information is available, inferences about specific trading contacts must be made with care. Unlike fine pottery and even kitchen wares, the vast majority of which are likely to have arrived new at the site where they were used and broken, large bulk-container *amphorae* were not necessarily discarded when the original cargo that they were carrying was discharged, and a second-hand use for them is liable to complicate the picture of direct trading contacts between one continent and another. Thus, to take one example, it is hard to explain why large numbers of late Roman cylindrical African *amphorae*, probably designed to carry oil, should be present at an oil-producing site near Montallegro (AG) in southern Sicily, unless the African oil had been off-loaded elsewhere in the island, and the empty containers sold off to the Montallegro farm to take the oil produce from its own estate.[263]

For the early imperial period our knowledge is especially scanty. This is the time when Sicilian wine was still highly respected on the tables of Italy and elsewhere in the Mediterranean; but while the Sicilian wine carrier of the hellenistic period has been recognized (the so-called 'Greco-Italic' *amphora*),[264] the container or containers that replaced it before the end of the first century B.C. have not yet been securely identified. Several *amphora* types in particular need further study for the light they may be able to throw on the scale and extent of the Sicilian wine trade in imperial times. The *amphora* published over sixty years ago from the 'House of Proculus' at Pompeii, for example, bearing a *dipinto* indicating contents of Taormina wine, was presumably a Sicilian-made container: this is in an orange-buff fabric with numerous black inclusions and some traces of mica. Although no longer complete, the profile and fabric are clearly identical to those of others at Pompeii, 94 cm. high, with rounded rim and an approximately cylindrical but slightly swelling body. The type has not yet been securely recognized in Sicily itself. The smaller DRESSEL 24 *amphora*, which MANACORDA concluded was either of south Italian or Sicilian origin, is in a closely related fabric; two examples of this are now known in a wreck off Panarea (ME)[265]. Of even greater interest is a much smaller flat-bottomed *amphora* in a pale red or buff fabric with squat body and rounded, grooved handles, reported to be common among surface sherds at S. Vito (TP), and there are published Sicilian examples from Syracuse, Isola delle Femmine (PA), Marsala and Montallegro (AG); there are several too, in the Rabat Roman villa museum on Malta.[266] Widely recognized outside Sicily in contexts from the first century A.D. onwards, this *amphora* has a mainly central Mediterranean distribution, and both Tripolitania and Tunisia have been tentatively suggested as its place of origin.[267] It is, however, likely to be a Sicilian-made *amphora*, for wasters of this shape and fabric are known from Via Larunchi (proprietà Spinella) at Naxos (ME); the contents were doubtless wine, for which the area was famous in antiquity.[268] If this is so, the island can be shown to have enjoyed a considerable wine export to north Africa, Italy and even further afield down to the fourth century at least. Further work, including petrological analysis, is clearly necessary.

---

[263] WILSON, op. cit. in n. 19, 15. On the evidence of oil in African *amphorae*, M. C. ROTHSCHILD – BOROS, The determination of *amphora* contents, in: BARKER and HODGES, op. cit. in n. 239, 79 – 89.

[264] J. RILEY, The coarse pottery from Berenice, in: J. S. LLOYD, ed., Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), II, Tripoli 1979, 91 – 466, at 131 – 2 (RILEY's Hellenistic *Amphora* 7); cf. E. L. WILL, Greco-Italic *amphoras*, Hesperia LI, 1982, 338 – 56 (but for her only form a, of 4th – 3rd century B.C., is Sicilian).

[265] Pompeii, house of 'Proculus': DELLA CORTE, op. cit. in n. 12, 153. Others at Pompeii: PANELLA, op. cit. infra in n. 280, pl. LXVII, nos. 33a – b (inv. 655), and discussed on p. 142 (without however mention of fabric or possible origin); and an unpublished example in the Granai del Foro (inv. PANELLA 1135, new inv. 33178). DRESSEL 24 (86 cm. high): D. MANACORDA, Proposta per una identificazione dell'anfora Dressel 24,

Whatever the precise volume of Sicilian wine exports in the early imperial period, other varieties of wine were certainly being imported at the same time. DRESSEL 1B wine-carriers from Italy, for example, which first appeared c. 75 – 65 B.C., continued in production down to mid-Augustan times, and some of the Sicilian examples may therefore be of early imperial date rather than late Republican.[269] DRESSEL 2 – 4 *amphorae*, with their characteristic double-

---

Archeologia Classica XXVII, 1975, 378 – 83. I was able to examine the fabric and take the measurements of these Pompeian *amphorae* in the summer of 1986. Panarea: L. BERNABÒ BREA et AL., Discariche di scalo e relitti nei mari eoliani, in: Archeologia subacquea 2: le Isole Eolie (BdA, Supplemento to no. 29), Rome 1985, 27 – 100, at 74, fig. 64.

[266] S. Vito: PURPURA, op. cit. (n. 43), 53 with fig. 12.16, 20, 21; Isola delle Femmine: ID., op. cit., infra (n. 300), fig. 18.16; Syracuse: FALLICO, op. cit. (n. 154), 609, fig. 32, A184; P. ORSI, NSc 1925, 204, fig. 40, centre top; S. L. AGNELLO, RAC XXX, 1954, 26, fig. 3a and c; Marsala: A. M. BISI, NSc 1967, 389, fig. 15B; Montallegro: WILSON, op. cit. (n. 19), fig. 9.5 – 6; Malta: RILEY, op. cit. (n. 264), 177.

[267] RILEY, ibid., 177 – 9 (his 'Mid Roman *amphora* 1') with distribution map (fig. 27) and tentative suggestion of a Tunisian origin; C. PANELLA, Appunti su un gruppo di anfore dalla prima, media e tarda età imperiale, in: Ostia III, Studi Miscellanei XXI, 1973, 463 – 633, at 471, and D. MANACORDA, Anfore, in Ostia IV, Studi Miscellanei XXIII, 1975 – 76, 117 – 283, at 230 – 2, both suggest a Tripolitanian source (rejected by RILEY). For an analysis of this *amphora*'s fabric, and with some scepticism as to an African origin, J. M. SCHUBRING, Studies on Roman amphorae I – II, BABesch LIX, 1984, 137 – 79, at 168 – 70. The *amphora* may even have reached Britain: see now P. ARTHUR, Roman amphorae from Canterbury, Britannia XVIII, 1986, 239 – 58, at 254 – 5.

[268] Naxos antiquarium, inv. 765 – 6; one of these (height 47 cm; neck diameter 8 cm.) is only slightly deformed. The clay is light red (about Munsell 2.5YR 6/6) with numerous black particles and some white inclusions also. I am grateful to Dr. PELAGATTI for permission to study these in advance of her own report and to Dr. LENTINI for facilitating their study. For other kilns at Naxos, including evidence for late Roman production of *amphorae*, see p. 259 and n. 241 above.

[269] DRESSEL 1B: PANELLA, op. cit. (n. 267), 492 – 4; RILEY, op. cit. (n. 264), 134 – 5. Sicilian examples include Motya, TP (J. A. S. WHITAKER, Motya, London 1921, 303, fig. 78) and Castagna, AG (WILSON, op. cit. in n. 233, fig. 19.6), but the type appears to be less

barrelled handles, have been identified at several Sicilian sites, and many were probably carrying Italian wine; but fabric details are necessary before the Italian versions can be distinguished from other examples of this type of *amphora,* which was widely manufactured elsewhere in the western Mediterranean, including Gaul and Spain.[270] Indeed it would not be surprising if future research isolated a Sicilian version of Dressel 2–4, made to transport one or more of the Sicilian vintages.[271] Whether Spanish wine from Tarraconensis was reaching Sicily at this period is uncertain. The presence of Gaulish wine is hinted at by a single flat-bottomed *amphora* from the Marseilles region (Pélichet 47) identified at Castagna (AG) and another, from the sea, at Secca di Capistello (Lipari), but this type is only infrequently found south and east of central Italy, and there is nothing at present to suggest an extensive or regular Gaulish wine trade with Sicily.[272] Some vintages from the eastern Mediterranean must also have reached the island in the first and second centuries, as eastern *amphorae* have been noted as far west as Pompeii, Ostia and elsewhere in Italy. Before, however, the first-century 'Rhodian' containers with peaked and bowed handles (which have indeed been noted in the island) are counted as genuine eastern imports, attention to fabric is once again essential, as the type made in the Aegean was copied in a number of other

---

common in Sicily than the related Lamboglia 2 *amphora* (on which see N. Lamboglia, Sulla cronologia delle anfore romane di età repubblicana, RSL XXI, 1955, 241–70, at 261–3): so D. M. Squire, A. J. Parker et al., Oxford University Plemmyrion Expedition 1968, in: Bulletin of the Oxford University Exploration Club XVII, 1969, 25–52, at 39, with examples (fig. 6–7) from Ognina West and Plemmyrion, both SR.

[270] For Dressel 2–4 (on which there has been intensive study in recent years), see most conveniently Panella, op. cit. (n. 267), 497–500; Ead., La distribuzione e i mercati, in: Giardina and Schiavone, op. cit. (n. 176), 55–80, at 74–80; Riley, op. cit. (n. 264), 149–51 and 171–3. Sicilian examples include: G. Purpura, Nuove anfore nell'antiquarium di Terrasini, Sic. Arch. X, 35, 1977, 54–71, at 57 with pl. Ih (Terrasini, PA); Wilson, op. cit. (n. 233), 22–3 (Castagna, AG); Purpura, op. cit. (n. 43), 52, fig. 11.27–9 (S. Vito, TP); Whitaker, op. cit. (n. 269), 303, fig. 79, centre; and, from wreck sites, Parker and Squire, op. cit. (n. 269), 29 (Ognina West, SR); G. Kapitän, I relitti di Capo Graziano (Filicudi): scoperte della spedizione NACSAC nel 1968, Sic. Arch. X, 34, 1977, 40–53, at 48, with fig. 11 (Filicudi, ME); Purpura, op. cit. infra (n. 300), fig. 18.10 (Isola delle Femmine, PA). See also note 273.

[271] Other Italian *amphorae* (not necessarily wine carriers) include those stamped by Diphilus and Agathopus: M. H. Callender, Roman amphorae, Oxford 1965, no. 1008 (Syracuse, Erice, and cf. Marsala for a related stamp: Bisi, op. cit. in n. 238, 326 with fig. 4a on 316) and 50b (Syracuse). Campanian fruit-carriers (Dressel form 21–2) are attested at Monte Iato, PA (H. P. Isler, Sic. Arch. XIII, 44, 1980, 25, with fig. 28, stamped *CEIONI MAXIMI*), Solunto (antiquarium, unpublished), Trapani (Museo Pepoli, unpublished, inv. 6090) and Terrasini, PA (Purpura, op. cit. in n. 270, 57 with pl. IIa) and there is an example from the sea in Palermo museum (C. E. 3354).

[272] Wilson, op. cit. (n. 233), fig. 19.2; Bernabò Brea et al., op. cit. (n. 265), 41 with fig. 21e; for the type, Riley, op. cit. (n. 264), 195–6, and for its distribution, D. P. S. Peacock, The Rhine and the problem of Gaulish wine in Roman Britain, in: J. du Plat Taylor and H. Cleere, ed., Roman shipping and trade: Britain and the Rhine provinces, London 1978, 49–51, with fig. 44.

production centres in the eastern and central Mediterranean.[273] Two examples of another eastern *amphora*, in a red-brown micaceous fabric possibly made in western Asia Minor, have also come from a second-century deposit at Syracuse, but it is not certain that these carried wine.[274]

For oil and *garum*, the impact of Spanish products on the Sicilian market is at present hard to assess. A number of Spanish wreck sites of early imperial date are now known off Sicily. That at Terrasini (PA) produced resin-lined *amphorae* of type DRESSEL 7–11, almost certainly carrying *garum*,[275] and early examples of globular oil-carrying *amphorae* (DRESSEL 20) from Baetica come from what is probably an Augustan wreck off Filicudi (ME).[276] Both types have also been recognized from sites in Sicily itself,[277] and stamped handles of first- and second-century producers such as Romanus, Q. Antonius Ruga, and C. Iulius Albinus are a further witness to the presence of Spanish *amphorae* in the island.[278] How large a market share was taken by these

---

[273] D. P. S. PEACOCK, Roman amphorae: typology, fabric and origins, in: Méthodes classiques et méthodes formelles dans l'étude des amphores, Rome 1977, 261–78, at 266–70, who identifies six different fabrics; cf. also RILEY, op. cit. (n. 264), 147–8. Sicilian examples include: PURPURA, op. cit. (n. 270), 57 with pl. Ig (Terrasini, PA), stated as Italian, but the pink-orange clay may correspond to PEACOCK's fabric 1 (Rhodian or nearby); GENTILI, op. cit. (n. 197), 156, with fig. 6.2 (Syracuse, also pinkish fabric); WILSON, op. cit. (n. 233), fig. 19.5 with n. 37 (Castagna, AG), of PEACOCK fabric 6, source uncertain; BERNABÒ BREA et AL., op. cit. (n. 265), 71–4 (Panarea, ME, a cargo of 69 examples recovered with 77 DRESSEL 2–4's). There is also a DRESSEL 43 from Capo Passero (SR) in Syracuse.

[274] GENTILI, op. cit. (n. 197), 158, fig. 9; for the type, RILEY, op. cit. (n. 264), 183–4.

[275] V. GIUSTOLISI, Le nave romane di Terrasini e l'avventura di Amilcare sul monte Heirkte, Palermo 1975, 19–31; L. BIVONA, ibid., 61–9; EAD., Rinvenimenti sottomarini nelle acque di Terrasini, Kokalos XX, 1974, 201–12.

[276] KAPITÄN, op. cit. (n. 270), 47–8, with fig. 10, nos. 9269–70 (DRESSEL 20) and 9260 (DRESSEL 7–11) cf. also BERNABÒ BREA et al., op. cit. (n. 265), 92–3 (and ibid. 41, with fig. 21d for a Spanish *garum amphora* from Secca di Capistello). DRESSEL 20 are also reported off Cefalù (G. PURPURA, Il relitto bizantino di Cefalù, Sic. Arch. XVI, 51, 1983, 93–105, at 93), and a Spanish wreck is also suspected off Malta (A. J. PARKER, Sicilia e Malta nel commercio marittimo dell'antichità, Kokalos XXI–XXII, 1976–77, 622–31, at 623). An isolated example of a PÉLICHET 46 *amphora* found off Levanzo (TP) may also be a Spanish import (G. KAPITÄN, Notes and News, Italy: Levanzo and Favignana, Egadi Islands, prov. di Trapani, Sicily, IJNA VI, 1977, 168–71, at 169–70 with fig. 2); for the type, see E. PÉLICHET, À propos des amphores romaines trouvées à Nyon, Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte VIII, 1946, 189–209, at 193, and for the Iberian origin, D. MANACORDA, Anfore spagnole a Pompeii, in: CARANDINI, ed., op. cit. (n. 167), 121–33, at 125–6.

[277] E.g. at S. Vito, TP (PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 43, 53, with fig. 12.1), Levanzo, TP (ibid. 57), both DRESSEL 7–11, and Castagna, AG (WILSON, op. cit. in n. 233, fig. 19.4). For a general discussion of these Spanish *amphora* types, cf. especially PANELLA, op. cit. (n. 267), 506–9, 522–35, MANACORDA, op. cit. (n. 276), 122–3, and ID., op. cit. (n. 267), 134–7.

[278] Romanus: H. P. ISLER, Bolli d'anfora e documenti affini dagli scavi di Monte Iato, in: Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni IV, Rome 1980, 1215–29, at 1223–4 (Monte Iato, PA); for the stamp type, CALLENDER, op. cit. (n. 271), no. 1541,

Spanish commodities in early imperial Sicily is, however, at present unknown. Spanish *amphorae* are only found in small quantities further east in the Mediterranean, nor do they occur frequently at Carthage.[279] Africa itself was an oil and *garum* producing area, and it seems very probable that African oil was available alongside Spanish oil in Sicilian markets of the first century A.D. Cylindrical African oil-bearing *amphorae* from Tripolitania, for example, were already reaching Pompeii before A.D. 79 and are probably present in Sicily, although few have yet been recognized there;[280] and any assessment of African imports at this date is further complicated by the presence in the island of other African cylindrical *amphorae,* thinner and cigar-shaped, which belong to the Punic tradition stretching back to the fourth century B.C., but which were still being made up to the late first century A.D. Some of the examples in Sicilian museums may, therefore, belong to the early imperial rather than the late hellenistic period.[281]

Towards the end of the second century, with the export markets for Spanish foodstuffs declining, the production of African *amphorae* appears to have moved into higher gear, and from then on to late antiquity it is the *amphorae* of Proconsularis and Byzacena which dominate the markets of Sicily, as elsewhere in the central Mediterranean.[282] The intensity of this trade is reflected by the many wrecks carrying African *amphorae* of the third to fifth centuries A.D. which have been found off Sicilian shores, past which all ships bound for both Italy and the East were likely to sail.[283] The vast majority of these cylindrical containers which have so far been published from Sicilian sites are underwater finds, and it is therefore uncertain at present how great was the volume of trade with Sicily itself; but not all the African *amphorae*

---

c. 50 – 100 A.D. Q. Antonius Ruga: Callender, ibid. no. 1422 (Palermo, c. 40/90 A.D.). C. Iulius Albinus: unpublished example in the theatre antiquarium at Taormina.

[279] Only 1% of all *amphorae* in first-century levels at Benghazi, 1.6% at Carthage (Riley, op. cit. in n. 264, 157 – 63; Id., in: Humphrey, ed., op. cit. in n. 200, 111).

[280] C. Panella, Anfore tripolitane a Pompeii, in: Carandini, ed., op. cit. (n. 167), 135 – 49; Ead., op. cit. (n. 267), 560 – 2. For the possibility that the type was also made in Tunisia, Riley, op. cit. (n. 264), 164. Sicilian example: Wilson, op. cit. (n. 233), fig. 18 and 19.1 (Castagna, AG).

[281] Riley in: Humphrey, ed., op. cit. (n. 200), 108 – 110 and especially J. H. van der Werff, Amphores de tradition punique à Uzita, BABesch LII – LIII, 1977 – 78, 171 – 200 (for Sicilian examples, mostly pre-imperial, 178 – 80 and notes 31, 47 and 53). For an example of his form 2 from Marsala, found full of liquid lime, M. Bound and G. Falsone, Oxford University-Palermo University World Ship Trust Underwater Survey of Punic-Roman Sites off Marsala (Lilybaeum), Sicily, 1982, in: Bulletin of the Oxford University Exploration Club n.s. VI (1982), 3 – 8, at 8, fig. 11; for another, Purpura, op. cit. (n. 270), 55, pl. Ic (Pantelleria; probably the same as A. Mayr, MDAI(R) XIII, 1898, 394, fig. 10b).

[282] On African *amphorae* see most fully Manacorda, op. cit. (n. 267), 149 – 225; Fulford and Peacock, op. cit. (n. 224), 130 – 40; and S. J. Keay, Late Roman amphorae in the western Mediterranean, a typology and economic study. The Catalan evidence, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford 1984, 406 – 28.

[283] Cf. Parker, op. cit. (n. 276), 625, fig. 3, for a distribution map of African wrecks.

present in Sicilian museums have come from the sea, and it does therefore seem likely that African oil and *garum* were reaching Sicily itself in greater quantities than in the early Empire. Whether this represents a decline in Sicilian oil production and the consequent need to import larger quantities of African olive oil (or *garum*), or alternatively an expanding population and increasing wealth which enabled more Sicilians to pay for better-quality imported oil, only further work will show. The earliest in the mid- and late-Roman series of Tunisian *amphorae*, the 'Africano piccolo' or Africano I,[284] appears to have started production early in the third century or a little before, for a cargo of them was on board the Ognina A (SR) vessel which sank c. 210/215 A.D.;[285] they were also found in the Camarina marble wreck already mentioned (p. 225), and they are present too on wreck sites at Plemmyrion (see below) and Capo Graziano (Filicudi, ME), as well as on Malta.[286] Production of Africano I, which certainly occurred at Sousse, Thenae and probably elsewhere, continued into the fourth century, alongside the larger and more widespread 'Africano grande' or Africano II type, first attested just before the mid-third century.[287] MANACORDA has subdivided third- and fourth-century examples of Africano II into four categories (A, B, C, D), each showing a slightly different treatment of neck and toe; and there is in addition a whole range of analogous cylindrical containers, all of them (like Africano II) in a distinctive red, red-orange or orange-buff clay, often slipped in white, which continued in production down into the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Evidence from inscriptions and wasters indicate that these African containers (Africano

---

[284] MANACORDA, op. cit. (n. 267), 156–9 with earlier bibliography; typology, p. 256, nos. 10–11.

[285] Ognina I or A is to be distinguished from the Ognina West wreck already noted (see above note 269): for a sketch map showing the location of the seven or so sites so far known in the waters off Capo Ognina, see A. J. PARKER, Stratification and contamination in ancient Mediterranean shipwrecks, IJNA X, 1981, 309–55, at 321, fig. 12. The *amphorae* of Ognina I are described by G. KAPITÄN, Le anfore del relitto romano di Capo Ognina, in: Recherches sur les amphores romaines (Collections de l'École française de Rome X), Rome 1972, 243–52. For evidence of the date and the route taken by this vessel, see below, note 309. Its cabin was richly bedecked, with traces of mosaic and columnar adornment, as well as statuettes in bronze, but it was not a pleasure craft, *pace* P. GARGALLO, An Ancient Roman yacht, Mariner's Mirror LVIII, 1972, 443–6; ID., Relitto di nave romana nei pressi di Ognina (Siracusa), in: G. VOZA, ed., Un quinquennio di attività archeologica nella provincia di Siracusa, Syracuse 1971, 57–8: see replies by G. KAPITÄN, An ancient Roman "Yacht"?, Mariner's Mirror LIX, 1973, 229–30, and by H. FROST, ibid. 334.

[286] Camarina: PARKER, op. cit. in n. 79, 27, fig. 3–5. Capo Graziano: KAPITÄN, op. cit. in n. 270, 41 with fig. 2. Malta: Missione archeologica italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1965, Rome 1966, fig. 6.1. Cf. also the handle stamped *QVIN* | *ASY*[*L* from Malta (Missione ... 1964, Rome 1965, 153, pl. LXIX. 1), which is on either an Africano I or II *amphora*.

[287] The distinction between '*Africano piccolo*' and '*Africano grande*' was first made by F. ZEVI and A. TCHERNIA, Amphores de Byzacène au Bas-Empire, Ant. Afr. III, 1974, 173–214. On late Roman African-made cylindrical *amphorae* see especially MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 159–90, with full reference to earlier work.

II and derivatives) were made at Leptis Minor, Nabeul, Thenae and Carthage, and future study and clay analysis will no doubt refine the various categories still further. The earliest form of Africano grande, rather fatter than the later versions (Africano II A), was the main cargo on board a ship which sank at Plemmyrion off Syracuse c. 200 A.D.; all were lined with pitch or resin, suggesting that the contents were wine or, more probably, *garum*, whereas the rest of the cargo (about 30%) comprised unlined Africano I *amphorae*, perhaps carrying oil.[288] Containers of Africano II A type also accompanied Africano I on the Camarina marble-laden ship already mentioned, and others are known from Malta, Terrasini (PA) and possibly Marzamemi D (SR).[289] Africano II A *amphorae* were still being made in the early fourth century, although the main period of production seems to have been over by c. 300. By then other more slim-line variants were on the scene, such as Africano II C with a similar rolled rim but with more vertical, less rounded handles, and Africano II D, with plain, unrolled rim, and both of these were widespread throughout the fourth century. The latter type, for example, comprised three-quarters of the cargo of African amphorae wrecked c. 300 A.D. at Femmina Morta (RG); also on board were several other variants of African-made containers, including Africano II C, and both this or Africano II D are also present at Marzamemi F (SR) (another roughly contemporary wreck), Ognina (SR), Terrasini (PA) and elsewhere.[290] The Africano II C variety was often lined with resin and may have been principally used for carrying fish sauce; stamped handles indicate that one of its production centres was Nabeul, where a *garum* factory has been excavated.[291] Many other variants of late Roman cylindrical *amphorae* are recorded from various fourth- and fifth-century wreck sites off the Sicilian coasts, including Femmina Morta, Marzamemi D, Capo Graziano (Filicudi), Filicudi A, and Capo Milazzo (Lipari);[292] but not well recorded are counterparts excavated in Sicily on dry land. There is an intact, unslipped example in the courtyard of Syracuse Museum, with vertical collar lip,[293] and there are other unpublished examples of African cylindrical *amphorae* in the museums of Palermo, Lipari, Taormina and Agrigento.[294] The profiles of what are probably African *amphorae* (the fabric is not described) have been published from Syracuse,[295] and others are known from S. Vito (TP) and from a farm site at Montallegro (AG), including one with collar neck and others which are late variants of Africano II C with combed lines round the neck; these came from a fifth-century deposit and are paralleled by similar ones of comparable or later date in Carthage.[296] One particularly distinctive late Roman *amphora* type, the so-called '*spatheion*', has been widely recognised, not only in wreck sites (at Vendicari [SR], probably sixth-century, and possibly at Capo Graziano, Filicudi [ME]),[297] but on land sites as well; examples come from fifth-century destruction levels at Marsala and Monte Iato as well as from Syracuse, and there are further examples in the museums at Gela (from Passo di Piazza [EN]), Terrasini (PA), Palermo and Catania.[298] The '*spatheion*' type, is of the same red-orange fabric as the other cylindrical containers under discussion, and, like them, was sometimes covered with a white slip; they were clearly also made in north Africa.[299] Not produced

---

[288] D. J. L. Gibbins and A. J. Parker, The Roman wreck of circa A.D. 200 at Plemmirio near Siracusa (Sicily): interim report, IJNA XV, 1986, 267–304. I am grateful to Mr. Gibbins for showing me a copy of this report in advance of publication. For a first account of this site, A. J. Parker, Relitto di una nave del terzo secolo d.c. scoperto a Plemmirio nei pressi di Siracusa, Sic. Arch. XIII, 44, 1980, 57–64.

[289] Malta: Parker, ibid. 63. Terrasini: Purpura, op. cit. in n. 270, 57 with pl. IIb. Marzamemi D: Parker, op. cit. in n. 276, pl. CXXXVII, fig. 2.4 (possibly a later variant).

[290] Femmina Morta: Parker, ibid., 625–8 with pl. CXXXIII (Africano II D), pl. CXXXIV, type 5 (Africano II C); also Id., The preservation of ships and artefacts in shallow-water Mediterranean wreck sites, Progress in Underwater Science V, 1980, 41–70, at 50–7. Further work was also carried out here in 1981. Marzamemi F: Id., op. cit. in n. 285, 328, fig. 19.7 (Africano II C). Ognina: Kapitän, first op. cit. in n. 285, 246, fig. 3 (Africano II D), probably from Ognina 3 (Parker, op. cit. in n. 285, 321, fig. 12). Terrasini: Purpura, op. cit. in n. 270, 57 with pl. IIc (Africano II C). Lampedusa: Parker, op. cit. in n. 276, 628 (? Africano II C).

[291] Parker, ibid., 628; Manacorda, op. cit. in n. 267, 163–5 and 280; for the *garum* factory, J. P. Darmon, Fouilles 1965–1966: Neapolis, Africa II, 1967–8, 271–83, at 271–6.

[292] Femmina Morta, Marzamemi D: Parker, op. cit. in n. 276, pl. CXXXIV–V, nos. 3, 4, 6–10, pl. CXXXVII, fig. 2. Capo Graziano, Filicudi A: Kapitän, op. cit. in n. 270,

---

45–7 with fig. 9. Capo Milazzo (from sea, not necessarily a wreck): MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 281. For other examples from the sea of African cylindrical *amphorae*, cf. BERNABÒ BREA et AL., op. cit. (n. 265), 41 and 94–7.

[293] Photograph in H. FROST, op. cit. infra in n. 389, 284, fig. 178.

[294] Palermo: in museum courtyards and 'underwater' collections (usually from Trapani where labelled). Lipari: in hall XXVI. Taormina: example in antiquarium of the Roman theatre. Agrigento: example (of Africano II A) in light-well near hall III. For further examples in Sicily of Africano I and II A–D, see KEAY, op. cit. in n. 282, 633–8 (his types III–VII), and for other Tunisian forms in Sicily, ibid. 648–64 (under his types XXV, XXVI, XXXV, LXI and LXXXI).

[295] E.g. A. M. FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 609, fig. 32, unnumbered *amphora* with collar-rim.

[296] S. Vito: PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 43, 53 with fig. 12. Montallegro: WILSON, op. cit. in n. 19, 15 with fig. 9 and references. For the latter type see now KEAY, op. cit. in n. 282, 294 (his Form LVIC) and FULFORD and PEACOCK, op. cit. in n. 224, 129, fig. 39, nos. 58–9.

[297] Vendicari: PARKER, op. cit. in n. 285, 330, with fig. 23, bottom left. Capo Graziano: KAPITÄN, op. cit. in n. 270, 41.

[298] Marsala: C. A. DI STEFANO, Lilibeo alla luce delle nuove scoperte archeologiche, Sic. Arch. XIII, 43, 1980, 7–20, at 16 with fig. 13. Monte Iato: H. P. ISLER, first op. cit. in n. 261, 216–7 with fig. 2–3 and pl. 78.1–3. Syracuse: FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 611, fig. 33, A 190–1. Gela, Palermo: unpublished. Terrasini: PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 270, 63 with pl. IIIg. Catania: unpublished, Museo inv. no. 869 (cf. MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 282). Local imitations of the *spatheion* type were also made in Sicily, e.g. two examples in white fabric throughout, found in the neighbourhood of Buscemi (SR), and seen at Syracuse Museum in December 1981.

[299] On the type and its distribution, MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 211–21 with earlier bibliography (distribution map, ibid. 262, fig. 2); RILEY, op. cit. in n. 264, 226–8, and KEAY, op. cit. in n. 282, 212–9.

before the fourth century, and possibly not before the late fourth century, they were still being made in Byzantine times.

The cylindrical *amphorae* already mentioned were all probably made within the confines of present-day Tunisia, and were by far the most common imported *amphorae* reaching Sicily between c. 200 and the sixth century; but they were not the only bulk containers to have been manufactured in north Africa at this period. The cylindrical type with handles on the shoulder, made in the third century in Tripolitania (Tripolitanian II), has been found on the Plemmyrion wreck site near Syracuse as well as at Syracuse itself, at Punta Molinazzo (PA), and possibly in Malta, while a rim fragment belonging to another third-century Tripolitanian amphora (Tripolitanian III), with neck handles, has been identified among finds from S. Vito (TP) and Piazza Armerina.[300] The pear-shaped *amphora* made in Mauretania is probably also present in the island, to judge from its usual general distribution, but it has yet to be positively identified in Sicily, except for a single example on board the Plemmyrion wreck already mentioned.[301] Another African type, a roughly cylindrical *amphora* with handles attached to the top of a plain rim (ALMAGRO 50), was the cargo on board a ship located at Randello near Camarina (RG) in 1981; the *amphorae* contained pilchards in sauce or brine, remains of them still surviving inside.[302] But the presence of some late-third to fifth century Spanish amphorae, including Spanish-made versions of ALMAGRO 50 type, in a couple of wrecks off the Sicilian coast,[303] shows that not all traffic in Spanish oil and fish-sauce ceased with the troubles of the third century, even though its export was by now on a much smaller scale than in the early Empire.[304] Presumably the Spanish produce was sufficiently distinctive from the African to retain an independent share of the market. Late Roman Spanish *amphorae*, however, have yet to be recognised in deposits on the island itself,[305] and their precise market share in Sicily remains unknown.

---

[300] On Tripolitanian II – III *amphorae*, PANELLA, op. cit. in n. 267, 562 – 71 with typology nos. 21 – 3 on p. 628; MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 153 – 6 with typology nos. 7 – 8 on p. 256; ID., Testimonianze sulla produzione e il consumo dell'olio tripolitano nel terzo secolo, D. Arch IX – X, 1976 – 7, 542 – 601, esp. 562 – 82; and KEAY, op. cit. in n. 282, 133 – 6. Plemmirio: GIBBINS and PARKER, op. cit. in n. 288. Syracuse: FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 629, fig. 47, H 9 – 10 (Inv. 69585, fabric not described). Malta: Missione archeologica italiana a Malta. Rapporto preliminare della campagna 1964, Rome 1965, fig. 8.14. Piazza Armerina: C. AMPOLO, A. CARANDINI, G. PUCCI, P. PENSABENE, La villa del Casale a Piazza Armerina. Problemi, saggi stratigrafici ed altre ricerche, MEFRA LXXXIII, 1971, 141 – 281, at 159, 166 (= A. CARANDINI et al., Ostia I, Stud. Misc. 13, Rome 1968, fig. 517). S. Vito: PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 43, 53 and fig. 12.2 – 3. Punta Molinazzo: G. PURPURA, Pesca e stabilimenti antichi per la lavorazione del pesce in Sicilia II, Sic. Arch. XVIII, 57 – 8, 1985, 59 – 86, at fig. 26.2.

[301] GIBBINS and PARKER op. cit. in n. 288, 279 with fig. 15 (probably for use on board rather than transport cargo). On the type and its distribution, PANELLA, op. cit. in n. 267, 601 – 5 with earlier bibliography (typology no. 33, p. 630); MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 149 – 53 (typology no. 25, p. 259). Two fragments from the Ognina A wreck (KAPITÄN, first op. cit. in n. 285, 247, fig. 6 – 7) may possibly be Mauretanian (accepted by MANACORDA, loc. cit.), but without details of the fabric positive identification is uncertain (so PANELLA, loc. cit., 604): TORTORELLA, op. cit. in n. 79, 363, believes them to be Spanish. For the petrology of this type, PEACOCK, op. cit. in n. 273, 265 – 6.

[302] Unpublished; information by courtesy of Dr. A. J. PARKER. For their African origin, KEAY, op. cit. in n. 282, 169 – 72 (his type XVI).

[303] E.g. Marzamemi F, SR (PARKER, op. cit. in n. 285, 329 – 30, with fig. 19.1 – 5, shape ALMAGRO 51C, and fig. 20.1 – 2, shape ALMAGRO 50 = KEAY types XXIII and XVI), and Femmina Morta, RG (PARKER, op. cit. in n. 276, pl. CXXXV, his types 9 and 10).

Also uncertain at present is the impact of eastern *amphorae* and their contents on the Sicilian market during the middle and late Empire. The excavations at Ostia, for example, show an appreciable rise in the number of eastern containers in the early to mid third century, when they account for over ten per cent of all *amphorae*, and they are again well represented in fifth- and sixth-century levels at Carthage.[306] Whether a comparable picture applies to Sicily only future work will show. A number of wreck sites off the east coast of Sicily, notably Ognina A, Marzamemi A and Terrauzza (all SR), as well as off Malta, have yielded examples of the distinctive Aegean-made wine-carriers in red-brown fabric of forms KAPITÄN I and II;[307] and their presence at Syracuse (in a burial), on Lipari (a chance find at Pignataro di Fuori), and at S. Vito (TP), demonstrate that these *amphorae* were indeed reaching Sicilian markets.[308] The Ognina A vessel, closely dated by coins to A.D. 210/5, shows that production of both had already started by the early third century,[309] but form KAPITÄN II, which had a particularly wide distribution in the western as well as the eastern Mediterranean, is attested as late as the early fifth century in Athens, Benghazi and elsewhere.[310] For the later Roman period it would not be surprising if the volume of eastern *amphorae* reaching Sicily increased sharply, especially in the fifth century when late Roman C pottery is attested in the island and when the proportion of eastern *amphorae* at Carthage is known to have increased significantly,[311] but the recognition of these eastern *amphorae* is still in its infancy in Sicily, and conclusions are therefore premature. The finds from the excavations at Punta Secca (RG) in south-east Sicily, a coastal settlement occupied from the mid-fourth to the mid-seventh centuries, would in particular repay detailed study in any attempt to assess whether or not there was an increase in eastern contacts at this period.[312] At least two wreck sites with eastern *amphorae* on board are now known off Sicily. That at Vendicari (SR) had a cargo of Aegean *amphorae*,[313] and the same type appeared alongside another class of container, probably Syrian in origin, and an oil-carrier, in a ship which went down off Cefalù not earlier than the late fifth century.[314] The latter also had another eastern container, probably from the Sardis region of Asia Minor,[315] as well as African *amphorae*,[316] on board. An example of the Syrian oil-*amphora* type is also known from the sea off western Sicily and is now in Terrasini museum (PA), and another has been recovered from Secca di Capistello off Lipari (ME).[317] How common such eastern *amphorae* are in late Roman and early Byzantine deposits in Sicily itself only future work can show, but all three of the eastern types just noted have turned up at both Marsala and Syracuse, and *amphorae* of related form at the latter may also be of eastern origin.[318]

---

[304] For a general discussion of the export of Spanish foodstuffs at this period, KEAY, op. cit. in n. 282, 402 – 6, 432 – 5.

[305] KEAY, ibid. 643, interprets an *amphora* from Marsala (BISI, loc. cit. in n. 266, fig. 15A, sketch only) as Spanish (his type XIII = DRESSEL 23), but without profile or fabric details this is uncertain.

[306] Ostia: RILEY, op. cit. in n. 243, 74. Carthage: ID., General discussion of imported eastern Mediterranean amphoras and later Roman fine wares, in J. H. HUMPHREY, ed., Excavations at Carthage conducted by the University of Michigan VI, Ann Arbor 1981, 115 – 24, FULFORD and PEACOCK, op. cit. in n. 224, 258 – 61.

[307] General discussion of KAPITÄN I and II: PANELLA, op. cit. in n. 267, 592 – 9, with typology nos. 38 – 9 on p. 631; MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 226 – 9, with typology nos. 27 – 8 on p. 259, RILEY, op. cit. in n. 264, 189 – 92. Ognina A: KAPITÄN, first op. cit. in n. 285, 246, fig. 4 – 5 (and see note 309). Marzamemi A: ID., first op. cit. in n. 72, figs. on 295, 297. Terrauzza: PARKER and SQUIRE, op. cit. in n. 81. Malta: FROST, op. cit. in n. 248, 21, fig. 8.1 – 4, 13. Possibly also in the Capo Granitola marble wreck (see note 82 above). Other examples from the sea in Catania Museum (MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 282) and from Lipari (E. CIABATTI, Sic. Arch. XI, 36, 1978, 13, fig. 6.1; cf. also BERNABÒ BREA et AL., op. cit. in n. 265, 80 – 1 with fig. 73).

[308] Syracuse: P. ORSI, Siracusa. Nuova necropoli greca dei sec. VII – VI, NSc 1925, 176 – 208, at 204, fig. 40, bottom left. Lipari: MANACORDA, op. cit. in n. 267, 282. S. Vito: PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 43, 53 with fig. 12.

[309] Cf. especially G. KAPITÄN, A Roman third-century A.D. shipwreck at Capo Ognina (Siracusa, Sicily), IJNA III, 1974, 150 – 1, with appendix on the coins by M. J. PRICE, ibid. 151 – 3. The coins included one of Byzantium, another of Nicaea and a third struck in the Peloponnese: these, and the Aegean *amphorae*, appear to suggest that the boat set sail from the Propontis area, put into a harbour in southern Greece, and had then loaded up with Africano I *amphorae* (p. 269), presumably somewhere in eastern Tunisia, before turning north and coming to grief off the Sicilian coast.

---

[310] PANELLA, op. cit. in n. 267, 597.

[311] See above, note 306. The typology (Late Roman 1, 2, 3) mentioned in notes 313 – 7 below is that of RILEY (in HUMPHREY, ed., op. cit. in n. 306).

[312] For example, a complete *amphora* from here in Ragusa museum, with horizontal ribbing on the body (cf. Sic. Arch. V, 18 – 20, 1972, 100), is a late-sixth or early-seventh century Aegean *amphora*; for the type, see H. P. ISLER, Heraion von Samos: eine frühbyzantinische Zisterne, MDAI(A) LXXXIV, 1969, 202 – 30, with Taf. 86 – 7, and for an example at Naples, P. ARTHUR, Naples: notes on the economy of a Dark Age city, in: C. MALONE and S. STODDART, ed., Papers in Italian Archaeology IV. iv, Oxford 1985, 247 – 59, at pl. 16.1.

[313] PARKER, op. cit. in n. 285, 330 with fig. 23; also ID., R. MCWILLIAMS et al., Oxford Expedition to South East Sicily, Italy, 1976, in: Bulletin of the Oxford University Exploration Club n.s. III, 1977, 69 – 80, at 76 – 8, with fig. 11 – 13 (the type is apparently also present at Marzamemi K: ibid. 78). The *amphora* is a variant of RILEY's Late Roman 2, probably fourth to late sixth century, but not reaching the west until the fifth century (see also FULFORD and PEACOCK, op. cit. in n. 224, 119).

[314] PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 276, 103, fig. 12 (Late Roman 2); 102, fig. 11 for the *amphora* (RILEY's Late Roman 1) believed to be from the Antioch region of Syria (RILEY, loc. cit., 120; FULFORD and PEACOCK, op. cit. in n. 224, 20 – 22 and 119).

[315] PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 276, 99, fig. 7e (RILEY's Late Roman 3; cf. also FULFORD and PEACOCK, 22 and 121).

[316] They include KEAY (op. cit. in n. 282, 289) Type LV, late fifth/sixth century (= PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 276, 103, fig. 14) and FULFORD and PEACOCK (n. 224) form 52, not before c. 450/75 (= PURPURA fig. 13).

[317] PURPURA, op. cit. in n. 270, 66 with pl. III, i; BERNABÒ BREA ET AL., op. cit. in n. 265, 42 with fig. 211 (both Late Roman 1).

4. Lamps

The study of terracotta lamps in the Roman Empire has recently been considerably advanced with the publication of a number of important *corpora* dealing with lamps from key sites and museums;[319] but none of the Sicilian collections has been so treated, if we make an exception of the full discussion of early imperial lamps from Lipari, although those in the Palermo Museum are currently being prepared for publication.[320] One of the results of this recent work is that some of the confidence formerly expressed about the place of manufacture of these artefacts has been shown to be misplaced. It has long been thought, for example, that the lamp-making industry of Italy was more successful than its pottery counterpart and continued to control huge markets in the Mediterranean long after the decline of Italian sigillata, and that most of the fine quality lamps present in Sicily in the first to third centuries A.D. were therefore likely to have been imported from Italy. Such was certainly the case in the first century and it is at least partly true for the second and third centuries, for large quantities of signed Italian lamps continued to be made until Severan times and unsigned lamps even later; but north Africa is also now known to have had a mass-production lamp industry by the time of the middle empire, and that several of the commonest second- and third-century types once thought to be Italian were in fact made in Africa. Thus the lamps signed by *C. IVN(ius) DRAC(o), C. IVN(ius) ALEX(is)* and *M. NOV(ius) IVS(tus),* all of which enjoyed an enormous circulation spread out over more than a century, are now thought to have been manufactured principally in Tunisia.[321] How far the lamps signed with these names were produced, not just in north Africa alone, but in a number of 'branch' factories operating elsewhere, including Italy, is a problem to be resolved only by detailed attention to the differing fabrics and their petrological make-up.[322] Nor was Tunisia alone the sole north African lamp-producing centre: those stamped Κέλσει, principally a second-century type formerly thought to be of Campanian manufacture, and the very common C. *COR(nelius) VRS(us)*, both of which, like the other stamps already mentioned, are widely attested in Sicily, were probably of Tripolitanian origin.[323] How large a share of the Sicilian market African lamps took in the second and third centuries, only further work on Roman lamps in general and on Sicilian lamps in particular will show; for what it is worth, out of a small sample of eleven lamps found at Marsala in 1972, all but a couple seem likely to have been African made.[324] On the other hand the volume of Italian-made lamps reaching the island in the second and third centuries A.D. is not to be underestimated. Among the many signed lamps attested in Sicily which are of Italian, and probably central Italian, manufacture are the products of *C. IVN(ius) BIT(us), C. OPP(ius) RES(titutus), L. CAE(cilius) SAE(cularis), ERACLID(es)* and many more;[325] by

---

[318] Cf. FULFORD and PEACOCK (n. 224), fig. 4–6, for distribution maps, to which add the Cefalù finds (nn. 314–5) and Late Roman 1 *amphorae* at Syracuse (P. ORSI, Di alcuni ipogei cristiani a Siracusa, RQA XI, 1897, 485, pl. I. 10; G. KAPITÄN: in ASSir XIII–XIV, 1967–68, 167–80, pl. VII). For Late Roman 3 at Syracuse, FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 611, fig. 33, A188–9 (where they are treated as local products). Ibid. 609, fig. 32, A183 and 185 are associated by KEAY (op. cit. in n. 282, 268) with another micaceous *amphora* of presumed eastern Mediterranean origin, a wine carrier (his type LII); the fabric is not, however, described by FALLICO.

[319] Notably D. M. BAILEY, A Catalogue of the lamps in the British Museum 2: Roman Lamps made in Italy, London 1980; J. W. HAYES, Ancient Lamps in the Royal Ontario Museum I: Greek and Roman clay lamps, Toronto 1980; O. BRONEER, Isthmia III: Terracotta Lamps, Princeton 1977; E. JOLY, Lucerne del Museo di Sabratha, Rome 1974; and D. M. BAILEY, Excavations at Sidi Khrebish, Benghazi (Berenice), III.2: The lamps, Tripoli 1985.

[320] By E. JOLY. For Lipari, cf. BERNABÒ BREA–CAVALIER, ML II, 337–48. Cf. also the older catalogue of the Catania collections, LIBERTINI MB, 264–96.

[321] An African production for these was suspected by B. BAILLY, Essai de classification des marques de potiers sur lampes en argile dans la Narbonnaise, Cahiers Ligures de

---

préhistoire et d'archéologie XI, 1962, 97–127, at 89; G. Sotgiu, Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna II.1, Padua 1968, 76; and others; cf. also Joly, op. cit. in n. 319, 88–9. The case will be presented in full by D. M. Bailey in: A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum 3, forthcoming; cf. provisionally Id., first op. cit. in n. 319, 89–90, with index on 440, 442 for these names; Id., second op. cit. in n. 319, 71–79. Production of *MNOVIVST* lamps is definitely attested at Sousse (J. Toutain, BAC 1941–2, 282–3). For examples of these lamps in Sicily, see CIL X, 8053. 102 (*CIVNALEXI*: at Palermo, Catania), 105 (*CIVNDRAC*, at Messina, Palermo, Marsala, Catania, Solunto), and 151 (*MNOVIVSTI*, at Palermo, Catania), but there are many other published examples of these in Sicily, e.g. all three at Lipari (Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, 346–7).

[322] Cf. W. V. Harris, Roman terracotta lamps: the organisation of an industry, JRS LXX, 1980, 126–45, for a general discussion of the problems involved: he argues a case, rather too strongly, against long distance export of lamps and for a multiplicity of manufacturing centres even for well-known signed products. See also C. Pavolini, Le lucerne nell'Italia romana, in: Schiavone and Giardina, ed., op. cit. in n. 176, 139–84, at 161–77, with bibliography and distribution maps.

[323] Κέλσει: CIL X, 8053.46 (Messina, Palermo, Catania); IG XIV, 2405.18 (Palermo, Catania); NSc 1885, 466 (Castelvetrano); NSc 1947, 224 (Panarea); Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, 346 (Lipari); unpublished example from Castroreale San Biagio, ME, etc. *C.COR(nelius) URS(us)*: CIL X, 8053.56 (Palermo, Catania, Marsala); Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, 345 (Lipari): di Stefano (see next note), 209 (Marsala) etc. Pavolini, op. cit. in n. 322, 176 takes these makers to be Campanian; for their probable Tripolitanian origin, Bailey, first op. cit. in n. 319, 89–90. The third-century Tripolitanian lamp-maker Σάβαι is attested at Syracuse (P. Orsi, NSc 1909, 366, fig. 24; cf. Joly, op. cit. in n. 319, 95).

[324] C. A. Di Stefano, Nuove lucerne da Lilibeo, Kokalos XXI, 1975, 205–13, with discussion. The exceptions are *OPPI*, a central Italian lamp-maker (Neronian-Trajanic: Bailey, first op. cit. in n. 319, 99) and Βαλερίου, from Corinth (see below).

[325] Examples: C. Iun(ius) Bit(us): Messina, Solunto, Marsala, Palermo, Catania (CIL X, 8053.104), late Antonine/Severan; C. Opp(ius) Res(titutus): Palermo, Messina, Catania (CIL X, 8053.157), Flavian/Antonine; L.Cae(cilius) Sae(cularis): Palermo, Catania (CIL

contrast examples of the north Italian *Firmalampen* or their derivatives, such as lamps signed by *FORTIS*, are rare.[326] A fuller analysis of the proportion of Italian to African signatures on lamps present in Sicily may be possible when the third volume of the Catalogue of the Lamps of the British Museum has been published, where D. M. BAILEY will present the evidence for the Tunisian and Tripolitanian series; but the possibility, as we have seen, that some lamp-manufacturers had a number of branch workshops, perhaps even some in Sicily, means that conclusions about the evidence that lamps provide for the wider commercial contacts between our island and adjacent areas must be treated with caution. Furthermore, even if we could be confident of the relevant proportions of Italian and African signed lamps present in Sicily, the true proportions covering all imported examples, may well have been rather different, in view of the large numbers of unsigned lamps present in any given sample.[327] Closer attention to fabric identification is clearly the key to future advance.

Apart from Italy and north Africa, which provided the bulk of the imported lamps reaching Sicily in the imperial period, a few examples of lamps manufactured in Greece also made their way to the island. Among these are the products of Corinthian lamp-makers such as Gaios in the second century (at Catania),[328] Βαλέριος in the late second century (at Marsala),[329] and Πωσφόρος in the late second or early third century (at the Roman

---

X, 8053.41), late Antonine/Severan; Eraclid(es): Palermo, Alcamo (CIL X, 8053.64), late Antonine/Severan. For the dates and probable location of workshops, BAILEY, first op. cit. in n. 319, 90 – 103, but some, e.g. especially C. Oppius Restitutus, may have operated branch work-shops (in Gaul, Sardinia, Spain and especially North Africa according to HARRIS, op. cit. in n. 322, 142). Other central Italian lamp-makers attested in Sicily include Q. Aur(elius) Xan(thus) at Palermo (CIL X, 8053.31), C(aius) Clod(ius) at Lipari (BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, 339, no. 27), (L.) Fabric(ius) Masc(ulus) at Catania (CIL X, 8053.74), Florent(ius) at Catania and Palermo (ibid. 81), and L. Marmi (ibid. 127), M. Pon( ) Stef(anus) (ibid. 164), and C. Vici(rius) Lar(...) (ibid. 202), all at Palermo. This list could, of course, be greatly extended.

[326] E.g. CIL X, 8053.82, from Catania and Palermo. Fortis lamps were also manufactured in Pannonia, Germany and Gaul, but the Sicilian examples were presumably Italian made.

[327] On this point see HARRIS, op. cit. in n. 322, 128, 142; the proportion of signed to unsigned lamps appears to vary according to context from c. 10/15% to c. 50%. Cf. similar dangers inherent in *amphora* studies, e.g. at Benghazi, Rhodian products comprise 35% of all stamped amphora handles but only 6% of all hellenistic *amphorae* (RILEY, op. cit. in n. 243, 72).

[328] Catania: IG XIV, 2405.7. A lamp-stamp at Syracuse (G. V. GENTILI, Via Ierone I: Resti archeologici dalle fondazioni della Casa popolare (Impresa Bianca), NSc 1956, 140 – 7, at 142 – 3) reads Γαίου λετριο, perhaps but not certainly an associate of the Greek lamp-maker Gaios (the signature is listed separately by L. MERCANDO, Lucerne, EAA Supplemento, 1970, 421). On Gaios, cf. O. BRONEER, Corinth IV.2: Terracotta Lamps, Cambridge 1934, 307 with nos. 706, 717; J. PERLZWEIG, Athenian Agora VII: Lamps of the Roman Period, Princeton 1961, 96, no. 290.

[329] DI STEFANO, op. cit. in n. 324, 208.

villa at Castroreale San Biagio, ME),[330] while the third-century lamps signed Πρειμίου (at Catania) came from an Attic workshop.[331] A lamp signed Ἀπολλοφάνης Τύριος, allegedly found in Sicily, may conceivably have been from the same (probably Corinthian) workshop which more usually signed its products as Απολλοφάνου, but it is more likely that the two signatures are unconnected.[332] Greek lamps, however, do not ever appear to have made any great impact in Sicily, and the trickle of examples present in the island probably represent casual items brought by travellers and shippers rather than part of a deliberate export trade. On the other hand the 'Cnidian' products of Romanesis in the second half of the first and early second century A.D. are present in Sicily in slightly greater numbers, at Lipari, Catania, Centuripe and Palermo,[333] and these lamps are known in Italy and further north, as well as in north Africa. Such a distribution suggests a more concerted attempt to export them from Asia Minor to the west, presumably on board ships carrying *amphorae* or some other cargo from the eastern Mediterranean.

Alongside these comparatively expensive imported products, large quantities of lamps, some plain, some decorated, were of course being made in Sicily by Sicilian lamp-makers. Our knowledge of the range and distribution of their products is, however, at present extremely limited; not surprisingly they usually imitate the standard Italian (or African) forms. By far the most distinctive of the local Sicilian products during the early Empire are the lamps of the Proclus Agyrios workshop, with volute nozzle, deep cylindrical body, a roughly-executed scallop design on the discus, and a ring-handle surmounted by a lunate, heart-shaped or head-shaped design modelled in the round (plate XI. 18). Some two-nozzle varieties are also known, as well as an exceptional variety in the form of a grotesque head with filling-hole placed in the forehead and wick-hole in the mouth.[334] The stamped examples usually bear the letters

---

[330] Unpublished; personal observation. For Posphoros, cf. BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328, nos. 573 – 4, 616, 695 – 7.

[331] LIBERTINI, MB, 278, nos. 1337 – 8; for the numerous examples from Athens, PERLZWEIG, op. cit. in n. 328, index s.v. 'Preimiou'.

[332] The stamp on the lamp alleged to come from Sicily is recorded in IG XIV, 2405.3; the Τύριος might indicate a stray Syrian import, or the product of an otherwise unknown (?) immigrant lamp-maker. For Apollophanes as a Corinthian lamp-maker (despite his absence in BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328), cf. G. SIEBERT, Lampes Corinthiennes et imitations au musée national d'Athènes, BCH XC, 1966, 472 – 513, at 497 – 8, no. 15.

[333] CIL X, 8053.173 (Catania, Centuripe, Palermo); BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, 347 (Lipari), with references. Cf. also PERLZWEIG, op. cit. in n. 328, nos. 105, 129, with references; and G. HERES, Die Werkstatt des Lampentöpfers Romanesis, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte X, 1968, 185 – 211, who argues that these lamps were made at Miletus rather than at Cnidus (as first proposed by H. B. WALTERS, Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum, London 1914, p. xxxvi, and subsequently widely accepted).

[334] For this last, cf. the signed example acquired by the British Museum in 1982 from the Wellcome Collection (unpublished; accession no. GR 1982. 3 – 2.13). A full study of the Proclus Agyrinos lamps as a whole is being prepared by Dr. M. G. BRANCIFORTE of Catania; it will appear in CronASA.

ΠΡΟΚ ΑΓΥ or simply ΑΓΥ on the base, presumably an abbreviation for Proclus Agyrios or similar,[335] but related signatures ΠΟΥ ΑΓ and ΠΟΥΠ ΑΓΥΡ, recorded at Catania and Centuripe, presumably attest an associate or imitator of Proclus.[336] Their distribution is widespread over the whole of Sicily, especially the eastern half of the island, and there is no doubt whatever that they were manufactured there; PACE's suggestion that the workshop was at Agyrium (Agira, EN) in eastern Sicily so far remains unproven.[337] Apart from a solitary (unsigned) example of this type in the Carthage collections, none is so far recorded outside Sicily.[338]

Less is known about other Sicilian lamp industries. Some lamp wasters in Palermo Museum indicate a first-century factory, but unfortunately the provenance is unrecorded.[339] At Syracuse, the potteries already mentioned turned out lamps as well, but lamp production seems to have survived longer, continuing into the second century;[340] but whether this catered for a purely local market or enjoyed a wider diffusion is at present unknown. Also unknown is the production centre of a totally plain lamp-type circulating in Sicily in the late first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D., which was modelled not on an Italian type but on a Greek lamp series known at Corinth and Athens. Although the Sicilian examples have sometimes been taken for Greek imports, they seem to have been produced independently in the island by a copyist.[341] Production at Agrigento is suggested by a second-century lamp in orange-red clay of standard LOESCHCKE type VIII, decorated with a crab, the city's emblem, and the letters *AKPA* (γας) above it, but the type is so far attested by only a single example.[342] Presumably some of the other signatures which occur only singly on Sicilian lamps represent the names of Sicilian lamp-makers, but little can be said at present about the range of their products.[343] One other simple lamp is particularly enigmatic. Found at Marsala and published in 1941, it bears the letters *LILYBEO AVGVSTA LVCERNARIA* cut on the base in cursive (plate XI. 19).[344] The word *lucernarius,* extremely rare, presumably means 'lamp-maker', i. e. the potter who fashioned the lamp (or rather the archetype from which the mould was made) in a particular *officina.*[345] Augusta, however, is no ordinary name: it first appeared as a title for Livia on Augustus' death in A.D. 14, and was then granted to Antonia, Gaius' grandmother, and to the wives of Claudius and Nero, before becoming the customary title for all empresses from the late first century onwards. Freedmen and freedwomen of an Augusta might identify themselves as *Augustae l(ibertus, -a),* but no freedwoman was entitled to call herself simply *Augusta.*[346] It would seem, therefore, that the inscription should mean 'the empress as lampmaker at Marsala (made this)' and the lamp therefore appears to document an imperially-owned lamp factory in that city. If so, it is unique, for lamp-making is an activity not otherwise associated with the Emperor and there are no imperial lamp-stamps to match, for example, the series of brick-stamps which so clearly documents imperial concern with the building industry. Whatever the interpretation of the inscription, the artefact does attest lamp-making at Marsala, probably in the early Empire.

---

[335] Or Αγυρίου ('of Agira'), the form favoured by (e.g.) WALTERS, op. cit. in n. 333, 123; alternatively the adjectival form *Agyrinus* may have been intended: cf. Pliny, NH III.91. IG XIV, 2405.34 gives examples from Palermo, Sciacca, Catania and Centuripe. Other published lamps of this type (both signed and unsigned) come from Catania (G. LIBERTINI, Catania. Necropoli romana e avanzi bizantini nella Via Dottor Consoli, NSc 1956, 170–89, at 179, with fig. 17); Assoro (J. P. MOREL, Recherches archéologiques et topographiques dans la région d'Assoro, MEFR LXXV, 1963, 267 and fig. 2); Troina (E. MILITELLO, Troina. Scavi effettuati dall'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Catania negli anni 1958 e 1960, NSc 1961, 322–404, at 355, 357); Butera (D. ADAMESTEANU, Butera, Fontana Calda: scoperta della stipe votiva di un santuario campestre, MonAnt. XLIV, 1958, 589–672, at 621–2, fig. 243–4); Chiaramonte Gulfi (A. DI VITA, Archeologia ed identificazione di un antico centro nella Sicilia orientale, ASSO IV, 1951, 53 and pl. III.13); Halaesa (G. CARETTONI, Tusa. Scavi di Halaesa, seconda relazione, NSc 1961, 283 and fig. 20); and Sabucina Bassa (SEDITA MIGLIORE, op. cit. in n. 88, 160, fig. 125). There are also four examples from Centuripe in the British Museum (WALTERS, op. cit. in n. 333, nos. 819–22), several unprovenanced in the Catania collections (LIBERTINI, MB, 268–9, nos. 1251–1262), and unpublished examples in the museums of Gela and Tindari in eastern Sicily, and at Solunto and Termini Imerese in the west.

[336] G. LIBERTINI, ASSO XXVII, 1931, 411–13 (Catania), cf. ΠΟΥ | Α, IG XIV, 2405.32 (Centuripe), MILITELLO, op. cit. in n. 335, 355, no. 14 (Troina, EN), and cf. LIBERTINI, MB, 269, no. 1263.

[337] ACSA II, 486.

[338] J. DENEAUVE, Lampes de Carthage, Paris 1969, 159, no. 644.

[339] Unpublished; information by courtesy of Prof. E. JOLY.

[340] FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 154, 638.

[341] D. M. BAILEY, Catalogue of Lamps in the British Museum I, London 1975, Q 678 with references (and cf. Q 677); H. P. ISLER, second op. cit. in n. 261, 102, L 270–1.

Towards the end of the fourth century, the Sicilian market for fine-ware lamps was captured almost in its entirety by the handsome red-gloss products of the Tunisian factories, and numerous examples, some of type I B but more especially type II A (central Tunisian) and type II B (Carthaginian) of HAYES' classification, are found all over the island and in every Sicilian museum collection.[347] Enormous numbers must have reached Sicily, at least from the early fifth century onwards, down to the very end of production in the second half of the sixth century. The Syracuse Museum has a particularly large collection, including one example of a giant Tunisian-made lamp with two nozzles (much burnt) rather than the usual one, and with four holes and two suspension holes; this was clearly intended for votive use, presumably in the catacombs.[348] The only other imported lamps reaching Sicily in any quantity during the fifth and sixth centuries came from Tripolitania: this series, in a brownish-red clay with flatter top and simpler decoration than on the Tunisian counterparts, is known from several places in eastern and south-eastern Sicily, and there are occasional examples further west as well.[349] There is also a quantity of lamps in Syracuse imported from western Asia Minor in the fifth or sixth centuries.[350] Not surprisingly, the success of the African lamps inspired many imitations, and the numerous examples of these are usually readily distinguishable from the imported products both by the inferior quality of their decoration (debased forms of the African motifs, but arranged in the same basic overall pattern) and by the distinctive fabric, generally white, grey, brown, or a matt pale-orange or orange-red. Such imitations were no doubt made in numerous different places in Sicily in the late Roman and early Byzantine period: indeed moulds or fragments of moulds, mostly for very simple lamps, indicate lamp-making activity at this period at Marsala, S. Leone near Agrigento, Sirignano in the territory of Alcamo (TP), and Sofiana

---

[342] In Agrigento Museum (but not on display), donated by Prof. G. MANGANARO; unpublished. A lamp in the Syracuse collections, in a pinky-red fabric, also bears a representation of a crab on it, but without the inscription; crabs are, however, a moderately common discus decoration (cf. BAILEY, first op. cit. in n. 319, 83–4), and the Syracuse lamp need have had no connection with supposed production at Agrigento.

[343] Signatures, all in Greek, include: Gana (Centuripe: IG XIV, 2405.8), Damocrates (Syracuse: ibid. 9), Didukios (?), Sittios and Chryserotos (all Catania: ibid. 14, 39 and 44), Marcios and Oiskos (also Catania: LIBERTINI, MB, nos. 1266, 1354), Stuina, Poō and Σ (from Troina: MILITELLO, op. cit. in n. 335, 358). The last, however, might be a fourth-century Attic import (cf. PERLZWEIG, op. cit. in n. 328, 51).

[344] E. GABRICI, Lilibeo, NSc 1941, 271–302, at 294–6, with fig. 53.

[345] Cf. CIL XV, 6263, *Diomedes lucernarius,* with discussion on p. 784. This and our inscription are the only instances of the word *lucernarius, -a.* The Oxford Latin Dictionary (ed. P. W. GLARE, Oxford 1982) incorrectly translates as lamp-seller: a name on a lamp archetype must surely refer to the maker.

[346] Cf. in general P. R. C. WEAVER, Familia Caesaris, Cambridge 1972, esp. 47–8, 66–8.

---

[347] Hayes, LRP, 310–14; on the certainty that type II B was made at Carthage, see Id. in: Humphrey, op. cit. in n. 200, 121; cf. also Id., op. cit. in n. 319, 66 with references. Also for African lamps, Fulford and Peacock, op. cit. in n. 224, 232–41 and Carandini, ed., op. cit. in n. 214, 192–204. For a catalogue of the Tunis and Carthage collections, A. Ennabli, Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie: Musées du Barde et de Carthage, Paris 1976.

[348] Unpublished in detail, but cf. L. Bernabò Brea, Il riordinamento del materiale cristiano-bizantino del Museo archeologico di Siracusa, Nuovo Didaskaleion I, 1947, 55–9; A. M. Marchese, Lucerna di Siracusa con supposta raffigurazione cristiana, ASSir n.s. IV, 1975–6, 37–44.

[349] Carandini, ed., op. cit. in n. 214, 204–5; Hayes, LRP 314–5, with references to finds from Ragusa and Vassallagi. Others are published from Catania (one provenanced, several unprovenanced: Libertini, MB no. 1459, cf. 1458–73), Pozzallo, RG (Fallico, op. cit. in n. 226, 487, fig. 1.13) and Syracuse (S. L. Agnello, Siracusa. Ipogeo tardo-romano in contrada S. Giuliano, NSc 1955, 260–5, at 263 with fig. 4e–f; P. Orsi, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. II.1). There are further unpublished examples in the Museums of Syracuse, Palermo (one on display, unprovenanced; also one from Chiana Celsi near Salemi [TP], reserve material), and Heraclea Minoa, AG (one from the Campanaio site near Montallegro, found during fieldwork by the writer; reserve material). The beginning of this series is now thought to be no earlier than c. 400: Bailey, second op. cit. in n. 319, 87.

[350] Orsi, op. cit. infra in n. 352, 360, bottom row, first three. For the type, cf. F. Millner, Die Forschungen in Ephesos IV. 2, Vienna 1937, nos. 1880, 1888, 1878; Joly, op. cit. in n. 319, nos. 1253, 1256. Other Asia Minor lamps in Syracuse: Orsi, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. II. 2–7; Id., op. cit. in n. 234, 351, fig. 21b.

(EN).[351] Our fullest information, however, about late-imperial lamp manufacture in Sicily comes from Syracuse, where the industry has a more than purely local significance. Large quantities of lamps have been found in the various catacombal complexes and hypogea in which the city abounds, and many examples were illustrated and briefly described by Paolo Orsi at the turn of the century; a fresh and comprehensive review of the material, taking into account the more recent finds, is long overdue.[352] The published lamps may be divided into four broad categories. The first (which I propose to call Type I) comprise those ovoid lamps which are straightforward and fairly close copies of the main African series, but which are clearly distinguishable from the imported lamps by their different colour clay. There are two moulds for making lamps of this type on display in the Syracuse Museum, probably of Syracusan provenance.[353] The imitations appear to be exclusively of Hayes' type II in the Tunisian series, both A and B, in which case they cannot have been manufactured before the fifth century.[354] Discus decoration includes the cross, palms and various running animals, and the rim decoration is either closely modelled on the African motifs or else is simplified into circles, zigzags, and the like.[355] The second category of late Roman Syracusan lamps, and the most original, consists of examples which are almost completely circular in shape, with virtually no projecting nozzle; instead the wick-hole is set in the middle of the broad rim. The knob handle likewise is usually placed in the middle of the rim, although some unhandled versions also occur.[356] The discus bears a central filling hole. Both rim and discus are decorated by relief patterns; these are arranged in neat and systematic fashion in what are presumably the earliest examples of Type II, which imitate the African lamps in both motif and overall arrangement.[357] These, however, were soon joined or replaced by examples which have a wide repertoire of relief designs

---

[351] S. Leone: P. Griffo, Agrigento romana: le necropoli e i monumenti sepolcrali, Atti dell'Accademia Agrigentina di Lettere, Arte e Scienza I, 1947, 17; Sirignano: C. Traselli, La fattoria romana di Sirignano, Sic. Arch. III, 12, 1970, 19–24; the rest are unpublished.

[352] P. Orsi, op. cit. in n. 234, esp. 343 (fig. 7), 347 (fig. 14), 350 (fig. 20); Id., op. cit. in n. 318, with pl. I–III; and Id., Ipogei cristiani in contrada Cappuccini, NSc 1909, 355–363, at 359–63 with fig. 18–21. The brief comment of A. M. Fallico, op. cit. in n. 226, 484–5, adds little new.

[353] Cf. also P. Orsi, Siracusa. Scoperte all'anfiteatro, NSc 1915, 189–90, at 190 („*matrice di una lucerna cristiana del V (sec.) d.c.*").

[354] On the dating of the Tunisian series, Hayes, LRP, 313–4; but see now also Opus II, 1983, 50.

[355] E.g. Orsi, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. I. 3 (nimbate head), II. 14 (running dog), 16 (ibex? – so Orsi), 17 (two palms); 18 (plain discus, circles on rim); III. 3 (cross), 16 (hare), 17 (rosette); Orsi, op. cit. in n. 352, 360, fig. 18, top left (cross).

[356] E.g. Orsi, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. I. 5; Id., op. cit. in n. 352, 360, fig. 18, second row, second from right. For a general description of the type, see Broneer, op. cit. in n. 328, 120–1 (his Type XXXII).

[357] E.g. Perlzweig, op. cit. in n. 328, 100, nos. 340–1 (orange-buff and brown clay, 'fifth-sixth century'); 193, no. 2832 (orange clay, but described as local copy of imported Sicilian lamp).

(dolphins, palmettes, meanders, guilloche, varieties of leaf patterns and circle motifs) crammed in less than orderly fashion all over both discus and rim.[358] The clay is generally either buff or orange-buff in colour, or else red or orange-red. The chronology of these Type II Syracusan lamps is quite uncertain, but a date before the fifth century is unlikely; and production may well not have started until quite late in that century. Rather surprisingly they found their way abroad, for examples of this type have been noted at Corinth, Isthmia, Argos, Athens and elsewhere in Greece, in sufficient numbers to suggest more than casual strays; the period of export is presumably the later fifth and sixth centuries.[359] The most common variety, however, of these circular Type II lamps represented in the Syracusan catacombs have much simpler relief decoration, consisting primarily of rays, circles, raised dots, and petal designs; these are less commonly found outside Syracuse and presumably represent debased examples of the same type being made in the sixth and perhaps down into the seventh century.[360] The last two categories of Syracusan lamps are unlikely to have been made earlier than the second half of the sixth century, and so strictly lie outside the chronological limits of this survey. Type III, a degenerate form of the Type I lamps, retained the oval shape, the stump handle and the broad channel linking discus and nozzle, all features present on the Tunisian lamps of HAYES II. The rims, however, are generally left plain,[361] and the decoration on the discus is limited to little more than banal arrangements of small circles and dots in relief (what ORSI dubbed the '*Rosary pattern*'), although occasionally variant designs such as tendrils and fish also occur (plate XII. 20).[362] A herringbone motif is commonly found decorating the channel adjacent to the wick-hole.[363] These Type III lamps often have on the bottom patterned makers' marks, a feature also shared by the Type II lamps. These marks are themselves very simple, usually consisting of a pattern which combined elements such as concentric circles, semicircles, raised dots, triangles and herringbone motifs; a 'nonsense signature' and even a bird are also attested.[364] Despite its very simple and often crude decoration, the Type III lamps enjoyed a wide circulation, even wider than that of the Type II lamps. Examples have been published, apart from Syracuse, from S. Croce Camarina (RG) and Catania in eastern Sicily, and from Castelvetrano (TP) in western Sicily;[365] but this class of lamps has been found all over the island, and there are unpublished examples in museums at Palermo, Termini Imerese, Erice (TP), Agrigento and Acireale (CT). In addition, these very simple lamps were exported over a wide area outside Sicily. They have been noted in some quantity in central Italy (where they seem also to have provided the model for local copies)[366] and they have been found also in late levels in Sardinia[367] and north Africa, at Carthage, Sabratha and Benghazi,[368] as well as in Greece.[369] Such a widespread distribution suggests that competition was limited; in particular their presence at Carthage implies that they enjoyed their success after the demise of the red slip African lamp production, which probably occurred sometime after 550.[370] The type III Syracusan lamps are therefore probably a late-sixth and especially a seventh-century form, and the specifically eastern market won by the type II lamps may indicate that their main period of production (at least for the export models) was rather earlier, before the African lamps had gone out of production. The final version in the Syracusan late Roman and Byzantine series (Type IV) is a modification of the same basic oval lamp-type, but the knob handle is replaced by a looped version, and the clear distinction between rim and discus has disappeared, so that the simple decoration in relief (similar to, but even cruder than, that on Type III lamps, with the herringbone motif particularly dominant) covers the flat top of the lamp from side to side.[371] Moulds for both Types III and IV can be seen in Syracuse Museum, and these (although of uncertain provenance), taken together with the number of these lamps found in the Syracusan catacombs, leave little room for doubt that both varieties were manufactured in the city. Even the late debased Type IV lamps, production of which can hardly have been earlier than the seventh century and may well have extended into the eighth, are known outside Sicily, in Sardinia, Corinth and no doubt elsewhere.[372] They represent the end of a long and none too distinguished line of Syracusan lamp production which had continued, more or less without interruption,[373] from the late Republic down to the very end of antiquity.

---

[358] E.g. ORSI, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. III. 11; ID., op. cit. in n. 352, 363, fig. 21 (Syracuse); LIBERTINI, MB 292, no. 1453 with pl. CXXIX (Catania collections, provenance uncertain).

[359] Corinth: BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328 with nos. 1501–1510 on pp. 290–1; Isthmia: BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 319, 82 and nos. 3170–6 (noting also at least 22 unpublished examples at Corinth); Argos: A. BOVON, Lampes d'Argos, Études Péloponnésiennes V, Paris 1966, 92–3, nos. 661–6; Athens: see note 357 and add 201, no. G. with pl. 41 (late fifth-sixth century) and 193, nos. 2828–2838 (second half of sixth century); Olympia: VI. Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia, Berlin 1958, fig. 65d; Nea Anchialos: PERLZWEIG, op. cit. in n. 328, 193, on no. 2832. Some of these (e.g. examples in grey fabric) are probably local copies of imported Syracusan lamps (cf. BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 319, 82; ID., op. cit. in n. 328, 120).

[360] E.g. ORSI, op. cit. in n. 318 pl. I. 5, pl. III, nos. 7–10, 18–28; ID., op. cit. in n. 352, 360, fig. 18, last (right-hand) lamps in each of row 1 and 2. For an example of this simple type at Corinth, BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328, no. 1509 (simple concentric circles on rim, with four smaller circles on discus).

[361] A few examples which may be transitional ('Type I/III') retain very simple rim decoration, such as simple circles or circles and strokes: cf. ORSI, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. II. 19 and 28; LIBERTINI, MB, 294–5, no. 1479 with pl. CXXX. Similar examples at Athens (PERLZWEIG, op. cit. in n. 328, nos. 2825–6, with pl. 44) may also be Syracusan lamps of this transitional type, although they are classed as Attic.

[362] E.g. ORSI, op. cit. in n. 234, 343 (fig. 7), 347 (fig. 14), 350 (fig. 20); ID., op. cit. in n. 318, pl. II. 20–23, 25–26.

---

[363] BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328, 121, suggested that this device may have represented the Seven-Branched candlestick and so indicate a Jewish connection; but the number of 'branches' varies greatly and its interpretation as a fish-bone motif is more likely. My type III is BRONEER Type XXXIII (ibid. 121 – 2).

[364] Examples: ORSI, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. I. 6 and III. 12 – 13, 26 (Type II), pl. I. 7 and II. 27 (Type III); ID., op. cit. in n. 234, 343, fig. 7 and 347, fig. 14 (Type III). 'Nonsense signature': ORSI, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. III. 23; bird: BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328, 291, fig. 206.

[365] S. Croce: G. SCROFANI, Nuove testimonianze archeologiche dal territorio di S. Croce Camarina, Sic. Arch. V, 18 – 20, 1972, 108, fig. 7 (with a coin of A.D. 582/602); Catania: LIBERTINI, MB, nos. 1479 – 81; Castelvetrano: A. SALINAS, NSc 1885, 470 – 1, nos. 27 – 32. Unprovenanced example in British Museum: D. M. BAILEY, Greek and Roman Pottery Lamps, London 1972, pl. 12, i.

[366] A. PROVOOST, Les Lampes à récipient allongé trouvées dans les catacombes romaines, Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome XLI, 1970, 37 (examples in the Vatican, but unprovenanced). Local copies: BAILEY, first op. cit. in n. 319, 387 – 8, no. Q 1437 (his Type S, iv), with discussion.

[367] F. VILLEDIEU, Turris Libisonis. Fouille d'un site romain tardif à Porto Torres, Sardaigne, Oxford 1984, 216, fig. 369 and 256 – 7, n. 240.

[368] Carthage: HUMPHREY (ed.), op. cit. in n. 200, 123, nos. G 9 – 13 with pl. 27; ID. (ed), op. cit. in n. 252, 92, no. G 46. Sabratha: JOLY, op. cit. in n. 319, 53 and nos. 1261 – 3 with pl. LIV, fig. 4. Benghazi: BAILEY, second op. cit. in n. 319, 85, no. C 601.

[369] Corinth: BRONEER, op. cit. in n. 328, 121 – 2, and 291, nos. 1511 – 1515, but only 1511 corresponds closely with my Type III.

[370] The date of the last African red slip lamps of HAYES II B is still not certain, but cf. HAYES, LRP, 314; ID. in: HUMPHREY (ed.), op. cit. in n. 200, 121; ID. in: HUMPHREY, op. cit. in n. 252, 89.

5. Brick and tile

Kiln-fired brick had been used in Sicily throughout the hellenistic period, especially for floor-paving and for columns, and kilns of this date are known at Spadafora (ME), Morgantina (EN) and probably Camarina (RG), but little is known about the industry in Sicily during the Empire.[374] The island was slow to adopt the brick-faced concrete architecture which revolutionized the building industry in Italy from the time of Augustus onwards; only Taormina, Catania, Centuripe and Termini Imerese are known to have used concrete extensively, and of these only Taormina and Centuripe used brick as the principal facing material.[375] In such places the bricks used were undoubtedly of local manufacture, as they tend to be much thicker than those employed in contemporary buildings in central Italy; and further evidence suggesting local production is provided by name-stamps which, when they occur, are usually in Greek.[376] The brickyards themselves have yet to be discovered;[377] but at Taormina they doubtless lay south of the city in the outskirts of the settlement at Naxos. The group of late Roman kilns there already mentioned (p. 259) were turning out roof-tiles as well as pottery and *amphorae,* but not bricks.[378] For Sicilian roof-tiles of the imperial period the most widespread type, at any rate on rural sites in southern and western Sicily, was a gently curved tile with a roughly made flange; the absence of flat roof-tiles from this area indicates that *tegulae* were out of fashion, and the 'Laconian' system of roofing was the norm.[379]

---

[371] E.g. E. Gabrici, Mon. Ant. XXVII, 1921, 203–4, fig. 9 (Palermo); Orsi, op. cit. in n. 318, pl. II. 24 (Syracuse); Libertini, MB, 295, no. 1480 (mentioning ten other examples, of which four are of secure Catanian provenance). For an undecorated example from Priolo near Gela, with a *dipinto* in Greek on the side, ὁ ἅγιος Ἀλέξανδρος, cf. D. Adamesteanu, I primi documenti epigrafici paleocristiani nel retroterra di Gela, RAL X, 1955, 563–6; a similar example, perhaps with the same inscription, has also been found in Syracuse: G. Cultrera, op. cit. in n. 207, 805–6. Both were presumably votive offerings in churches.

[372] Corinth: Broneer, op. cit. in n. 328, 122 and 292, no. 1516 (his Type XXXIV). Sardinia: unprovenanced example in Sassari Museum of transitional Type III/IV lamp (flat top, but knob, not loop, handle); unpublished, but for a photograph, see R. J. A. Wilson, Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire: aspects of the archaeological evidence, Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–1981, pl. XXIV. 3.

[373] Only in the third century is there at present an absence of secure evidence for lamp making at Syracuse, but the mould for a lamp with central boss on the discus and floral decoration on the rim (Fallico, op. cit. in n. 154, 615 with fig. 37, A 235–6) may be of third-century date (it is modelled on African lamps probably made in the second half of the second century: Deneauve, op. cit. in n. 338, nos. 1005–1011, type VIII B; but the Syracuse lamp is more oval in shape and appears to have a knob handle).

[374] For fuller details, with bibliography on these and other sites mentioned in this section, see R. J. A. Wilson, Brick and tiles in Roman Sicily, in: A. McWhirr, ed., Roman

The curved tile with the rough flange was already in production towards the end of the first century B.C., since a pair of circular kilns turning out such roof-tiles, which was discovered accidentally near Partinico (PA), appears to be of this date. The stamped tiles it produced, reading 'Ονάσου, have turned up also at a number of other sites in western Sicily, indicating a distribution range for this particular tileworks over a radius of at least 25 km. from the kilns.[380] The same type of tile went on being made throughout the imperial

---

Brick and Tile: Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire, Oxford 1979, 11–43.

[375] For a brief discussion of examples, see p. 101–9 and 188 of this volume.

[376] Thickness: second-century Sicilian bricks are rarely less than 5 cm. thick, and 7–10 cm. is common; cf. 3.5 cm. as the normal thickness of contemporary central Italian bricks (WILSON, op. cit. in n. 374, 15). Stamps: IG XIV, 2395.1 (Haluntium); 2396.2–3 (Taormina); 2399.2 (Alcamo); G. PUCCI, I materiali epigrafici del magazzino della villa del Casale, MEFRA LXXXIII, 1971, 249–56, at 255–6 (Piazza Armerina); L. BIVONA, Epigrafia latina, Kokalos XVIII–XIX, 1972–3, 193–200, at 194–5 (Marsala, bilingual)

[377] For a possible brick kiln of rectangular shape at Marsala, see note 238 above with reference.

[378] FALLICO, loc. cit. in n. 241.

[379] WILSON, op. cit. in n. 374, 20–3, with fig. 2.1.

[380] Partinico: C. A. DI STEFANO, Scoperta di due antiche fornaci nel territorio di Partinico, Sic. Arch. XV, 49–50, 1982, 31–6, where a third-century B.C. date is suggested on the strength of a single tile stamped Πόρταξ, apparently the same as the tile-maker of that period who supplied material for the theatre at Monte Iato (H. P. ISLER, Sic. Arch. XIV, 46–7, 1981, 61). However there is only a single (stray?) instance of this stamp at the kiln-site, but 15 examples stamped 'Ονάσου; the latter occurs at Monte Iato in the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. contexts (P. MÜLLER, Gestempelte Ziegel, in: H. BLOESCH and H. P. ISLER, ed., Studia Ietina I, Zurich 1976, 49–77, at 63–4 and 69), which suggests a later date for the Partinico kilns than DI STEFANO proposes (a DRESSEL I B *amphora* neck of c. 70–0 B.C. found there is slender supporting

period, and further examples with name-stamps, which are usually placed on or adjacent to the flange, have been published from central southern Sicily. Some of these, like Ὄνασος, probably record the name of the tile-manufacturer, others, especially those with the *tria nomina*, the owner of the tile works, others again indicate the name of the estate where the roof tiles were produced.[381] In some cases of the last group, the names can be identified with those of 'estate-centres-cum-road-stations' listed in the 'Antonine Itinerary', such as *Calvi(siana), Fil(o)sof(iana)* and *Petil(iana)*. Few of such name-stamps have been recorded in more than one or two places, and most had probably therefore a restricted distribution; but tiles stamped Galba, possibly indicating imperial ownership, have been found as far apart as 50 km., and one late Roman manufacturer, Quoddeusvult, produced tiles which have turned up on sites up to 30 km. apart. A later type of gently curved roof-tile introduced in the fifth century A.D., which lacks the flange but generally bears combed lines on its upper surface, does not appear to have been stamped.[382] The 'Laconian' system of roofing did not, however, prevail everywhere in Sicily during the Empire; in the towns, at any rate in the north and east parts of the island, the more customary flat *tegula* and *imbrex* roof remained the norm.

A few examples of the late Roman (and Byzantine) combed roof-tiles have been found in small quantities outside Sicily, in Basilicata and Carthage,[383] and the Italian and African examples may well have been Sicilian made; but most Sicilian brick and tile is likely to have been made in Sicily for Sicilian markets. A number of imported bricks from the imperial brickworks of central Italy are recorded at Syracuse and Catania, and products of the central and north Italian brickmaker Q. Oppius Iustus are known near Licata,[384] but the total amounts to no more than a handful, and none of them has yet been recorded in a standing building; they probably represent casual strays rather than part of a concerted export trade aimed at the Sicilian market. On the other hand recent petrological work at Carthage has demonstrated the presence of substantial quantities of Campanian tile there and raised the possibility

---

evidence too). ’Ονάσου elsewhere: at Raccuglia and Scopello (Giustolisi, op. cit. in n. 193, 38) and at Palermo (Gabrici, op. cit. in n. 371, 201).

[381] On stamped tiles see Wilson, op. cit. in n. 374, 23 – 6 with fig. 2.2 – 4 and L. Bivona, Brevi note sull'*Instrumentum Domesticum* di Sicilia, Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX, 1982 – 83, 368 – 87.

[382] E.g. Wilson (n. 374), 2, pl. 2. VI. b. This is the type found on a site near Heraclea Minoa where the earliest African Red Slip pottery is c. 425 A.D. (Wilson and Leonard, op. cit. in n. 226, 231 – 2), but they are not present at a late fourth or early fifth-century structure at Montallegro nearby (Wilson, op. cit. in n. 19, 15). Galba: Id., op. cit. in n. 374, 26 with fig. 2.4. Quoddeusvult: CIL X, 8045, 19a – d and NSc 1893, 342.

[383] Information from Professor D. Adamesteanu and Dr. D. P. S. Peacock.

[384] CIL X, 8045.1 (Syracuse); ibid. 15 (Licata); cf. *OPP* ... (Catania: NSc 1891, 361); CIL XV, 1102b.26 (Catania); ibid. 526.20 (Catania collections). Further unprovenanced brick stamps in Catania: Libertini, MB, 319 – 20. Campanian tiles: *VINICI* at Palermo (V. Tusa, NSc 1954, 146, comparing CIL X, 8042.108, from Pompeii); L. Viselli at Cefalù (from there or Lipari: CIL X, 8045.25, cf. 8042.109). Possible African tile stamp: CIL X, 8045.12 cf. VIII, 2478. 10962.

that Sicily was the source of another non-African fabric[385]: stamps do not tell the whole story, and long-distance transportation of tile to and from Sicily, Italy and north Africa may prove to have been more extensive than present evidence would suggest. Certainly a more specialised terracotta product, of lesser and more manageable bulk, namely the curved, hollow, interlocking tubular tiles used in vaulting, is likely to have been shipped to Sicily from Africa, where they were very widely used from the second century A.D. onwards. Examples have been found in wreck-sites off Sicilian coasts, at Plemmyrion (SR), Femmina Morta (RG) (c. 300 A.D.), Cefalù (c. 500 A.D.), and possibly at Ognina A (SR) (c. 210/215 A.D.)[386] on board ships which were possibly but not certainly making for Sicilian harbours; and the distribution of these vaulting tubes in Sicily itself, at places on or not far from the south coast, also suggests a north African origin, although some local production cannot be ruled out.[387] Less is known about two tile-carrying wrecks located elsewhere in Sicilian waters. One, identified off Capo Passero (SR) at the south-east tip of Sicily in 1976, was carrying flat *tegulae*, probably of Byzantine date.[388] The other, found off Isola Lunga near Motya (TP) at the other end of the island, was carrying flat floor tiles and *tegulae*, perhaps of early imperial date; one of the tiles is stamped in Greek, another in Latin.[389] It is not yet clear if these wreck-sites document long-distance trade in tiles and brick, or merely the short-haul shipment of local products from one district to another along the coast of Sicily.

V. *Glassware*

Our knowledge of Roman glassware circulating in Sicily during the Roman Empire suffers from the same problem which besets the study of pottery in the island: lack of adequate publication of key groups and important collections. From western Sicily, for example, there is a good body of material from various sites in the Palermo Museum, and the collections in Termini Imerese, mostly of local provenance, likewise deserve proper study and publication. In eastern Sicily, some key pieces were studied by Orsi in the early years of this century and some simple *unguentaria* from Lipari were published twenty years ago;[390] but the vast majority of glassware found in recent excavations, including important early imperial groups from Tindari and Lipari, so far remains unpublished. On the other hand a study of the well-dated hellenistic and early imperial glass from Morgantina is in active preparation, and its publication will provide the first properly documented and detailed information from any Sicilian city about the range of glass in circulation up to the mid first century A.D.[391]

---

[385] Fulford and Peacock, op. cit. in n. 224, 242–6; R. Tomber, Evidence for long-distance commerce: imported bricks and tiles at Carthage, in RCRF Acta 25–26, forthcoming.

[386] Plemmirio: information from D. Gibbins. Femmina Morta: Parker, op. cit. in n. 276, 627; Id., op. cit. in n. 290, 53, fig. 11. Cefalù: Purpura, op. cit. in n. 276, 99, fig. 7c. Ognina: Gargallo, first op. cit. in n. 285, 445, 'pieces of earthenware piping'. For a stray example off Filicudi, Bernabò Brea, op. cit. in n. 265, 85 with fig. 85.

[387] Wilson, op. cit. in n. 374, 32 with references in n. 63, documenting examples at Syracuse, Marsala, Motya, Vito Soldano, Priolo and Catania. To these should be added other examples at Syracuse (P. Orsi, NSc 1894, 520; Id., RQA 1895, 501; A. M. Fallico, op. cit. in n. 154, 610) and Piazza Armerina (R. J. A. Wilson, Piazza Armerina, London 1983, 25 and 101, n. 16).

[388] A. J. Parker, IJNA VI, 1977, 256.

[389] Information kindly provided by Dr. Parker. For a photograph of the site, W. Culican and H. Frost in: H. Frost et al., Lilybaeum (Marsala). The Punic Ship. Final Excavation Report, NSc 1976, Supplemento (publ. 1981), 291, fig. 186; cf. also G. Kapitän, Relitti antichi davanti all'Isola Lunga, Sic. Arch. III, 9, 1970, 34–6.

On the basis of both archaeological evidence and a garbled passage in Pliny, the earliest glass blowing is thought to have taken place in the East, either in Syria or in Palestine, and finds from Jerusalem indicate that blown glass vessels were being made there from at least c. 50 B.C.[392] Very rapidly, however, the idea spread to the West, and finds of blown glass became common in Italy and elsewhere in the central Mediterranean area from the last two decades B.C. onwards; indeed, it is not impossible that techniques of glass blowing were discovered independently in Italy at more or less the same time that they were first used in the East.[393] Some vessels from Sicily are, in fact, among the earliest closely dated examples of blown glass in the West. In particular a yellow bulbous *unguentarium* and a fragmentary blue ribbed bowl from Morgantina (an inland city not likely to be in the mainstream of fresh technological developments) were found together with a coin (in good condition) of c. 45 B.C.,[394] and similarly-shaped *unguentaria* in bluish-green glass have been published from burials on Lipari dating to the second half of the first century B.C.[395] Whether such early examples of blown glass in Sicily were themselves Sicilian-made or were imported from one of the early glasshouses established in Italy, perhaps Puteoli (Pozzuoli) or even Rome, is at present unclear;[396] but certainly by the early first century A.D. glassmaking had become widespread throughout the central Mediterranean world, and by then only the more expensive products are likely to have travelled very long distances.[397]

---

[390] Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, 257 – 8, 267 with pl. j.

[391] For a preliminary study, D. F. Grose, The hellenistic and early Roman glass from Morgantina, JGS XXIV, 1982, 20 – 9. For a splendid hemispherical cup of c. 200 B.C. from Naxos, see Bacci Spigo, op. cit. in n. 232, 60 – 1.

[392] Pliny NH XXXVI. 190 – 99. Syria: D. B. Harden, Ancient Glass II: Roman, Arch. J. CXXVI, 1970, 45 – 8. Jerusalem: N. Avigad, Excavations in the Jewish quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1971, Israel Exploration Society XXII, 1972, 193 – 200, at 198 – 200. Cf. also note 394.

[393] So J. W. Hayes, Roman and pre-Roman Glass in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 1975, 29.

[394] D. F. Grose, Early blown glass, JGS XIX, 1977, 9 – 29, at 25 – 6 with fig. 8; and for other examples of blown vessels at Morgantina, see Id., op. cit. in n. 391, 26 – 7 with fig. 10 – 11.

[395] Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, pl. j. 10 and 15; pl. CCXVIII, 23 – 4.

[396] Rome: Strabo XVI. 2.25 (Augustan production); the earliest blown glass in closely datable contexts in Rome is so far also Augustan (Grose, op. cit. in n. 394, 19 – 23).

One Sicilian example of such a product is the cylindrical one-handled cup in deep blue glass found at Solunto, which belongs to the well known series of similar first-century A.D. vessels signed by the Syrian glassmaker, Ennion.[398] The Solunto vessel has, as commonly, a design in two friezes: the lower consists of a continuous series of vertical flutes, while the upper frieze has a pair of panels as well as palmettes, flowers and two projecting knobs. The surviving panel of the Solunto glass reads μνη[σ]θῇ ὁ ἀγοράζων ('let the buyer remember'), but the corresponding panel on the other side ('Ennion made me') is lost (plate XII. 21). The presence of vessels signed by Ennion and other Syrian glassworkers at sites in north Italy and elsewhere in the west led D. B. Harden to suggest that branch workshops were set up by Ennion and his colleagues in north Italy to ensure a greater distribution of their products than would have been possible from a distant Syrian base; and the fact that some of the signatures on 'Sidonian' vessels, such as *ARTAS*, are not generally found in the East, as well as the predominantly western distribution of Ennion's signed cups, provides strong supporting evidence that production of such vessels did indeed occur in Italy.[399] The Solunto cup may therefore have been imported from there rather than directly from the East. The same may also be true of the products of another first-century Syrian glassworker, Eirenaios; his signature, Εἰρηναῖος ἐποίησεν Σιδώνιος, is recorded on vessels (now lost) at Syracuse and in the Catania collections.[400]

Pozzuoli's reputation as a glass-making centre is so far based more on Pliny's account (NH XXXVI. 194) than on detailed archaeological evidence.

[397] Cf. J. Price in: A. J. Parker and J. Price, Spanish Exports of the Claudian period: the significance of the Port Vendres II wreck reconsidered, IJNA X, 1981, 221–28, at 226–7, for the scarce evidence from wrecks of glass cargoes; and for the evidence of the export trade in Rhineland glass, cf. Ead., Trade in glass, in: Du Plat Taylor and Cleere, op. cit. in n. 272, 70–78.

[398] A. Tusa Cutroni, Il restauro di una coppa di Ennion da Solunto, BdA^5 LI, 1966, 69–70, with earlier bibliography.

[399] D. B. Harden, Romano-Syrian glasses with mould-blown inscriptions, JRS XXV, 1935, 163–86, at 165; Id., Two tomb-groups of the First-Century A.D. from Yahmour, Syria, and a Supplement to the list of Romano-Syrian Glasses with Mould-blown Inscriptions, Syria XXIV, 1944–5, 81–95, at 87–95. Cf. in general, G. Lehrer, Ennion, a first-century glassmaker, Ramat Aviv 1979. J. W. Hayes, op. cit. in n. 393, 29–30, 31–2, has suggested that Ennion and others may have been the sons and grandsons of Syrian immigrants and in fact started their careers in the West, only later to migrate to Syria.

[400] IG XIV, 2410. 2a–b, with laureate head of Augustus; cf. O. Rossbach, Eirenaios 10, RE V (1905), 2128, and W. Froehner, La Verrerie antique, Le Pecq 1879, 124–5, for other examples of this signature in the British Museum and Paris. The British Museum example, at present not traceable, was acquired from a dealer in 1847 (register no. B and M 1847.8–6.128); according to A. Nesbitt, Catalogue of the Collection of Glass formed by Felix Slade Esq., F.S.A., London 1871, 33, on no. 199, the reverse side of the handle from the inscription bears a bust of Caligula (I owe this reference and the register no. to Dr. D. B. Harden).

Individual vessels can rarely be assigned to specific glasshouses, and in the absence of evidence for major glass-production at a leading Sicilian town, such as Syracuse, Messina or Palermo, it is difficult to tell where much of the better-quality early imperial glass found in Sicily was made. Campania, for example, is mentioned by Pliny as a famous glass-making area,[401] and some of the more elaborate first-century glass probably came from there. Excavations on Lipari, for example, have produced some very fine vessels, with either mould-blown relief decoration or else wheel-cut patterns.[402] Large cinerary jars with M-shaped handles (ISINGS form 63), a type known at Tindari as well as at Lipari, may also have come from south Italy, but this class of vessel is fairly widely diffused in the Western Empire.[403] A fine example of an early first-century cast bowl (ISINGS form 2) in deep blue glass in the museum at Termini Imerese is identical to examples at Pompeii and elsewhere in south Italy (as well as further north and in the Rhineland) and may also have been of Campanian manufacture.[404] The same collection also has several unguent-bottles, and although some of these (for example those in greenish-colourless glass) may be locally made, others may well have been imported.[405] Another common early imperial shape, the pillar-moulded bowl (ISINGS form 3), is also present in the Termini Imerese collections as well as elsewhere in Sicily;[406] again these may have been either Sicilian or Italian made. On the other hand a splendid glass bird from a necropolis at Tindari probably came from a north Italian glasshouse, as this shape appears to have been a speciality of that region.[407]

The early imperial glass so far discussed is all of comparatively high quality; but so rapid was the spread of glass-blowing techniques throughout the Mediterranean area in the course of the first century A.D. that it seems likely that many towns were capable of setting up their own glasshouses to supply simple everday needs.[408] One Sicilian example may have been the town of Termini Imerese, where glass production (at any rate in the early imperial period) is perhaps suggested by the numerous distorted *unguentaria*, and other pieces of what appears to be glass metal, which are now displayed in the Termini Imerese museum.[409] The provenance given for two of the groups (Piazza Umberto I and a spot near Piazza S. Antonio, which are 350 m. apart) indicates that, if this material is indeed evidence for glass-making, there were at least two separate glass furnaces in the town apparently turning out almost exclusively small perfume bottles and oil flasks in blue or greenish-colourless glass. A pair of mould-blown head-bottles, each 4 cm. high, is also in the same collection; these, too, which came from the same mould, may also have been produced locally.[410]

---

[401] See note 392.

[402] Unpublished, except for a photograph of three vessels in: BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, op. cit. in n. 213, pl. 204.

[403] For the type, cf. especially C. ISINGS, Roman Glass from Dated Finds, Groningen 1957, 81 – 3; and M. C. CALVI, I vetri romani del Museo di Aquileia, Aquileia 1968, 91 (group AβI). The jars are unknown in Greece, Egypt and the East (ibid. 88). Tindari: unpublished. Lipari: BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, pl. CCXXVI. 2. There are also two examples in Lipari of CALVI's group Aα (ML II, pl. CCXXVI. 2; and unpublished).

[404] ISINGS, op. cit. in n. 403, 17; L. BERGER, Römische Gläser aus Vindonissa, Basel 1960, 28 – 30; HAYES, op. cit. in n. 393, 21, nos. 55 – 7, with parallels cited there. The Termini Imerese bowl is unpublished.

[405] For a classification of such unguent-bottles, cf. CALVI, op. cit. in n. 403, 28 – 51. Those from Termini Imerese (all unpublished) in blue glass belong to her group D, the yellow to her group I. For south Italian production of the same type of vessel, cf. HARDEN, op. cit. in n. 392, 50.

[406] All unpublished; they include fragments on rural sites in the hinterland of Heraclea Minoa (fieldwork by the writer). For the type, cf. ISINGS, op. cit. in n. 403, 17 – 21; HAYES, op. cit. in n. 393, 17 and 20 – 1, nos. 50 – 4, with references. For the ribbed bowl predecessors of the pillar-moulded type at Morgantina, both cast and blown examples, cf. GROSE, op. cit. in n. 391, 26 – 7.

[407] So ISINGS, op. cit. in n. 403, 27 (form 11); CALVI, op. cit. in n. 403, 107 – 8; they are totally absent in the East.

About the glass of the later Roman period most of our knowledge comes from eastern Sicily: several grave groups were published by Orsi in the early years of the present century, and other glass has been presented more recently by Fallico.[411] By far the most outstanding vessel is the fourth-century bluish-green globular flask with a funnel neck, discovered intact in the Carbonaro necropolis near Chiaramonte Gulfi (RG), and now in Syracuse (plate XIII. 22).[412] The whole of the body of the vase is lightly engraved with hunting scenes: one man is spearing a boar, and a second man, on horseback, is chasing two deer into a net, while in the background are three dogs and a bear, as well as trees and plants. Round the shoulder of the flask is an inscription in Greek: Φουρτουνατίων πίε ζήσαις. The place where this elaborate vase was manufactured has been disputed. The shape (Isings 104 b) was introduced towards the end of the third century and remained popular throughout the fourth century.[413] Flasks of similar form, but with a vertical neck (Isings 103), were certainly being made in Campania, as the series bearing wheel-abraded decoration featuring harbour scenes at Baiae and Puteoli clearly attest:[414] but it is most unlikely that the Syracuse vessel is of south Italian manufacture. Not only is it a much more accomplished piece than the Puteolan flasks, but the technique used for the latter is different, the scenes being wheel-abraded, not engraved as on the Syracuse vessel. No fourth-century Italian products with hunting scenes executed in this way are in fact known for certain at present,[415] and the origin of the Syracuse flask is probably to be sought elsewhere. A vessel in Corning, usually claimed as being of east Mediterranean workmanship, is of a different shape but bears a closely similar hunting scene; furthermore, the background bushes and the lettering of the inscription are executed in an almost identical manner.[416] On the other hand, the use of both a rectangular form of eye and of straight incisions for interior detail does not correspond to the technique used on the Syracuse flask. A similar vessel in Thessalonike (but with vertical, not funnel-shaped neck) is also a close parallel, both in subject matter (a hunting scene with men on foot, animals, and a net for catching the animals) and in detail (very similar bush clumps again, and similar treatment of the trees by 'dot' technique).[417] The strongest claim, however, to the origin of the Syracuse glass comes from the Rhineland.[418] Some German glass engraving in the fourth century was of a standard far inferior to that achieved by the craftsman who worked on our vessel; but there is one flask in the Cologne collections, with a long vertical neck rather than a funnel-shaped one, which shows Eros with a lion and a stag set in precisely the same sort of landscape with bush clumps and trees, and the intervening spaces filled with horizontal lines (a kind of *horror vacui*), all features shared by the Sicilian flask;[419] the Cologne vessel also bears an inscription in Greek.[420] Furthermore, as D. B. HARDEN has pointed out, not only does the shape (ISINGS 104 b) without a base-ring and with a funnel neck (as at Syracuse) have a largely German distribution, but the examples of this class which have a knocked-off top (again as at Syracuse) also belong to the Rhineland series, in contrast with the rounded rim of the eastern-made examples.[421] It does, therefore, seem very likely that the Chiaramonte Gulfi flask now in Syracuse is an isolated import from the Cologne glass-houses, even though it lies far outside the normal distribution range of Rhineland glass; Gaulish goods are, in fact, comparatively rare in Sicily at all periods during the Empire. Whether other Sicilian examples, of the same shape but lacking decoration, were imported from the same source or represent Italian or even local copies, is uncertain; such flasks are known at Scicli and Marina di Modica (both RG) and at Portopalo (SR).[422]

---

[408] E.g. Pompeii: for the likelihood of glass production there, J. Ward-Perkins and A. Claridge, Pompeii A.D. 79, London 1976, 79, but cf. also J. Morel in: F. Zevi, ed., Pompeii 79: Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana, Naples 1979, 262.

[409] Unpublished.

[410] Also unpublished; for the form (Isings 78), see Isings, op. cit. in n. 403, 93 – 4.

[411] See below, notes 422 – 3, 428 – 31.

[412] P. Orsi, Di un insigne vetro tardo-romano da Chiaramonte Gulfi, RIA IV, 1932 – 3, 61 – 9.

[413] Calvi, op. cit. in n. 403, 145 (type A and pl. 23); Isings, op. cit. in n. 403, 124.

[414] K. S. Painter, Roman flasks with scenes of Baiae and Puteoli, JGS XVII, 1975, 54 – 67.

---

[415] But Dr. HARDEN informs me (personal communication) that the Corning vessel and the Thessalonike flask, described below, may well have been of Italian rather than eastern manufacture.

[416] R. W. SMITH, Glass from the Ancient World: the Ray Winfield Smith Collection, Corning 1957, 177–9, no. 358; K. WEITZMANN, ed., op. cit. in n. 110, 84–5, no. 73.

[417] P. PETSAS, M. SIGANIDOU and E. GIOURE, Chronica, Archaiologikon Deltion XXII, 1967, 377–405, at 391 with fig. 12 and pls. 296e and 298.

[418] As first suggested by A. DI VITA, Vetro romano con scena di caccia da Chiaramonte Gulfi, Sic. Gymn. IV, 1951, 70–74.

[419] F. FREMERSDORF, Die Denkmäler des römischen Köln: Die römischen Gläser mit Schliff, Bemalung und Goldauflagen aus Köln, Cologne 1967, 189 with pl. 271, with the Syracuse vessel on 190 with pl. 272.

[420] The Cologne inscriptions are usually in Latin or in a mixture of Latin and Greek (e.g. on the Wint Hill bowl: D. HARDEN, The Wint Hill hunting bowl and related glasses, JGS II, 1960, 45–81, with discussion of the Chiaramonte flask at 74). For another πίε ζήσῃς inscription on glass from Sicily, cf. CIL X, 8062.11 (Gela).

[421] Cf. D. HARDEN and C. GREEN, A late Roman grave group from the Minories, Aldgate, in: J. BIRD, H. CHAPMAN and J. CLARK, ed., Collectanea Londiniensia: studies in London archaeology and history presented to Ralph Merrifield, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, London 1978, 163–75, at 165–70.

Another of the cemeteries at Chiaramonte Gulfi, the Pignolaio, has also yielded figured glassware, but all of it is fragmentary. The most substantial was a small cup with an engraved scene on the exterior, of which only a chair-leg and part of a kneeling figure with right arm raised have survived; the date is probably also fourth-century.[423] A fragmentary glass dish from a fifth-century deposit at Monte Iato has also recently been published; the extant fragments bear engraved decoration, including geometric patterns and plant tendrils.[424] The only other figured glass from late Roman Sicily consists of a few stray examples of gold-leaf sandwich-glass. Portrait medallions in gold glass are known to have been made in Egypt, and production was also attempted at Cologne and possibly Aquileia,[425] but the vast majority of decorated gold-leaf glass comes from Rome, and there is no doubt that the handful of Sicilian examples were made there.[426] One, depicting the raising of Lazarus, came from a burial at Sambuca di Sicilia (AG) in mid-western Sicily; others were reported in the eighteenth century from near Licata.[427] Such figured glass is, however, exceptional, and the vast majority of late Roman glassware in Sicily is undecorated. Recurrent types include single-handled flagons and jugs, both flat- and round-bottomed;[428] deep bowls with heavy foot and flaring rim (one from Chiaramonte Gulfi has decoration on the body consisting of a pair of trailed wavy lines in blue);[429] and conical lamp-beakers in greenish glass, of which five examples have come from a grave at Ragusa (plate XIII. 23) and others from Pozzallo, Vizzini (both RG) and Caltagirone (CT).[430] Most of these are popular forms in both western and eastern parts of the Empire, and it is impossible to state certainly where they were made; but although much late Roman glass in eastern Sicily has been thought to be of eastern origin, a local manufacture for such simple undecorated vessels seems much more probable. Another lamp-form, perhaps also locally made, consists of a wide concave- or flat-bottomed cup with straight sides and three suspension-handles on the rim (ISINGS form 134). This type, which is not earlier than the late fourth century, is known in the East and also in south and central Italy, but not north of the Rome region. Several are recorded from Syracuse, where they were no doubt used for lighting the catacombs.[431]

---

[422] Sicili: unpublished (?), in Ragusa Museum. Marina di Modica: unpublished in detail, but cf. FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 259, 135 n. 37 (and cf. her brief comments on late Roman glass in eastern Sicily: EAD., op. cit. in n. 226, 485 – 8 with fig. 1.15). Portopalo: AGNELLO, op. cit. in n. 237, 178 with fig. 7 („*con bocca larga senza rinforzo*“, and so presumably with a knocked-off, not a rounded rim).

[423] ORSI, op. cit. in n. 412, 64 – 5, with fig. 6 on 68, where the scene is interpreted on insufficient evidence as depicting Apollo and Marsyas. He suggests a third-century date, on the basis of third-century coins elsewhere in the necropolis, but to judge from the somewhat degenerate style the piece is more likely to be fourth-century, when engraved glass with figured scenes became much more common in the West than hitherto.

[424] ISLER, op. cit. in n. 261, 222 – 3 with fig. 10 – 11 and pl. 80. He opts for a 'probably eastern' origin, but precise parallels for the decorative motifs are hard to find.

[425] Alexandria: examples in: WEITZMANN, ed., op. cit. in n. 110, nos. 264 – 5; Cologne: FREMERSDORF, op. cit. in n. 419, 213 – 8, with pl. 295 – 303; Aquileia: CALVI, op. cit. in n. 403, 157 – 9 with pl. 25 (she does not commit herself as to the place of manufacture of the gold-glass piece in Aquileia, but cf. WEITZMANN, op. cit., no. 382).

[426] On these see especially C. R. MOREY, The Gold Glass Collection of the Vatican Library, Vatican City 1959; F. ZANCHI ROPPO, Vetri paleocristiani a figure d'oro conservati in Italia, Bologna 1969. Ten different Rome workshops have been postulated on stylistic grounds by L. FAEDO, Per una classificazione preliminare dei vetri dorati tardo-romani, ASNP^3 VIII, 1978, 1025 – 70.

[427] Sambuca: E. LE BLANT, Note sur une coupe de verre gravé découverte en Sicile, MEFR VIII, 1888, 213 – 4. Licata: J. P. D'ORVILLE, Sicula, Amsterdam 1764, pl. 123A (= PACE, ACSA I^2, 90, fig. 42).

For the late Empire, only one site in Sicily has so far produced evidence for glass-making. When the bath-building at Philosophiana (Sofiana, EN) was abandoned and stripped, probably in the second half of the fourth century, the building was converted to industrial use, and a number of kilns were inserted in what had formerly been heated rooms: one used part of the concrete floor and the former stokehole to form a very makeshift structure, while in the adjacent *caldarium* the kiln, also incorporating a stoke-hole, was encased in a new rectangular construction tacked on to what had been the south wall of the room.[432] None of these kilns has been published, but at least one of them was apparently used as a glass furnace, as a deposit of glass vessels was found inside, and other debris associated with glassmaking, including lumps of unworked glass, was found outside.[433] The publication of this deposit is a great *desideratum*, and a full study of the material should contribute a good deal to our understanding of late Roman glassware in this part of Sicily. The presence of a glass furnace at Sofiana, presumably serving the needs of the settlement itself and of the surrounding villas and farms, points to the likelihood of glass manufacture in other similar minor centres as well as in the major towns. From the later first century onwards at least, it was probably only decorated or other elaborate glass that needed to be imported to Sicily, the simpler, cheaper glassware being supplied by local glasshouses situated in many places all over the island.

---

[428] E.g. from Molinello: P. ORSI, Molinello, presso Augusta. Catacomba cristiana, NSc 1902, 420–34, at 424–6 with fig. 13, 15 and 17; and Michelica: ID., op. cit. in n. 260, 172–5; from Syracuse: ID., second op. cit. below (n. 431), 399, fig. 14, top left.

[429] Sketched by FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 226, 487, fig. 1.19; cf. two plain examples from Marina di Modica, ibid. fig. 1.16 and 18. For the shape, ISINGS, op. cit. in n. 403, 143, form 115, with references (but not widespread: ? Sicilian manufacture).

[430] A. M. FALLICO, Ragusa. Esplorazioni di necropoli tarde, NSc 1967, 413, 416–7 (Ragusa); EAD., op. cit. in n. 226, 487, fig. 1.14 (Pozzallo); Syracuse Museum, inv. no. 26733 (Vizzini); P. ORSI, Sicilia Bizantina I, Tivoli 1942, 115, fig. 40 (Caltagirone). For the shape, ISINGS, op. cit. in n. 403, 127, form 106b, quoting western examples of the plain version; but cf. also D. B. HARDEN, Roman Glass from Karanis, Ann Arbor, Michigan 1936, 155–66, and examples listed by HAYES, op. cit. in n. 393, 121, no. 477.

[431] E.g. P. ORSI, Siracusa. Esplorazioni nelle catacombe di S. Giovanni ed in quelli della Vigna Cassia, NSc 1893, 276–314, at 302; ID., Scavi e scoperte nel sud-est della Sicilia (Luglio 1904 – Giugno 1905), NSc 1905, 381–402, at 399, fig. 14, bottom left; AGNELLO, second op. cit. in n. 154, 236, fig. 16. For the type, ISINGS, op. cit. in n. 403, 162, with references.

[432] For a brief account of this building, D. ADAMESTEANU, Nuovi documenti paleocristiani nella Sicilia centro-meridionale, BdA XLVIII, 1963, 261–5, but it is unpublished in detail. The account seems to indicate that there were several kilns in all, but most have presumably been removed in the subsequent restoration of the building, and both the visible kilns were probably for pottery production.

VI. Metalware and jewellery

Little can be said about the bronzeware of Roman Sicily. There are notable collections of statuettes, vessels and other objects in the museums at Palermo and Catania, but unfortunately nearly all of them are of unknown provenance.[434] Very few bronze statuettes, for example, have ever been found during controlled excavations in the island, and many of the examples in the Sicilian collections may derive from the antiquarian markets of Rome and elsewhere.

There is as yet no secure evidence that bronzeworking was practised in the island during the imperial period,[435] and even simple vessels of bronze do not appear to have been common there during the early Empire. Such vessels as did reach Sicily were probably imported, principally no doubt from the flourishing bronzeware factories of Campania (especially those at Capua).[436]

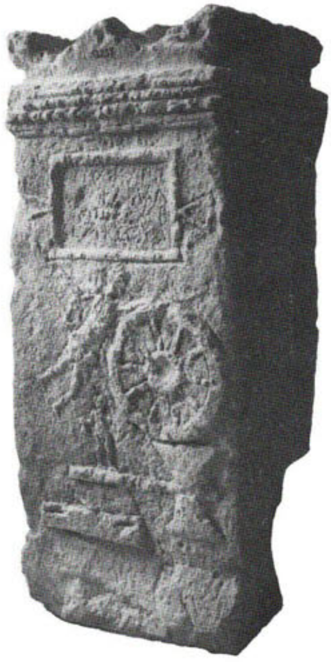
---

[433] ADAMESTEANU, op. cit. in n. 432, 264.

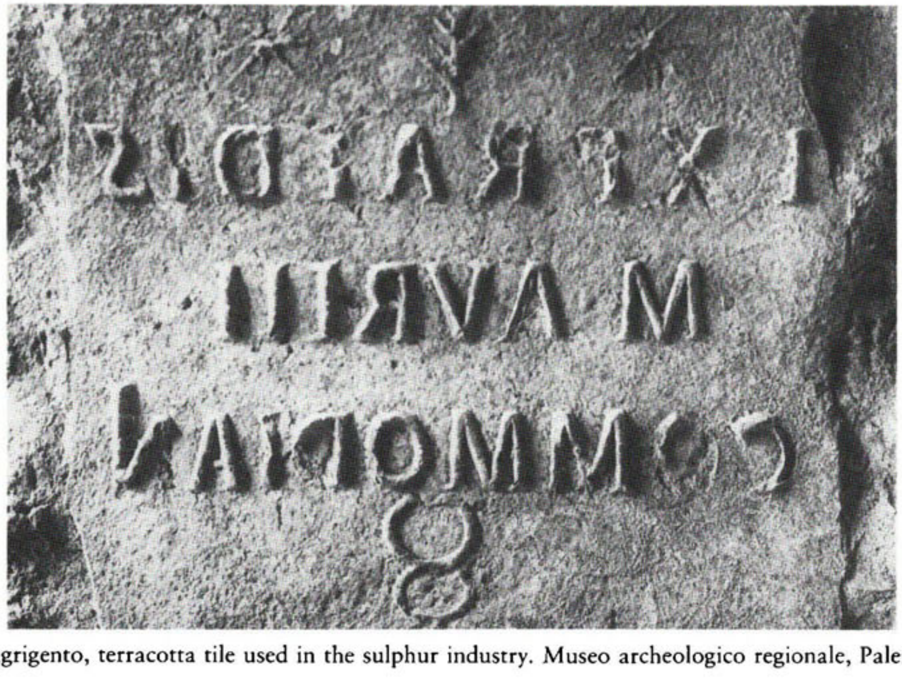
[434] E.g. C. A. DI STEFANO, Bronzetti figurati del museo nazionale di Palermo, Rome 1975; LIBERTINI, MB, ch. 2.

[435] But the reputation of Syracusan bronzeworkers was high enough in the Augustan era for them to be invited to work on the capitals of Agrippa's Pantheon in Rome (Pliny NH XXXIV.13); and the small bronze stamps with makers' names (e.g. LIBERTINI, MB, 143 – 4, nos. 604 – 8, together with the CIL references there cited; also P. ORSI, Acireale, NSc 1903, 443 – 4, at 444, from Acireale), ubiquitous in the Roman Empire for stamping bricks, pottery, bread, etc. (cf. WARD-PERKINS and CLARIDGE, op. cit. in n. 408, no. 250; WEITZMANN, ed., op. cit. in n. 110, no. 565), were presumably local products.

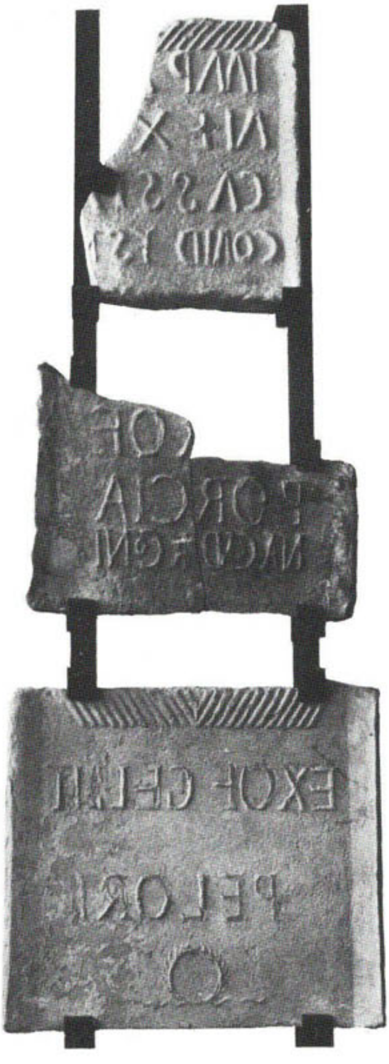
[436] Cf. IG XIV, 2411.4, on a bronze vessel at Palermo (of unknown provenance), reading Πυλάδης, a name which also occurs on 'terra sigillata' at Pozzuoli (IG XIV, 2406. 70a – c), but the two men need not of course have been identical. On Capuan bronzeware, the standard account is still that of H. WILLERS, Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien, Hannover – Leipzig 1907, but cf. also the comments of MOREL, op. cit. in n. 180, 290 – 1; S. TASSINARI, Il vasellame di bronzo, in ZEVI, ed., op. cit. in n. 408, 229 – 40, esp. 236 – 9; A. CARANDINI, Alcune



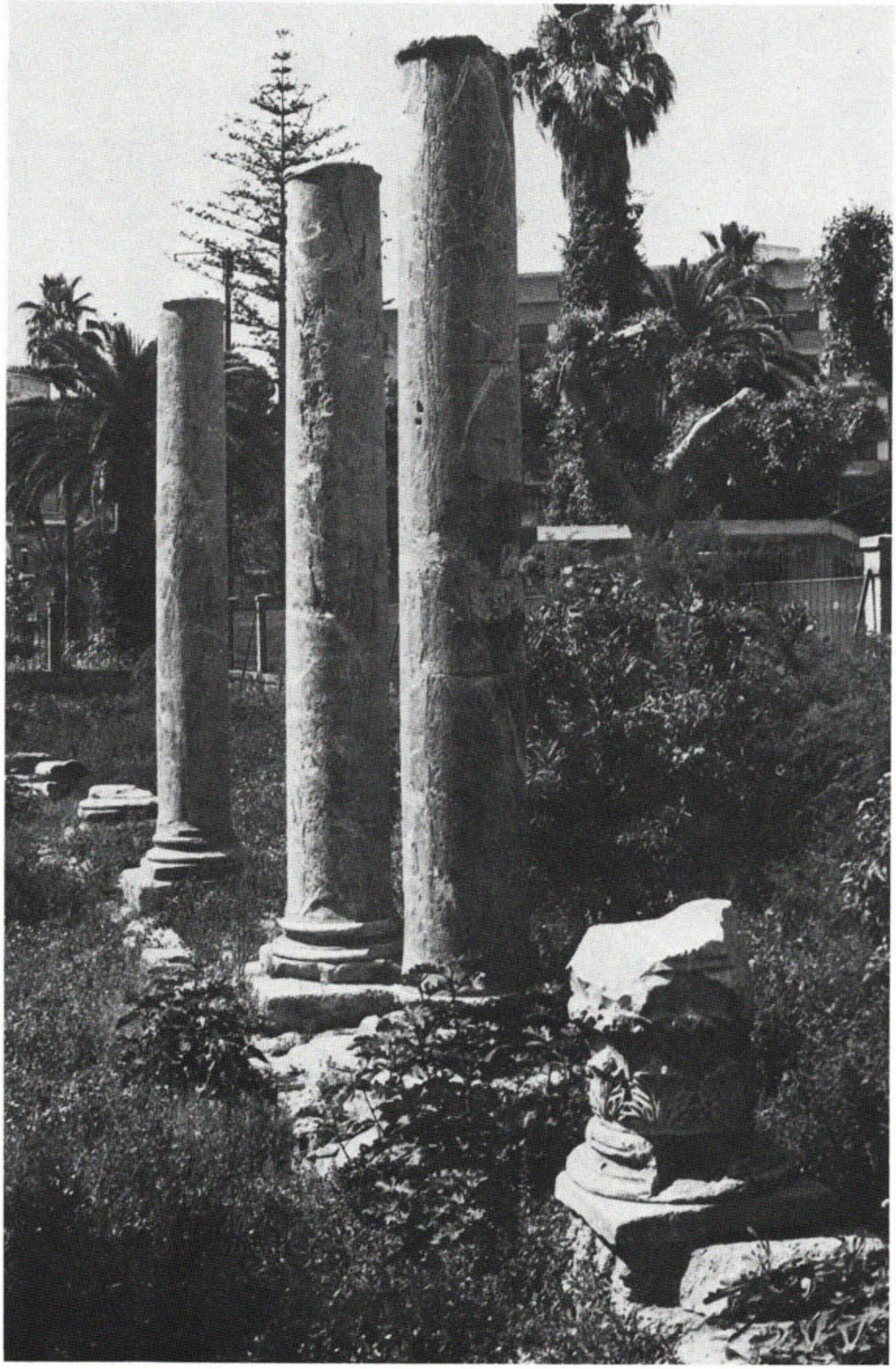
1. Priolo (SR), tombstone with relief sculpture, first-second century A.D. (height 1.07 m.). Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse



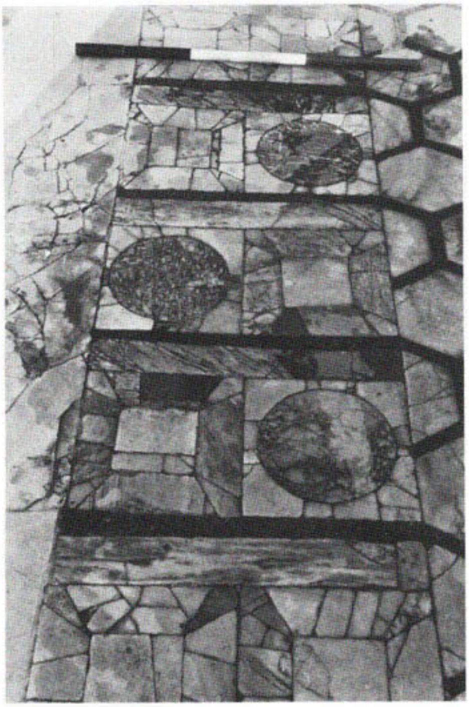
2. Agrigento, terracotta tile used in the sulphur industry. Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo



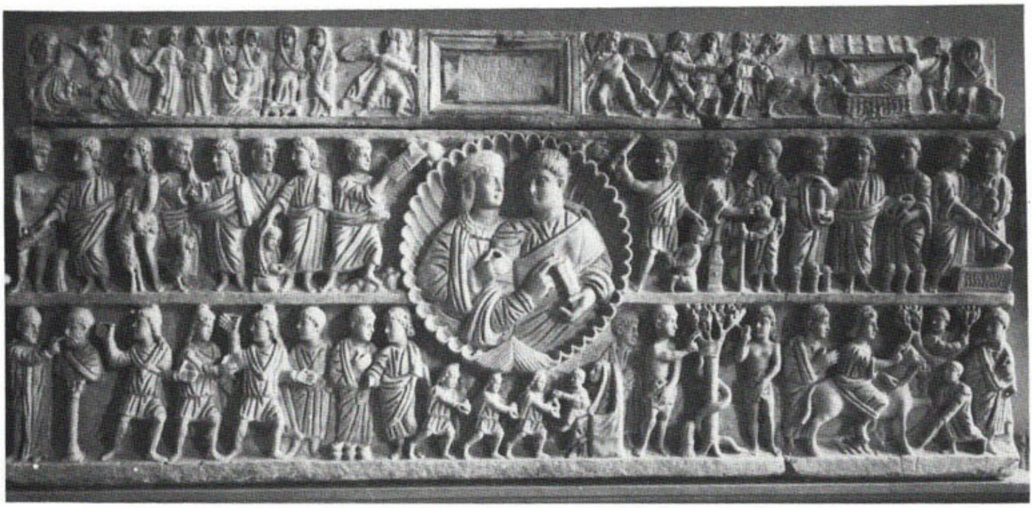
3. Agrigento, terracotta tiles used in the sulphur industry. Museo archeologico regionale, Agrigento



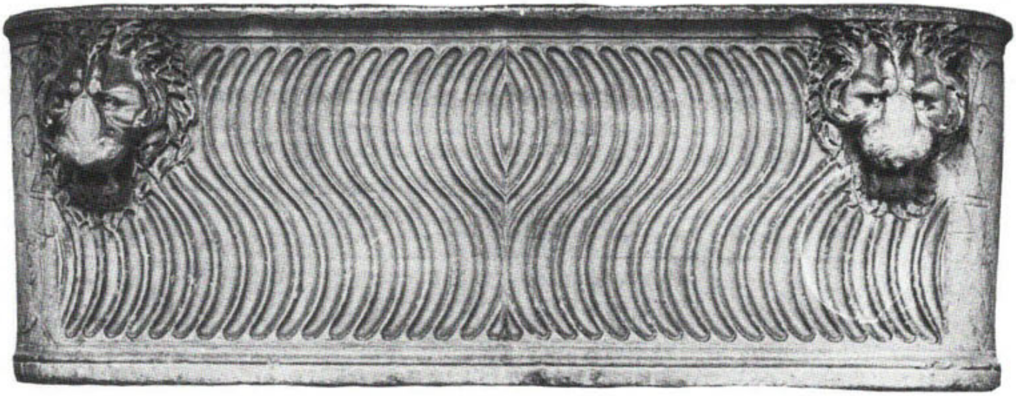
4. Syracuse, columns of *rosso fiorito* from Haluntium in the forum, mid-second century A.D. *In situ*



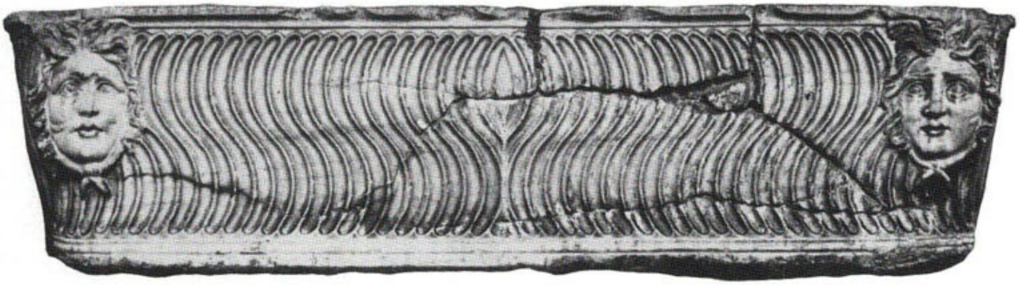
5. Castroreale S. Biagio (ME), pavement of marble opus sectile in Roman villa, early second century A.D. *In situ*



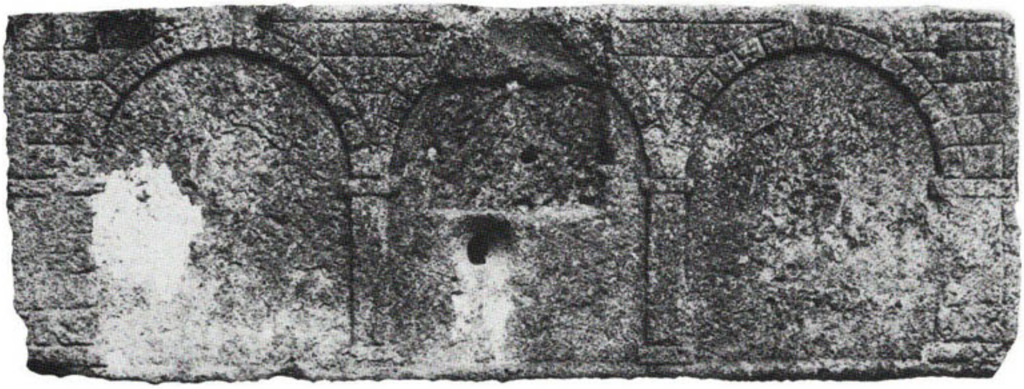
6. Syracuse, catacomb of S. Giovanni, sarcophagus of Adelphia in Proconnesian marble, first half of the fourth century A.D. Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse



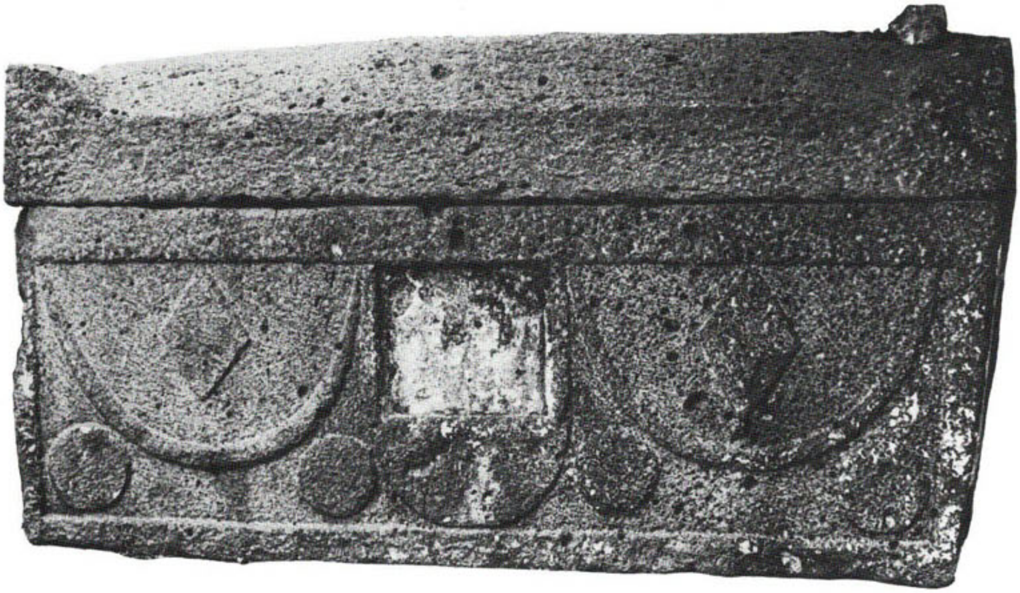
7. Palermo, Museo archeologico regionale, sarcophagus with lions' heads, third century A.D.



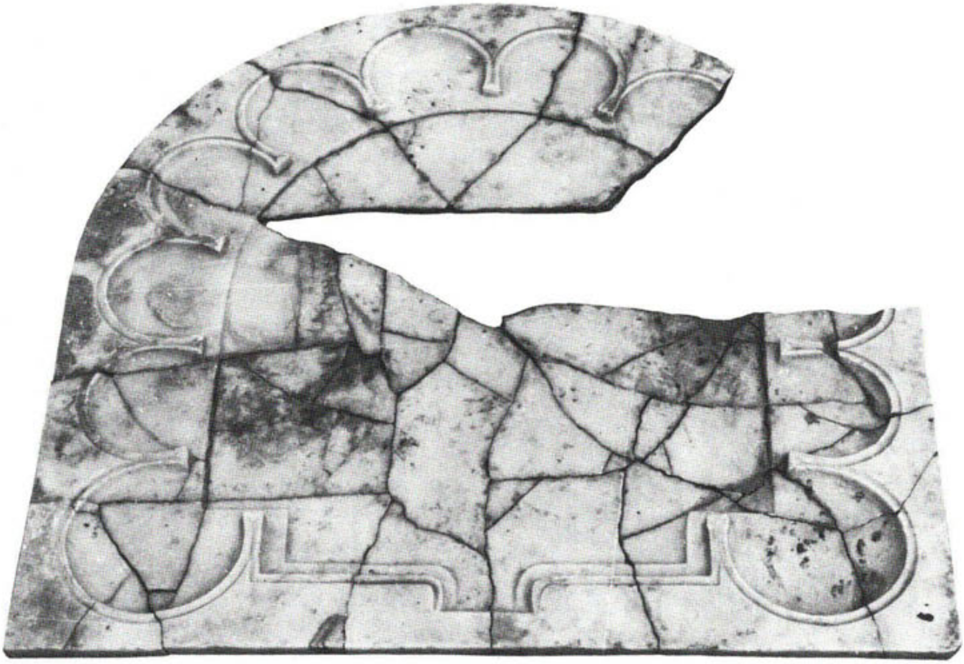
8. Palermo, Museo archeologico regionale, sarcophagus with Medusa heads, third century A.D.



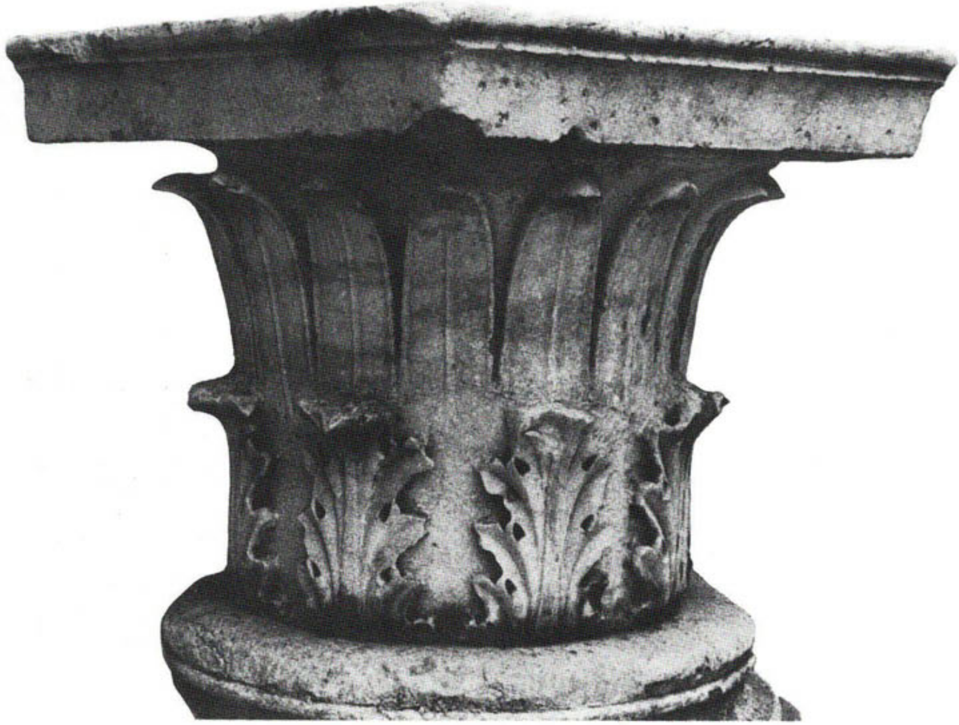
9. Catania, Museo of Castello Ursino, sarcophagus in black Etna basalt (length 2.03 m.), third century A.D.



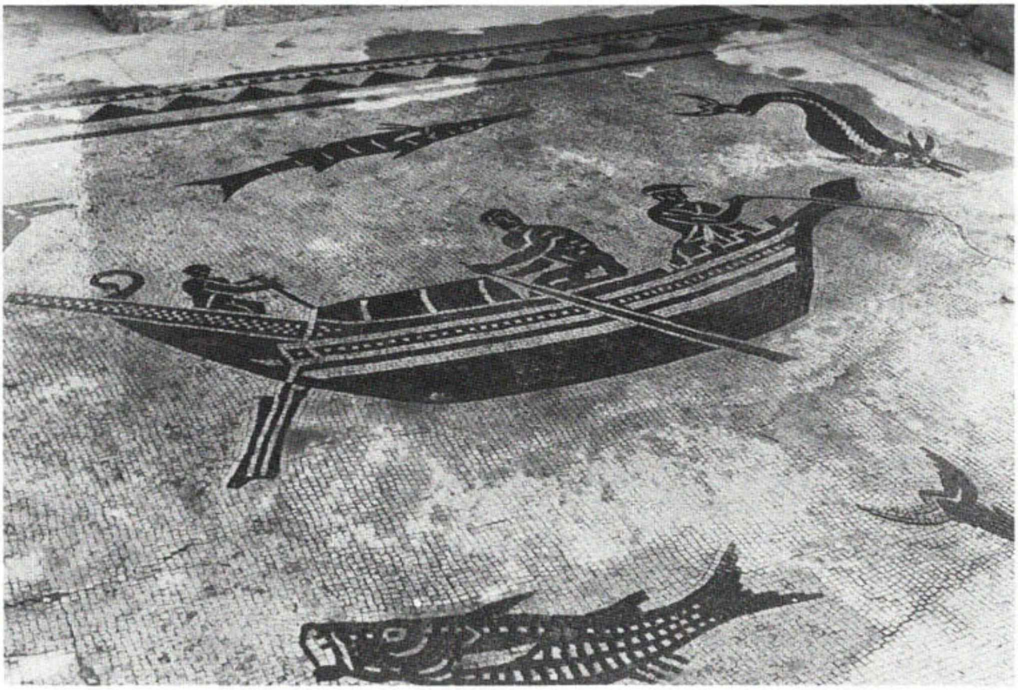
10. Catania, Museo of Castello Ursino, sarcophagus in black Etna basalt (length 1.77 m.), third century A.D.



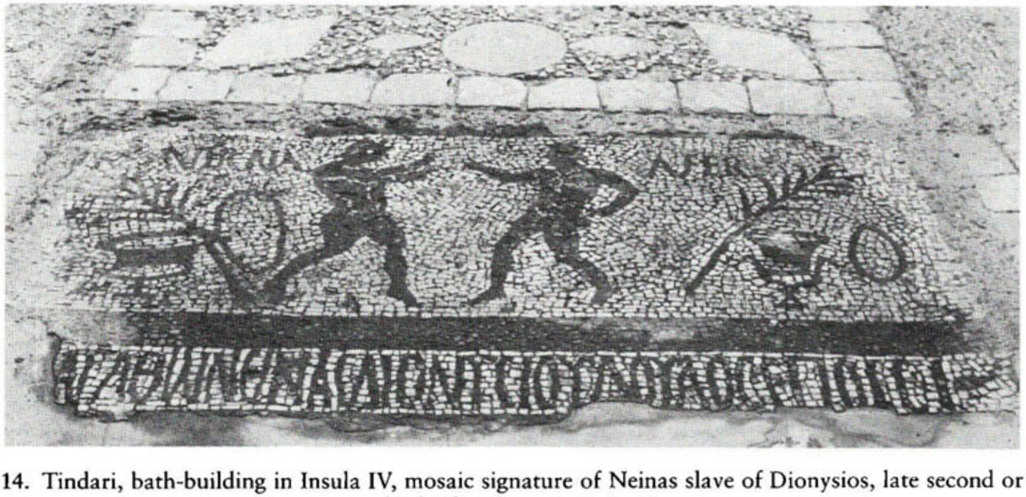
11. Syracuse, Museo archeologico regionale, altar table in white marble, fifth or sixth century A.D.



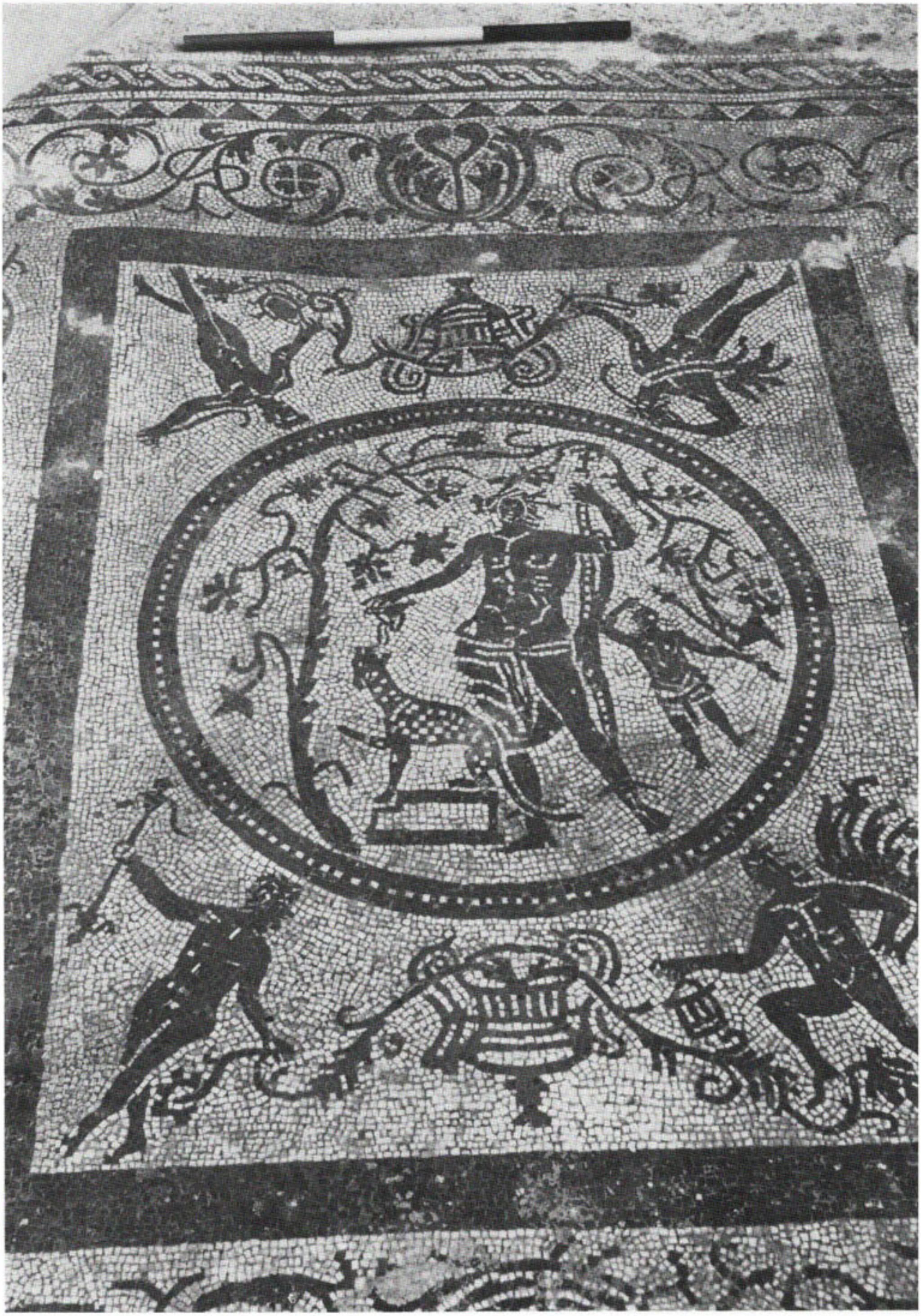
12. Syracuse, Museo archeologico regionale, lotus and acanthus capital (height 0.50 m.), second or third century A.D.



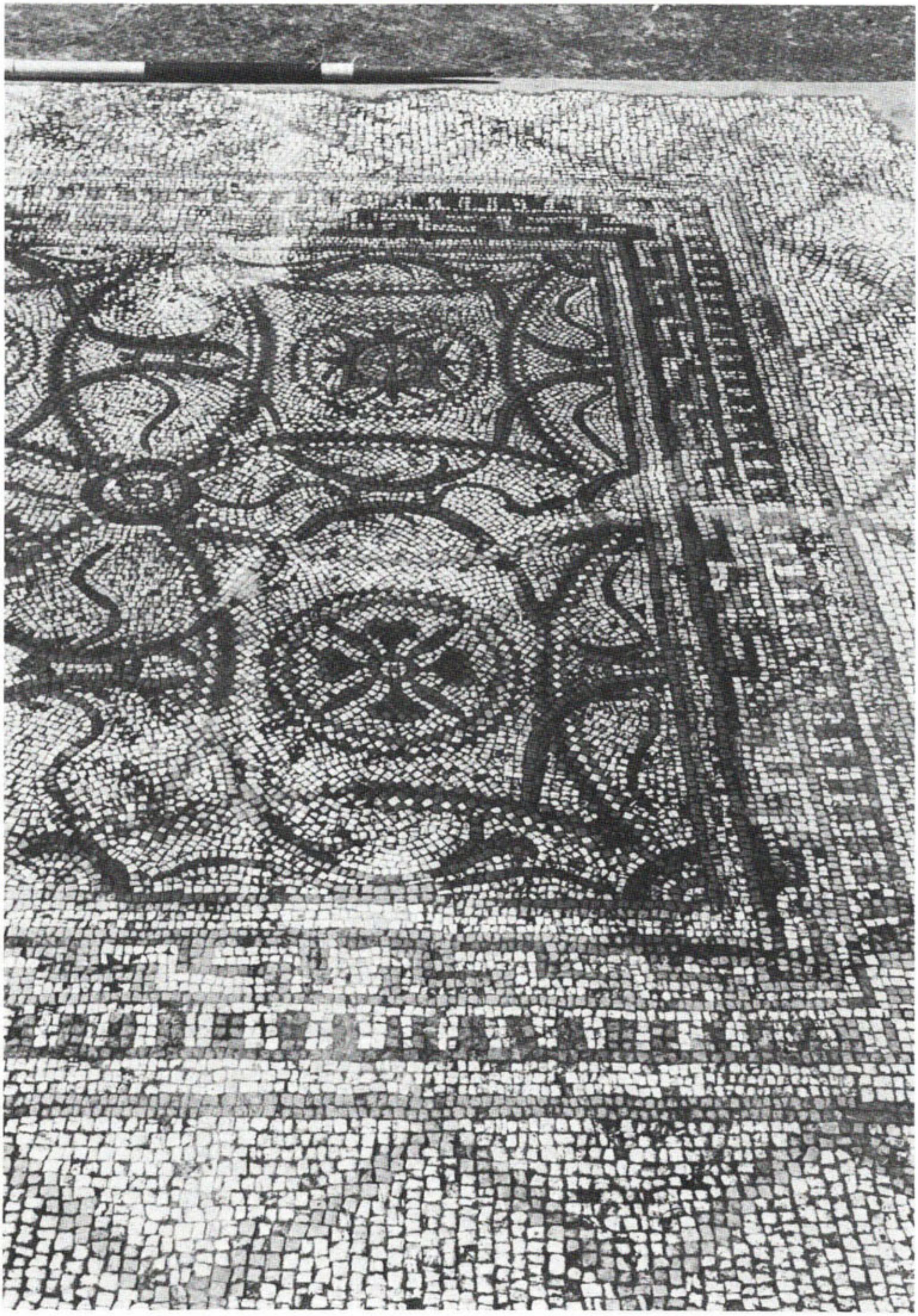
13. Castroreale S. Biagio (ME), black-and-white style mosaic pavement in Roman villa, fishing scene, first half of the second century A.D. *In situ*



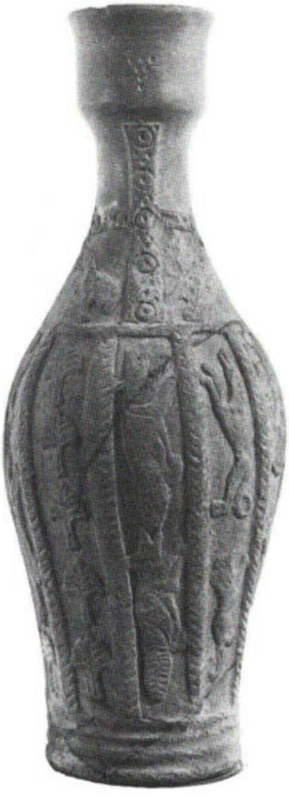
14. Tindari, bath-building in Insula IV, mosaic signature of Neinas slave of Dionysios, late second or early third century A.D. *In situ*



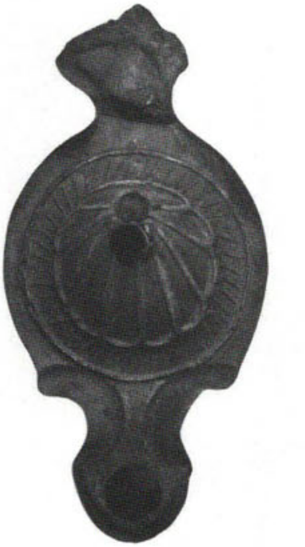
15. Tindari, bath-building in Insula IV, black-and-white mosaic, the triumph of Dionysus, late second or early third century A.D. (scale in feet). *In situ*



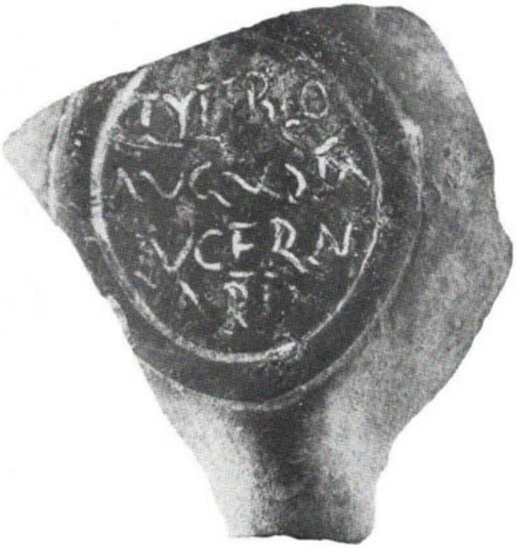
16. Agrigento, S. Nicola, geometric mosaic with sinusoid tendrils, late second century A.D. (scale in feet). *In situ*



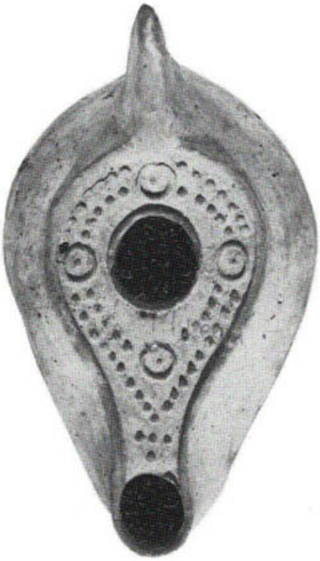
17. Piazza Armerina (EN), jug in African red slip ware with moulded relief decoration (height: 0.24 m.), probably fifth century A.D., from the necropolis near the late Roman villa. Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse



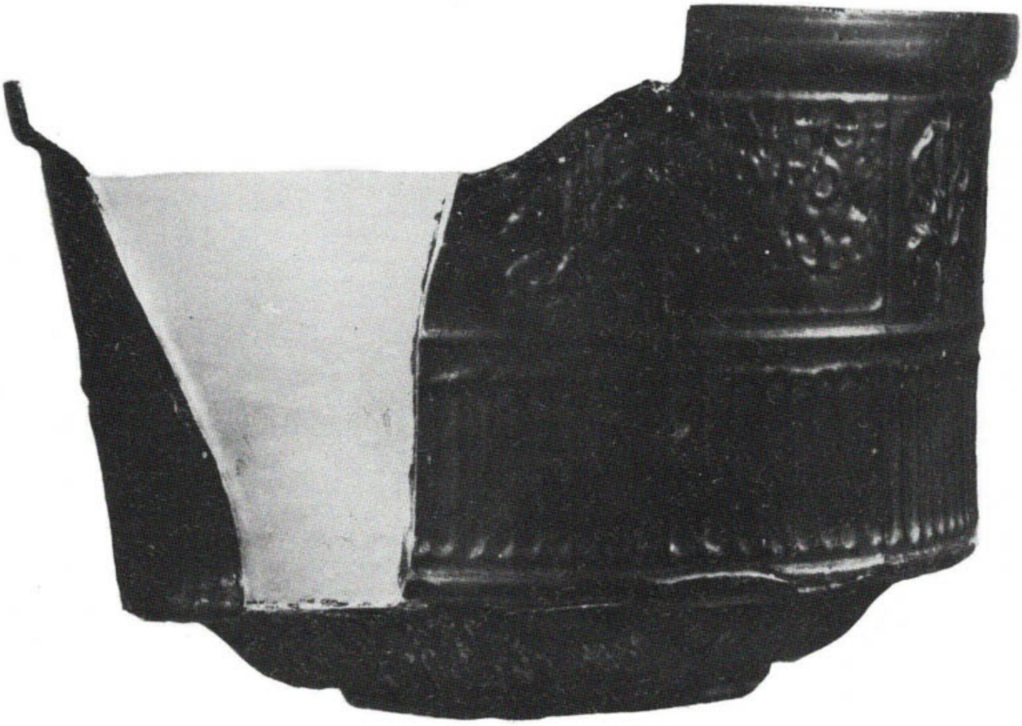
18. London, British Museum, Sicilian terracotta lamp from the Proclus Agyrios workshop, probably first century A.D. (length 11.8 cm.)



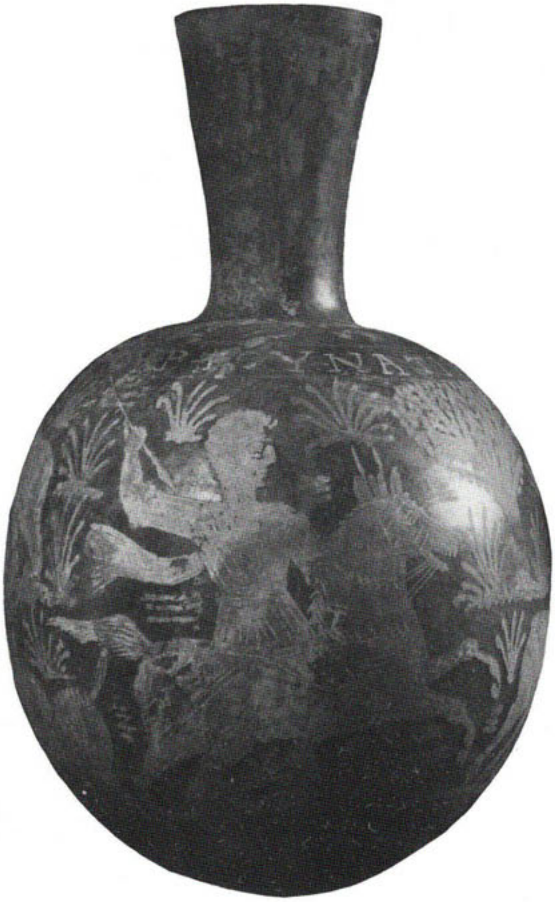
19. Marsala, base of terracotta lamp bearing inscription in cursive, late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo



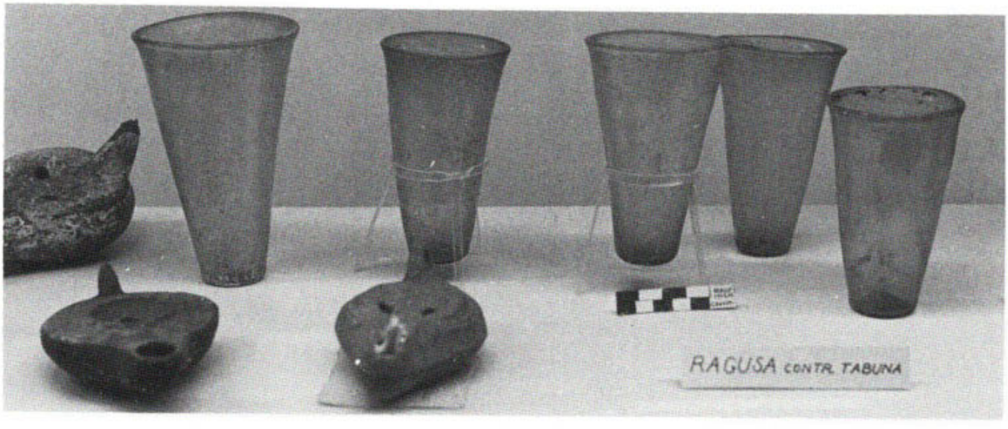
20. London, British Museum, terracotta lamp from a Syracusan workshop (late Roman type III), second half of the sixth century A.D. (length 10.8 cm.)



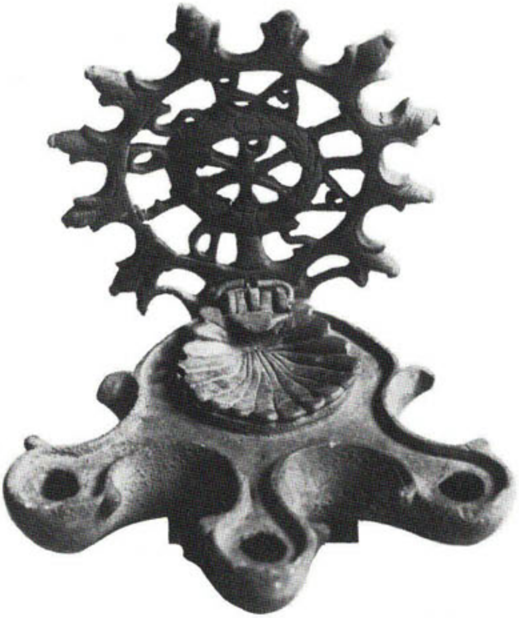
21. Solunto, cylindrical one-handled cup in blue glass from the Ennion workshop, first century A.D. (height 8.6 cm.). Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo



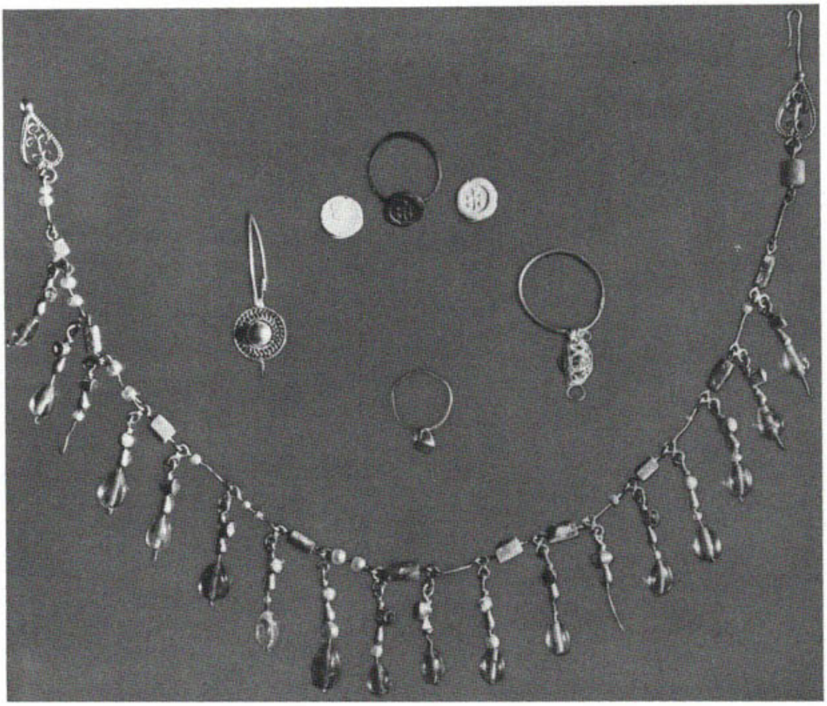
22. Chiaramonte Gulfi (RG), globular flask in bluish-green glass, fourth century A.D. (height 17.5 cm.). Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse



23. Ragusa, conical lamp-beakers in greenish glass from the necropolis in contrada Tabuna, probably fifth century. Museo archeologico, Ragusa



24. Selinunte (TP), bronze three-nozzled lamp, Christian, fourth or fifth century A.D. Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo



25. Nissoria (EN), gold necklace, ring and earrings, probably late sixth century (length of necklace: 37 cm.). Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse

A two-nozzled bronze lamp in Palermo, for example, although of uncertain provenance, is virtually identical with examples from Pompeii, and another unprovenanced Palermo bronze lamp, with the handle bent back over the body of the lamp in the form of a horse's head, recalls a similar example, but with a duck's head, in the Campanian collections.[437] The important bronze finds from the Diana necropolis on Lipari, only some of which have so far been published,[438] probably also include many vessels and other objects imported from Campania. Among the unpublished material is an entire set of metal components belonging to a wooden box now perished, including suspension chains, hinge chains, the grip handles from the lid, drop handles from the sides, and plates to strengthen each corner of the lid.

For the late Roman and early Byzantine period, especially from the fourth to the sixth centuries, the evidence for bronzeware in Sicily is more plentiful, perhaps due to chance, but perhaps also symptomatic of the general prosperity of the island at that time. In particular, a number of outstanding bronze lamps have been found in Sicily belonging to a number of different types. One has an openwork handle ornamentation of circular shape, of which the most distinctive is a three-nozzled lamp found at Selinunte a century ago: a large openwork Chi-Rho is surrounded by the letters *DEO GRATIAS* (plate XIV. 24).[439] A similar lamp-handle has been found in the excavations at Punta Secca (RG), and consists of a Chi-Rho in the centre and a smaller Chi-Rho above flanked by birds, but with no attendant inscription; the body of the lamp is missing.[440] A similar two-nozzled example, unprovenanced, is in Agrigento Museum, with openwork handle decoration of two lambs facing each other.[441] An African origin has sometimes been postulated for these, but very similar examples are known in Rome, and it seems much more likely that the Sicilian lamps came from Italy, probably in the fourth or fifth

---

forme di vasellame bronzeo, in: Id., ed., op. cit. in n. 167, 163–8; and J. Kunow, Die capuanischen Bronzegefäßhersteller Lucius Ansius Epaphroditus und Publius Cipius Polybius, BJ CLXXXV, 1985, 215–42.

[437] Palermo: A. M. Fallico, Lucerne in bronzo del Museo di Palermo, RAC XLVII, 1971, 131–47, no. 6, p. 138 (two-nozzled) and no. 2, pp. 134–5 (horse's head). For the Pompeian parallels, cf. respectively Ward-Perkins and Claridge, op. cit. in n. 408, no. 168 (two-nozzled) and 221 (duck's head); and N. Valenza Mele, Le lucerne di bronzo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli, in: Carandini, ed., op. cit. in n. 167, 157–61, with pl. LXXII–LXXIII, nos. 8 and 10 (two-nozzled), and pl. LXXIV, no. 12 (duck's head).

[438] Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, ML II, 264–6, with pl. CCXVIII–CCXIX.

[439] S. Cavallari, Selinunte (Commune di Castelvetrano), NSc 1882, 325–36, at 327–8 and 332; since republished many times (for the references, O. Garana, Le catacombe siciliane e i loro martiri, Palermo 1961, 155–7), and more recently by Fallico, op. cit. in n. 437, 145–6.

[440] Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Supplemento (Rome 1970), fig. 208; cf. also Sic. Arch. III, 11, 1970, 30.

[441] P. Griffo and G. Zirretta, Il Museo Civico di Agrigento, Palermo 1964, 119; E. de Miro, Agrigento paleocristiana, Felix Ravenna CXIX–CXX, 1980, 168, fig. 27.

century.[442] Another type has a curved handle in the form of a neck and head of a griffin, of which there is an outstanding example from Caltagirone now in Hartford, Conneticut,[443] and a closely similar lamp, with the handle in the form of a bird of prey rather than a griffin, is in the Zelantea collection at Acireale (CT).[444] A few examples of griffin-head lamps are known in the east, but the majority come from the west and are thought to have been manufactured in Rome, sometime in the fourth century.[445] Rather later in date, probably of the fifth and sixth centuries, is a simple form of oval lamp with a ring handle surmounted by either a cross or heart-shaped design of which there are several examples in Syracuse, Catania and Palermo.[446] Most examples of these do seem to be of eastern Mediterranean origin, perhaps from Constantinople,[447] and some are likely to post-date the Justinianic conquest of Sicily, when an increase in the volume of imported goods from the east is hardly surprising; but a number of examples of these lamps are known further west, and more than one centre of manufacture is not impossible.[448] We can discount, however, the possibility that any of these bronze lamps were made in Sicily, even though such a hypothesis has not been without its supporters.[449] Simpler bronze objects, such as the hemispherical censers with suspension chains, of which over a dozen have been found in eastern Sicily, are also probably eastern imports, even though ORSI claimed a local manufacture for them; these are all likely to be post-535.[450] Two of them were among the rich haul of bronze finds from a sixth-century wreck site at Plemmyrion just south of Syracuse,[451] which also produced two examples of lamps with heart-shaped handles (one with an openwork design closely matched in the East),[452] as well as a fine three-footed candelabrum and a single-handled jug (and fragments of others). The Plemmyrion ship, probably but not certainly heading for Syracuse, provides a good illustration of the range of bronze articles reaching Sicily from the east (probably from Constantinople) in the early Byzantine period.

---

[442] For an African origin, cf. PACE, ACSA IV, 42 – 3; for an example in Rome, C. CECCHELLI, La vita di Roma nel Medio Evo, Rome 1951, illustration on p. 93.

[443] C. H. SMITH, Bronzes, Antique, Greek and Roman. Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, Paris 1913, 35 – 8, no. 36 together with a very similar example of unknown provenance (no. 87 = WEITZMANN, ed., op. cit. in n. 110, no. 560). For another illustration of the Caltagirone lamp, W. F. WOLBACH, Frühchristliche Kunst, Munich 1958, 48 – 9, no. 13 with pl. 13. Other examples include one in Belgium (WEITZMANN, ibid. no. 561) and another, probably eastern, in the British Museum (O. DALTON, Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum, London 1901, no. 502).

[444] A. M. FALLICO, Alcuni bronzetti della collezione dell'Accademia Zelantea, AZDA VII, 1967, 413 – 7.

[445] For a discussion of the type, and their place(s) of manufacture, cf. M. C. ROSS, Catalogue of the Byzantine and early medieval antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, I, Washington 1962, 31 – 2; J. W. HAYES, Greek, Roman and Related Metalware in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 1984, no. 215, with references.

[446] FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 437, 140, no. 8 (cross handle, 'fourth/fifth century'); 141 – 3, nos. 10 – 11 (heart-shaped handle); S. L. AGNELLO, Bronzi bizantini inediti del Museo archeologico di Siracusa, Sic. Gymn. II, 1949, 285 – 90; P. ORSI, Miscellanea cristiana sicula, Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana VIII, 1902, 146 – 9 (heart-shaped handle: three examples in Catania), 152 – 3 (cross handle, from Floridia); LIBERTINI, MB, no. 523 (Catania, heart-shaped handle).

[447] Some eastern examples of comparable type: with cross handle, PERLZWEIG, op. cit. in n. 328, no. 2948 with pl. 48 ('fifth century [?]'), cf. WEITZMANN, op. cit. in n. 110, 340, no. 320 ('sixth-seventh century'); ROSS op. cit. in n. 445, nos. 32, 34; with heart-shaped handle, ibid., nos. 35 – 7.

[448] On more than one centre of distribution, ROSS, ibid., 32; AGNELLO, op. cit. in n. 446, 288.

[449] E.g. PACE, ACSA IV, 445, who thought that all bronze lamps except for the one found at Selinunte were made in local workshops. FALLICO, op. cit. in n. 437, 147, suggests that the poorest quality lamps of the Palermo examples might be Sicilian made, but this too seems highly unlikely.

Gold and silver objects are rare in Sicily until the same period. Some gold earrings, rings and splendid funerary crowns have been found in early imperial burials on Lipari and at Naxos and Tindari (and silver bracelets too at Tindari),[453] but little else is recorded until late imperial times. Rich villas such as Piazza Armerina or Marina di Patti must have boasted sets of silver tableware, but the only hoard of silverware so far to have been recorded (one wonders how many more have been dispersed by the clandestini) is that from the outskirts of Canicattini (SR).[454] It consisted of three high-footed bowls (two of them fluted), a shallow dish with a Christian cross in the centre of the bottom, the base of a plate, and three silver spoons with duck-head handles. Comparison with the forms of fineware pottery (which often imitated metalware) suggests a fifth-century date.[455] There is nothing to support a liturgical function for this silver[456]: more likely it was a set of tableware belonging to a Christian villa-owner who buried it in panic, possibly at the time of Vandal incursions. The only other Sicilian hoards of gold or silver, from Campobello di Mazara and Pantalica, belong to the seventh century and lie outside the scope of this survey.[457]

---

[450] ORSI, op. cit. in n. 430, 167 – 74 (Grammichele, Palazzolo Acreide, Syracuse, Catania); ID., op. cit. in n. 234, 350 (another from Syracuse); A. M. FALLICO, Recenti ritrovamenti di bronzetti bizantini, Sic. Gymn. XXI, 1968, 70 – 5 (Adrano; possible fragment from Pantalica); cf. also A. FERRUA, Sicilia bizantina, Epigraphica V – VI, 1943 – 4, 85 – 8. An example in Spain has also been claimed as a Sicilian import: P. DE PALOL SALELLAS, Los incensarios de Aubenya (Mallorca) y Llado (Gerona), Ampurias XII, 1950, 12.

[451] A. M. FALLICO, Bronzi tardo antichi del Plemmyrion presso Siracusa, BdA^5 LII, 1967, 90 – 7.

[452] Cf. ROSS, op. cit. in n. 445, no. 35 (from Syria).

[453] BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, 354 – 5 and 361 – 5 (Lipari); BACCI SPIGO, op. cit. in n. 232, 65 – 6 (Naxos); P. ORSI, Tindari. Scavi nella necropoli dell'antica città, NSc 1896, 116 – 7; and I. MARCONI BOVIO, Il Museo Archeologico di Palermo, Rome 1969, 37 and pl. XXXIV, fig. 75 (Tindari).

[454] G. AGNELLO, Le argenterie di Canicattini, in: ID., Le arti figurative nella Sicilia bizantina, Palermo 1962, 277 – 95.

[455] Cf. HAYES, LRP Supplement (see n. 214), 520.

[456] Cf. J. ENGEMANN, Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagslebens mit christlichen Bildern, Symbolen und Inschriften, JbAC XV, 1972, 154 – 73, at 160 – 1.

[457] On these in brief, PACE, ACSA IV, 435 – 41, with references.

Some outstanding pieces of gold jewellery are also known from Sicily, but although some of it has been ascribed to the fifth century, all of it probably postdates the Byzantine conquest of A.D. 535. The gold and silver earrings fall into two main groups. The first is elliptical in shape and has three small open rings or circles attached to its outer edge, each often separated by clusters of globules, and several examples are known in eastern Sicily, from Taormina, Syracuse, Thapsos (SR) and elsewhere; the type also occurs at Salemi (TP) in western Sicily.[458] One at Syracuse, bearing the circle and cluster design on the inner edge as well, is closely matched by an example in the Esquiline Treasure from Rome, which was deposited c. 400,[459] but there is some doubt as to whether or not the earrings were actually found with the rest of the treasure, and all the other evidence (including a coin of 578 – 82 found with the Thapsos example) points to a date of c. 600 for this type of earring rather than earlier.[460] The elaborate crescent-shaped gold earrings of the second group, which have an openwork design, usually incorporating two birds, with circular pellets or 'pearls' attached to the outer edge, are known from various inland settlements in central southern Sicily: Sofiana (EN), Mimiani, Racineci, Butera (all CL) and Pantalica (SR).[461] The fifth-century date ascribed to the Mimiani earring is almost certainly too early, as the parallels, most of them eastern, are thought to be of late sixth or early seventh century date;[462] they may well have been made at Constantinople.[463] Another spectacular document of contact with the East is provided by the splendid necklace found at Nissoria (EN) in 1953: alternating pearls and green plasma separate eighteen gold pendents, each incorporating a pearl and an amethyst (plate XIV. 25).[464] An identical necklace, with sapphires instead of amethysts in each pendent, is part of a gold treasure from Egypt,[465] and the necklaces were probably made there or at one of the other major jewellery-producing centres in the East, Syria or Constantinople. The Nissoria necklace, which incorporates into its design a coin of Valentinian III (425 – 55), was understandably dated by its excavator to the second half of the fifth century; but associated earrings found with the necklace imply that the group was not buried until c. 600, and the necklace itself may not have been made until the sixth century.[466] These and other pieces of Sicilian jewellery[467] are eloquent reminders of the wealth of at least some Sicilians, or officials operating in Sicily,[468] in the early Byzantine period.

---

[458] ORSI, op. cit. in n. 430, 144 – 6, 158 – 60; cf. 131 – 2 (eastern Sicily); B. PACE, La basilica di Salemi, Mon. Ant. XXIV, 1916, 697 – 736, at 717 – 8 with fig. 7 (Salemi).

[459] K. J. SHELTON, The Esquiline Treasure, London 1981, 91, nos. 43 – 4 with pl. 47; for the jewellery, ibid. 22.

[460] For the type, M. C. ROSS, Catalogue of the Byzantine and early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, II, Washington 1965, 66 – 7, no. 85, with pl. XLVIII.

[461] ADAMESTEANU, op. cit. in n. 432, 272, with fig. 27 (Sofiana); ibid. 271, fig. 26 and Sic. Arch. I, 2, 1968, 24, fig. 10 (Mimiani); ORSI, op. cit. in n. 430, 122 – 4 with fig. 51 (Racineci), 160 with fig. 78 (Butera) and 146 with pl. XI.4 (Pantalica).

[462] ROSS, op. cit. in n. 460, 68 – 9, nos. 87 and 90 with pl. XLVII; DALTON, op. cit. in n. 443, 44 – 5, nos. 275 – 7 with pl. V; WEITZMANN, ed., op. cit. in n. 110, 315 – 6, no. 290.

[463] So ibid. 316; Sicilian manufacture is claimed by ORSI, op. cit. in n. 430, 123 – 4, 154 and 161, and by PACE, ACSA IV, 443 – 4, but this is inadmissible.

[464] G. V. GENTILI, Nissoria (Enna). Reperto di oreficerie bizantine, NSc 1954, 403 – 5; cf. C. CARDUCCI, Ore e argenti dell'Italia antica, Milan 1962, pl. 77a (colour photo).

[465] W. DENNISON, A gold treasure of the late Roman period, New York 1918, 145 – 6, no. 18, with pl. XXXVIII; also p. 101 (not cited by GENTILI).

VII. Summary

The foregoing review has attempted to summarize the evidence for agricultural and industrial activities in Sicily over a period of some 600 years from the late first century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., and to give some indication of the range of imports that was reaching the island during that time. The limitations of this evidence are manifest. Much more detailed publication of the material already excavated is required before major advances can be made, and the relative importance of specific imported goods on a given site at a given time will remain unknown until quantitative studies of artefacts recovered by excavation are attempted in Sicily. What appears below is a brief summary of the broad picture which emerges from the evidence currently at our disposal, but it is a picture indistinct even in its main outlines and one devoid of much detail at present.

The principal factor responsible for keeping Sicilian economic prosperity buoyant throughout the entire period of the Roman Empire was grain, and the increased importance of Sicilian grain in the late Empire, especially in the fifth and sixth century, is probably at least partly responsible for the flourishing state of the island in late antiquity. Most of the corn surplus was probably destined for Italy, although we do hear of one consignment ear-marked for Gaul in the early sixth century.[469] In addition, Sicily supplied Italy, at least during the early Empire, with several varieties of wine, as well as with cattle, hides, wool, fish and possibly timber. Some Sicilian fruits were also esteemed abroad, but olive oil, as far as we know, was produced solely for the home market. Sicilian ponies were also much in demand in the circuses of Italy. The only certain Sicilian-produced pottery of imperial date so far known to have been exported (to Italy and north Africa) is, rather curiously, a crude handmade cooking-ware manufactured on the island of Pantelleria. The corn-mills of black Etna basalt, ubiquitous all over Sicily, also seem to have enjoyed a modest export market in south Italy and north Africa. In mineral deposits the island is not rich, but the extraction of sulphur in the Agrigento region was a major industry, certainly from the first to the early fourth century A.D. In the supply of this and of alum from the Aeolian islands Sicily enjoyed a virtual monopoly in the entire Roman world; but there can be no doubt that it was grain rather than any of the other commodities just listed that afforded the island what economic (and political) prominence it possessed. No other commodity known to have been produced in Sicily during the Empire,except possibly wine, won a major export market; instead the island imported a vast range of goods from beyond its shores, especially from its two nearest sources, Italy and Africa. Indeed Sicily's position at the very heart of the Mediterranean on or close to some of the ancient world's principal trade routes gave her ready access to the major mass-produced commodities circulating in the central Mediterranean area; and even if the principal shipping routes largely skirted Sicily, many a vessel engaged in long-distance trade needed Sicilian harbours to shelter from a storm or to restock supplies. From Italy Sicily imported an enormous range of merchandise, especially during the early and middle Empire; it included Italian red-gloss sigillata pottery, lamps, *amphorae,* glassware, bronzes, sarcophagi and white Luna marble. In the middle and later Empire an even stronger impact on Sicilian trade was made by north Africa. In particular the fine ware pottery market in the island was almost completely taken over by African red slip ware, enormous quantities of which reached Sicily from the early second century down into Byzantine times. African cylindrical *amphorae* bearing oil and *garum,* seem to have been common in Sicily too from the third to the sixth centuries. African lamps, both Tunisian and Tripolitanian, are also found in quantity in Sicily in both the middle and the late Empire; and service industries such as mosaic laying seemed to have been dominated by the influence of African *officinae* and their itinerant craftsmen throughout the same period. Even in the first century, African *amphorae,* as well as cooking ware, were probably reaching Sicily in appreciable quantities.

---

[466] The '*orrechino a castello*' type, apparently of north Italian manufacture: A. MEDUCCO VACCARO, Oreficerie altomedievali da Arezzo, BdA LVII, 1972, 8 – 19, with full list of Sicilian examples and bibliography (Comiso, Licodia Euboea [near Vizzini], Salemi, Corleone).

[467] E.g. WEITZMANN, ed., op. cit. in n. 110, 312, no. 286 (and see works cited in n. 457 and 466).

[468] The gold crescent earrings were 'possibly brought there by members of the court of Constans II', speculates ROSS, op. cit. in n. 460, 68.

[469] Cassiodorus, Variae, IV. 7.

With the western Mediterranean Sicily seems to have had fewer contacts. Apart from the consignment of corn for Gaul already mentioned, some Gaulish sigillata pottery in the first century A.D., the occasional Gaulish wine amphora and an isolated glass flask in the fourth century appear to be the only documents at present published of trading links with Gaul, unless L. Aponius Chaerea, honoured at Narbonne as well as at Palermo, Syracuse, and Termini Imerese in the late first century A.D., was himself a *mercator* engaged in trading between the two provinces.[470] Spanish lead and decorated pottery were reaching Sicily in small quantities in the first century B.C., but the bulk of the massive Spanish *amphora* exports in the first two centuries A.D. was directed towards Italy, Gaul and further north, although Spanish *amphora* wrecks are now known off the coasts of Sicily, and some examples of Spanish *amphorae* are documented in early imperial contexts in the island; however they probably formed a smaller share of the total of imported *amphorae* reaching Sicily at this period than their Italian or African counterparts. Some late Roman Spanish *amphorae* have also been identified on Sicilian wreck sites, but not yet on the island itself.

---

[470] AE 1892, 92 = ESPÉRANDIEU, Inscriptions Latines de Gaule Narbonnaise, Paris 1929, 573.

Contacts with the east are more fully documented.[471] The inscriptions of Messina, for example, through whose waters every ship from the east heading for Campania and Rome usually passed, illustrate the presence there of a Corinthian, a Syrian, an Apamaean, a Cyzican, a Lycian and a Cypriot.[472] Some of these men may have been involved in trade between Sicily and the east, but such evidence as there is does not suggest that the volume of trade was particularly great, at any rate until the late Empire. The glass cup made by the Sidonian glass-maker Ennion, for example, or the products of another Sidonian, Eirenaios, might have come from Italian sources rather than direct from the Syrian glasshouses, but the few Attic sarcophagi which reached Sicily in the third century probably were shipped direct from Greece. Throughout the imperial period Sicily was a regular importer, together with other provinces, of the coloured marbles of Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt, and some quantities of Eastern Sigillata pottery (both A and B) were reaching Sicily from the late Republic up to the early second century A.D., together with the occasional eastern amphora; the latter may have arrived in Sicily in rather greater numbers during the middle and especially the late Empire. Most of the other items of eastern manufacture are documented by only a small scatter of examples: a handful of third-century Corinthian relief bowls, a few Attic, Corinthian and Asia Minor lamps, small quantities of Phocaean red slip ware from Asia Minor, and, more significantly, expensive goods such as figured bronze lamps and gold jewellery; the last, however, seems largely to post-date the Byzantine conquest of Sicily, when links with the east inevitably strengthened. Trade in the opposite direction included some Sicilian wine, and some late Roman and early Byzantine Syracusan lamps have turned up in Greece; but unless corn was shipped to the east exports from Sicily in this direction can never have amounted to more than a trickle.

---

[471] For the 'established' trade routes, cf. Diocletian's Price Edict, ch. XXXVII, 7 (Oriens-Sicilia) and 21 (Alexandria-Sicilia).

[472] Corinthian: P. ORSI, Messana. La necropoli romana di S. Placido, Mon. Ant. XXIV, 1916, 121–92, at 162; Syrian: IG XIV, 419–20, S. L. AGNELLO, Ancora sull'iscrizione messinese di Ulpio Niceforo, CronASA II, 1963, 79–83 and G. MANGANARO, Ricerche di antichità e di epigrafia siceliote, Arch. Class. XVII, 1965, 205–6; Apamaean (whether from Syria, Bithynia or Phrygia is unclear): ORSI, op. cit., 171–2; Cyzican: IG XIV, 405 = M. T. MANNI PIRAINO, Iscrizioni greche lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1973, no. 27; Lycian: IG XIV, 404; Cypriot: IG XIV, 412.

List of Illustrations

I. Plates:

I. 1. Priolo (SR), tombstone with relief sculpture, first-second century A.D. (height 1.07 m.). Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia orientale).

2. Agrigento, terracotta tile used in the sulphur industry. Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia occidentale).

II. 3. Agrigento, terracotta tiles used in the sulphur industry. Museo archeologico regionale, Agrigento.

III. 4. Syracuse, columns of *rosso fiorito* from Haluntium in the forum, mid-second century A.D. *In situ.*

IV. 5. Castroreale S. Biagio (ME), pavement of marble opus sectile in Roman villa, early second century A.D. *In situ.*

6. Syracuse, catacomb of S. Giovanni, sarcophagus of Adelphia in Proconnesian marble, first half of the fourth century A.D. Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia orientale).

V. 7. Palermo, Museo archeologico regionale, sarcophagus with lions' heads, third century A.D.

8. Palermo, Museo archeologico regionale, sarcophagus with Medusa heads, third century A.D.

VI. 9. Catania, Museo of Castello Ursino, sarcophagus in black Etna basalt (length 2.03 m.), third century A.D.

10. Catania, Museo of Castello Ursino, sarcophagus in black Etna basalt (length 1.77 m.), third century A.D.

VII. 11. Syracuse, Museo archeologico regionale, altar table in white marble, fifth or sixth century A.D. (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia orientale).

12. Syracuse, Museo archeologico regionale, lotus and acanthus capital (height 0.50 m.), second or third century A.D.

VIII. 13. Castroreale S. Biagio (ME), black-and-white style mosaic pavement in Roman villa, fishing scene, first half of the second century A.D. *In situ.*

14. Tindari, bath-building in Insula IV, mosaic signature of Neinas slave of Dionysios, late second or early third century A.D. *In situ.*

IX. 15. Tindari, bath-building in Insula IV, black-and-white mosaic, the triumph of Dionysus, late second or early third century A.D. (scale in feet). *In situ.*

X. 16. Agrigento, S. Nicola, geometric mosaic with sinusoid tendrils, late second century A.D. (scale in feet). *In situ.*

XI. 17. Piazza Armerina (EN), jug in African red slip ware with moulded relief decoration (height: 0.24 m.), probably fifth century A.D., from the necropolis near the late Roman villa. Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia orientale).

18. London, British Museum, Sicilian terracotta lamp from the Proclus Agyrios workshop, probably first century A.D. (length 11.8 cm.) (photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, Crown Copyright).

19. Marsala, base of terracotta lamp bearing inscription in cursive, late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia occidentale).

XII. 20. London, British Museum, terracotta lamp from a Syracusan workshop (late Roman type III), second half of the sixth century A.D. (length 10.8 cm.) (photo courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, Crown Copyright).

21. Solunto, cylindrical one-handled cup in blue glass from the Ennion workshop, first century A.D. (height 8.6 cm.). Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia occidentale).

XIII. 22. Chiaramonte Gulfi (RG), globular flask in bluish-green glass, fourth century A.D. (height 17.5 cm.). Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia orientale).

23. Ragusa, conical lamp-beakers in greenish glass from the necropolis in contrada Tabuna, probably fifth century. Museo archeologico, Ragusa.

XIV. 24. Selinunte (TP), bronze three-nozzled lamp, Christian, fourth or fifth century A.D. Museo archeologico regionale, Palermo (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia occidentale).

25. Nissoria (EN), gold necklace, ring and earrings, probably late sixth century (length of necklace: 37 cm.). Museo archeologico regionale, Syracuse (photo courtesy of Soprintendenza archeologica per la Sicilia orientale).

II. Figures:

Fig. 1 (p. 209) Sicily, map showing location of principal places mentioned in the text (cf. p. 208 n. 1).

Fig. 2 (p. 241) Eastern sigillata and 'Tripolitanian' sigillata (?) wares in Sicily. Scale 1:2, stamps actual size. 1. Eastern Sigillata A, from Malta (after Missione archeologica italiana a Malta ... 1968, fig. 6.1). 2. Eastern Sigillata A, from Syracuse (after AEA XXIV, 1951, 40, fig. 4.5). 3. Eastern Sigillata B, from Syracuse (after RCRF Acta XI–XII, 1969–70, 87, fig. 3 f.). 4. Sigillata dish, perhaps 'Tripolitanian' sigillata, from Syracuse (after Mon. Ant. XLI, 1951, 803, fig. 75).

Fig. 3 (p. 243) Sicilian ware and Tripolitanian sigillata and red wares in Sicily. Scale 1:4, stamp approximately 1:2. 1. Red-slipped plate from Lipari, perhaps Sicilian made (after BERNABÒ BREA – CAVALIER, ML II, 10, fig. 3). 2. Red-slipped footless dish, from Lipari, probably Sicilian made (after ibid. pl. i. 9). 3. Bowl from Syracuse, perhaps 'Tripolitanian' sigillata (after AEA XXIV, 1951, 40, fig. 4.3). 4. Tripolitanian Red Slip ware dish, from Barrafranca (EN) (after NSc 1956, 167, fig. 2b).

Fig. 4 (p. 247) Tindari, fragment of mould for manufacturing local decorated ware (after Arch. Class. XI, 1959, 87, fig. 1; scale not indicated).

Fig. 5 (p. 248) Tindari, fragmentary crater in local sigillata ware, first century A.D. (after Arch. Class. XI, 1959, 90, fig. 3; scale not indicated).

Le arti figurative nella Sicilia romana imperiale

di NICOLA BONACASA, Palermo

Sommario

Premessa 307
I. Da Augusto alla fine del II sec. d. C. 312
II. Il III secolo d. C. 325
III. Il tardo Impero e la fine della Sicilia antica 332
In luogo di una conclusione 341
Indice delle illustrazioni 343

L'amica ANTONELLA MANDRUZZATO ha collaborato, con disinteressata premura, alla stesura delle note. Le fotografie riprodotte si devono alla cortese liberalità della Fondazione I. Mormino del Banco di Sicilia e dei colleghi Soprintendenti E. DE MIRO, C. A. DI STEFANO, V. TUSA, G. VOZA.

Abbreviazioni bibliografiche:

BOESELAGER = D. VON BOESELAGER, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien (Archaeologica 40), Roma 1983;
BONACASA = N. BONACASA, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia (Catalogo), Palermo 1964;
BONACASA CARRA = R. M. BONACASA CARRA, Nuovi ritratti romani della Sicilia, Palermo 1977;
Città e contado = AA.VV., Città e contado in Sicilia fra il III e il IV sec. d. C., in: Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX 1982 – 83, p. 315ss.;
Filosofiana = A. CARANDINI – A. RICCI – M. DE VOS, Filosofiana. La villa di Piazza Armerina, Palermo 1982;
Lilibeo = AA.VV., Lilibeo. Testimonianze archeologiche dal IV sec. a. C. al V sec. d. C. (Catalogo della mostra), Palermo 1984;
PACE, I – IV = B. PACE, Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica, Milano – Roma – Napoli, I^2 1958, II – III 1938, IV 1949;
Sicilia antica II,2 = AA.VV., La Sicilia antica II,2 (La Sicilia romana), Napoli 1980;
Sikanie = AA.VV., Sikanie. Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca, Milano 1985;
TUSA = V. TUSA, I sarcofagi romani in Sicilia, Palermo 1957.

Premessa

„La Sicilia è un'isola", scrive provocatoriamente MOSES I. FINLEY[1], „... è un'isola del Mediterraneo, la più grande di quelle che a giusta ragione sono state chiamate *continenti in miniatura*[2], e che, fin dall'età del bronzo, sono state fortemente coinvolte nei più vasti avvenimenti dell'Europa, dell'Africa del Nord e dell'Asia occidentale". E poco dopo, sempre il FINLEY, definendo un aspetto del divenire politico della Sicilia, soggiunge: „Dalla fine del terzo secolo a. C., quando i romani ridussero a provincia l'intera isola, la dominazione straniera fu la regola, tranne che per brevi periodi d'indipendenza nel Medioevo"[3].

Le due affermazioni sono veritiere per un duplice ordine di motivi: perchè cancellano, da una parte, l'ipotesi ideologica di una pretesa insularità siciliana e perchè, dall'altra, sottolineano realtà socio-economiche e fatti di ordine politico-militare, che con il primo assioma vanno strettamente connessi. Cioè, l'essere la Sicilia in una particolarissima collocazione geografica, in rapporto agli altri paesi del Mediterraneo, ponte e al tempo stesso spartiacque, tra Europa e Africa, Oriente e regioni gallico-spagnole. Questa vecchia e sempre attuale tesi di E. A. FREEMAN[4] – riecheggiata pure dal FINLEY – è stata ripresa e ampliata magistralmente da MARIO MAZZA, nel suo recente disegno 'Economia e società nella Sicilia romana'[5], in cui vengono riesaminati i contatti italici e magno-greci della Sicilia, insieme ai contesti traditi dell'economia ellenistica 'mediterranea', africana, egiziana e greco-orientale.

Detto questo, riteniamo che ormai sia superata, in campo scientifico, l'antitesi che opponeva con leggerezza una Sicilia compiutamente romana per sette secoli[6], ad una Sicilia rimasta fondamentalmente greca[7], sino alla facile conquista di Belisario, nel 535 d. C., accolto come liberatore per ovvii motivi politici, culturali e religiosi (Procopio, de Bello Goth. III,16)[8]. Vero è che, pur tenendo conto dell'enfasi oratoria, a noi sembrano nel complesso veritiere le parole di Cicerone (II Verr., 2,1) che la Sicilia fu la prima ad insegnare a Roma repubblicana come è bello governare paesi stranieri; ma il compito che abbiamo assunto è più complesso, in quanto ci tocca chiarire sino a qual punto e con quali esiti la Sicilia fu realmente romanizzata. E questa impresa non sarà facile, a causa delle scarse e incerte notizie storiche e delle esigue testimonianze monumentali.

---

[1] M. I. FINLEY, Storia della Sicilia antica (nuova ed. it.), Roma – Bari 1985, p. 11.

[2] F. BRAUDEL, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II, Paris 1966, I, p. 136.

[3] M. I. FINLEY, op. cit., p. 12.

[4] E. A. FREEMAN, The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times to the Arab conquest, I, Oxford 1891, pp. 1 – 48.

[5] M. MAZZA, in: Kokalos XXVI – XXVII 1980 – 81, I (Atti V Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia antica), pp. 295 ss., 297 ss.

[6] PACE, I^2, pp. 309 ss., 313 ss.

[7] G. ARRIGHETTI, G. MANGANARO, G. CLEMENTE, in: Sicilia Antica II, 2 pp. 395, 445 – 447, 467 – 468, 470 – 473.

[8] PACE, IV, p. 103 ss.; B. LAVAGNINI, Belisario in Italia (535 – 540), Palermo 1948, p. 5 ss.

Prima del III sec. a. C., preziose e raffinate prede di guerra, trasferite a Roma, anche dalla Sicilia, avevano incominciato a mutare il clima culturale della città incentivando anche in questo campo la sua funzione accentratrice e assimilatrice. Ma fu intorno alla metà del secolo, con la fine della I guerra punica e la cacciata dei Cartaginesi dall'isola, che si fecero sempre più stretti i contatti di Roma con il mondo ellenistico della Sicilia, anche per diretta conoscenza delle sue opere d'arte, cui contribuirono in maniera determinante la conquista e il sacco di Siracusa, ad opera di M. Claudio Marcello nel 212 a. C. (Livio, XXV, 40,1 – 3). La Sicilia, dunque, concorse fortemente, anche in momenti e con fatti diversi, come vedremo appresso, alla formazione dell'etica romana repubblicana, ed alla graduale trasformazione del gusto romano col propagarsi di una cultura unitaria, non solo figurativa, ma letteraria e filosofica soprattutto, che è direttamente ispirata al pensiero greco (Plutarco, Marc., 20 – 21,30). Si può affermare, anzi, che dopo la caduta di Siracusa, tale afflusso di opere d'arte a Roma, non conobbe limiti (dalla Magna Grecia, dalla Sicilia, da Cartagine, dall'Epiro, dalla Macedonia, dall'Asia e dalla Grecia tutta), almeno fino alla cessione del regno di Pergamo, nel 133 a. C.[9].

A noi tocca dire della Sicilia. Come tutti sanno, hanno tenuto campo per molto tempo, nei nostri studi, due radicate e contrastanti opinioni. La prima che ha considerato e considera la Sicilia romana un enorme granaio, facendo proprie alcune affermazioni di Cicerone (II Verr., II, 2, 4; II, 20, 50; III, 52, 122; III, 97, 226), e di Strabone (Geogr., VI, 2, 7), peraltro genericamente comprovate dal noto mosaico ostiense, della metà del I sec. d. C., con la personificazione delle quattro province granarie dell'Impero: Sicilia, Spagna, Africa ed Egitto[10]. Ed è chiaro che questo concetto si sposa con quello di una progessiva marginalità politica dell'isola e di un decadimento inarrestabile della sua economia, quando l'Africa produsse grano per Roma assai meglio della Sicilia[11]. La seconda opinione è quella che ha giudicato e giudica la Sicilia romanizzata come una tranquilla provincia, pacificata per lunghi periodi, alacre nei centri urbani ed efficiente sui campi arati, arricchita dall'imprenditoria romana, dove perfino la sterminata moltitudine della manovalanza schiavistica figura come segno del respiro economico dell'isola, che non aveva nulla da invidiare alla Sicilia ellenistica. La riprova, per assurdo, sarebbe proprio nella grande quantità di opere d'arte ricordate da Cicerone (II Verr. IV, *de signis*), comprese quelle razziate da Verre. Insomma, quello che Strabone attesta della decadenza siciliana nel primo secolo dell'Impero sarebbe in gran parte mediato dalla sua fonte ellenistica, Posidonio, e non attuale[12].

---

[9] N. BONACASA, Arte Romana. Scultura (Guide allo studio della civiltà romana VII,2), Roma 1979, pp. 13 – 15; R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, Roma. L'arte romana nel centro del potere, Milano 1969, p. 36 ss.; G. BECATTI, Arte e gusto negli scrittori latini, Firenze 1951, p. 13, 21, 74.

[10] PACE, I^2, pp. 394 – 395, fig. 161; G. BECATTI, Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei, in: Scavi Ostia IV, Roma 1961, pp. 45 – 47, n. 68, tavv. CXXII – CXXIII.

[11] M. MAZZA, in: Kokalos, cit., pp. 336, 338, 342.

La verità è, come precisa M. Mazza, che i due termini di 'decadimento' e di 'continuità', che potremmo considerare come 'esponenti' delle due ipotesi da noi ricordate in precedenza, non si escludono necessariamente[13]. Ma resta il fatto che la vita politica e socio-economica della Sicilia in età imperiale, da Sesto Pompeo almeno fino all'inizio del III sec. d.C., è segnata dalla stagnazione sociale e produttiva e dall'incapacità di dar vita a nuove strutture, in sostituzione della borghesia cittadina andata in rovina. Il latifondo del popolo romano e dell'imperatore, suddiviso in pascolo e grano, l'isolamento della pastorizia, la mancanza di una politica di urbanizzazione, le poche colonie dedotte in vecchi centri e non una sola città nuova fondata in Sicilia, sono gli esiti di una precisa volontà politica che ha imposto un calcolato immobilismo subcoloniale, sfociato nei primi due secoli dell'Impero in una grave depressione culturale[14].

Se consideriamo per un momento l'architettura pubblica e privata in Sicilia, ci accorgiamo che mancano totalmente gli edifici di culto, e che pochissimi sono gli acquedotti, i fori e le terme, che alcune *agorai* e quasi tutti i teatri ed i *bouleuteria* sono di tipo greco, e che la tradizione greca è per lungo tempo determinante nell'architettura privata. Al contrario, grande attrattiva sembra che abbiano avuto in Sicilia gli spettacoli nelle arene, dato che oltre alla costruzione degli anfiteratri di Catania, Siracusa e Termini, si contano pure gli adattamenti dei teatri di Tindari e di Taormina. In sostanza, nella Sicilia di età romana, a differenza che nelle altre province, il panorama dell'architettura pubblica non rappresenta un modello utile per un giudizio articolato sui rapporti col potere centrale. Possiamo affermare, invece, che il maggior numero di costruzioni pubbliche imperiali è concentrato nella Sicilia orientale (a Siracusa, Catania, Taormina, Centuripe e Tindari) e in qualche città della parte occidentale (a Termini Imerese e Lilibeo); cioè, nei pochi centri attivi, in cui ebbe modo di svilupparsi l'apparato economico e politico dell'Impero, e anche in questi casi è difficile individuare interventi diretti o mediati di evergetismo.

La cultura figurativa della Sicilia di età romana può essere distinta e classificata per epoche storiche. Alcuni periodi sono, purtroppo, poveramente documentati nell'isola, mentre si distinguono per varietà e numero i reperti di età giulio-claudia e del tardo Impero. I dati scarsissimi nella quasi totalità dei casi circa la provenienza e la destinazione delle opere d'arte mobili, dei marmi soprattutto, l'impossibilità di connettere i materiali con edifici pubblici e privati, che ne giustifichino l'esecuzione e la presenza; la testimonianza negativa di officine marmorarie romane operanti in Sicilia; la provata scarsezza di materie prime e la assoluta mancanza di cave specializzate, sono tutti motivi assai gravi che si oppongono alla programmazione di uno studio critico unitario, sicchè, con difficoltà, l'indagine può essere volta a singoli problemi iconografici e stilistici e con maggiore rischio a quelli storico-artistici, per tentarne, appunto, un breve profilo[15].

---

[12] Pace, I^2, p. 396; F. P. Rizzo, in: Studi di Storia antica offerti a E. Manni, Roma 1976, p. 259 ss.

[13] M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., p. 338.

[14] M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., pp. 340–344; G. Manganaro, in: Sicilia Antica II, 2, pp. 451–453; G. Clemente, ibid., p. 465 ss., passim.

Ad ogni modo, per la storia della cultura artistica della Sicilia romana, se si confrontano le affermazioni di Biagio Pace (1938) con quelle di F. Coarelli (1980)[16], ci si accorge che del tutto diversa può essere oggi la prospettiva d'indagine, malgrado che le testimonianze di arte romana non siano del tutto nuove, nè di molto accresciute in Sicilia[17].

Dobbiamo riconoscere, infatti, che le notizie principali sulle opere di scultura andate perdute, e di cui la Sicilia romana dovette essere abbastanza ricca dal II sec. a. C. al I sec. d. C., si possono desumere dalle fonti scritte. Il complesso statuario di Thermai – il poeta Stesicoro, la personificazione della città ed una capretta – probabilmente rapinato dai Cartaginesi nel 409 a. C. a Himera, fu restituito da Publio Cornelio Scipione dopo la distruzione di Cartagine nel 146 a. C. (e statue ed oggetti restituì pure ad altre città della Sicilia), secondo le testimonianze di Diodoro (XXXII,25) di Cicerone (II, 86 – 87 e IV,73) e di Livio (Per. ex lib. LI); dell'importanza del complesso sono prove il ricorrere degli stessi motivi figurati su alcune monete coniate a Thermai nella seconda metà del II sec. a. C., e il testo epigrafico di due basi termitane per statue rifatte nel II – III sec. d. C. sulle antiche contemporanee alle monete. Sempre a Termini, nei secoli II – III d. C., era il gruppo di statue private del sepolcro di famiglia degli antenati del poeta Aristodamos Nemenida Persios, il quale, a sua volta, aveva pure innalzato statue onorarie ai genitori, al loro benefattore, alla moglie di questi ed alla propria.

Cicerone ci narra (II Verr., IV,40,86) che statue dei Marcelli, patroni dell'isola, furono erette nel foro di Tindari ed in altre città della Sicilia; e, ancora, Cicerone (II Verr., II,7,19 e 63, 154) scrive che Verre si fece innalzare a Siracusa statue equestri, insieme col figlio, e altre a Tauromenio, Tindari, Centuripe, e ad Alesa, nel foro, per volontà di Apollodoro Lapirione dal suo erede Q. Dione. E potremmo continuare. Ma conviene rimandare ai libri II e IV (*de signis*) della II Verr. di Cicerone, pur con l'accortezza che il tipo di fonte sollecita, per avere un'idea sufficientemente chiara della consistenza delle opere di scultura in Sicilia. Del resto, anche se modestamente, e fino ad epoca tarda, edifici pubblici, piazze e case dovevano possedere opere d'arte, se lo storico Giorgio Codino ricorda la Sicilia tra le località da cui Costantino trasse statue per abbellire Costantinopoli[18].

---

[15] Bonacasa, p. IX.

[16] Pace, II, pp. 121 ss.; 142 ss., 167 ss.; 171 ss., 178 ss.; F. Coarelli, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 371 ss.

[17] Oltre ai monumenti ricordati da Pace e Coarelli, si confrontino pure quelli editi da Tusa, Bonacasa e Bonacasa Carra e da qualche altro studioso.

[18] Giorgio Codino, de signis 63; Pace, II, p. 149.

L'attività limitata delle botteghe d'arte di età imperiale è attestata in Sicilia da due basi iscritte: una, già a Siracusa, con la firma dello scultore Zenon (Flavius) di Afrodisia, e l'altra, al Museo Biscari di Catania, ma assai dubbia, col nome dello scultore Glykon ateniese[19]. E' risaputo, del resto, che tolta la breccia di Taormina, in uso dai tempi di Gerone II, tutti gli altri marmi presenti nell'isola sono stati importati dall'Italia, dalla Grecia, dall'Asia Minore e dall'Africa; dalla metà del I sec. d. C. il marmo lunense rappresentò la percentuale più alta di marmo importato. Ad ogni modo, questi materiali furono quasi costantemente impiegati nella decorazione architettonica e nei rivestimenti parietali e pavimentali; il marmo da scultura venne quasi tutto da Roma e solo in casi eccezionali fu lavorato in Sicilia. Addirittura, l'enorme crescita del commercio del marmo nella prima metà del II sec. d. C. non coinvolse la Sicilia, a differenza delle altre regioni, e il termometro della situazione, più che nei ritratti, constantemente forniti dalle botteghe romane, abilitate nei prodotti ufficiali, andrebbe ricercato piuttosto nel commercio privato dei sarcofagi. Ad ogni modo, in Sicilia, pochi sono i sarcofagi attici, pochissimi gli asiatici, ed esigui quelli in pietre locali (tufi e lava); la maggior parte continua ad appartenere a fabbriche italiane[20].

L'opera di abili marmorari è provata da una interessante tabella bilingue palermitana, redatta in greco e in latino, vera e propria insegna di bottega, specializzata nella corretta disposizione dei testi e nell'incisione delle iscrizioni per edifici sacri e per opere pubbliche; oltre che dal ricordo di un collegio di marmorari che ha dedicato a L. Arrius Secundus, membro della confraternita, un'iscrizione sepolcrale catanese[21]. Altri elementi di giudizio, pure limitati nel tempo e nello spazio, possiamo trarre dai dati epigrafici, che divengono più consistenti a partire dai secoli II – III d. C. fino al V. Per esempio, sono attestati lavori artigianali specializzati, opifici e botteghe, attività professionali, e *collegia* organizzati di *plumbarii* a Siracusa, di mercanti e forse di tintori fenici a Mazara, di attori ancora a Siracusa, di armatori a Messina. Un gruppo omogeneo di iscrizioni è costituito dalle epigrafi delle catacombe siracusane, dove prevalgono mestieri e collegi spiccatamente cittadini, ma ugualmente utili per delineare la fisionomia di alcuni gruppi sociali attivi[22].

Quanto all'organizzazione della ricerca, è doveroso almeno un accenno. Attività largamente positiva, soprattutto nei decenni dal dopoguerra ad oggi, giudichiamo quella dedicata alla risistemazione della preistoria siciliana, in rapporto alle culture preistoriche del Mediterraneo e dell'Egeo, allo studio della cultura artistica greca dai secoli della colonizzazione fino ai grandi scontri tra Roma e Cartagine, oltre che alla nuova formulazione dei problemi dell'archeologia fenicio-punica. Poco, pochissimo s'è fatto nel campo dell'archeologia romana, dopo un accenno promettente che sembrò scaturire da qualche scavo (Alesa, Piazza Armerina, Agrigento, ecc.) e da alcuni studi (cataloghi dei sarcofagi e dei ritratti)[23]. Tranne alcune isolate ricerche tentate per il IV sec. d. C., soprattutto riguardo all'arte musiva, anche della Sicilia paleocristiana, bizantina e medioevale – salvo le indagini sistematiche nel settore orientale dell'isola[24] – si conosce ben poco, sebbene, dobbiamo riconoscerlo, rispetto a quello della Sicilia greca, codesto patrimonio sia fino ad oggi di molto inferiore per consistenza e qualità.

---

[19] E. Loewy, Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer, 1885, p. 259 n. 367, p. 336 n. 507.

[20] Tusa, p. 16 ss.; G. A. Mansuelli, Roma e il mondo romano, II, Torino 1981, p. 202.

[21] CIL X, 2 Berlino 1883, nn. 7039 e 7296; L. Bivona, Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1970, pp. 86 – 87, n. 74, tav. XLIV.

[22] A. Brugnone, in: I mestieri (Atti II Congr. Inter. St. Antropologici siciliani), Palermo 1980, p. 35 ss.

I. Da Augusto alla fine del II sec. d. C.

La decisiva battaglia navale di Nauloco (Bagni di Spadafora), combattuta nel settembre del 36 a. C. di fronte alla costa settentrionale della Sicilia, poco ad Est di Milazzo, tra le flotte di Agrippa e di Sesto Pompeo, segnò la brillante supremazia del primo e l'ascesa incontrastata di Ottaviano, definitivamente consolidatasi dopo la vittoria di Azio del 31 a. C., tanto da essere acclamato Augusto dal Senato e dal popolo romano qualche anno dopo[25].

Ancora una volta, la Sicilia usciva sconfitta politicamente e moralmente da una guerra di fazioni, estranea all'isola e portata nelle acque siciliane e sulla stessa terraferma, ed alla quale alcune città avevano troppo frettolosamente aderito forse confidando in qualche spiraglio di autonomia. Fatto sta che la reazione di Ottaviano fu pesantissima: una indennità in contanti di 1600 talenti, severe condanne per le città che gli avevano resistito, 30.000 schiavi catturati in parte restituiti ai proprietari e 6.000 di essi impalati, l'intera popolazione di Tauromenio deportata. Il risultato fu disastroso: città abbandonate, campagne incolte, proprietà terriere confiscate, ceti produttivi dispersi, vecchie costituzioni e sperimentate economie smantellate. La nuova amministrazione dell'Impero ereditò, dunque, un quadro del tutto negativo, cui tentò di dare, a partire dal 27 a. C., l'assetto ordinato di una provincia senatoria, sovrapponendovi poche strutture: la colonizzazione augustèa, iniziata da Tauromenio, con una capillare ripartizione delle terre ai veterani italici, e la concentrazione di capitali e di interessi in poche città, quasi tutte portuali, delle coste settentrionale e orientale[26].

---

[23] G. Carettoni, in: NSc 1959, p. 293 ss.; ibid. 1961, p. 266 ss.; G. V. Gentili in: NSc 1950, p. 291 ss.; Id., La villa Erculea di Piazza Armerina, Roma 1959; E. De Miro, in: RendLinc XII 1957, p. 135 ss. Per i sarcofagi si veda Tusa, per i ritratti Bonacasa.

[24] G. Agnello, I monumenti bizantini della Sicilia, Firenze 1952; Id., La pittura paleocristiana della Sicilia, Città del Vaticano 1952; Id., Le arti figurative nella Sicilia bizantina, Palermo 1962; S. L. Agnello, Il sarcofago di Adelphia, Città del Vaticano 1956; Id., in: XXVII Corso di cultura sull'Arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna, 9 – 18 Marzo 1980, p. 13 ss.; Id., in: RAC XXX 1954, p. 54 ss., e numerosi altri scritti.

[25] G. Manganaro, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 448 ss.

Se confrontiamo le notizie tramandateci da Cicerone da Strabone e da Plinio, pur rifiutando le tesi del primo, viziate da enfasi oratoria, ci si rende conto alla fine che le altre due fonti ci consentono di delineare una visione organica e unitaria della Sicilia della prima età imperiale e che questa visione non è certo positiva. In effetti, l'attesa della nuova provincia non trovò un reale e legittimo corrispettivo nella politica augustèa, che incominciò col disattendere sia la decisione di Cesare di concedere la cittadinanza latina alle comunità dell'isola, sia quella di Antonio, di concedere la cittadinanza romana. Unico risultato tangibile delle provvidenze e del viaggio del principe in Sicilia, nel 22 o 21 a. C., fu la deduzione di colonie a Siracusa, Catania, Tauromenio, Tindari, Termini Imerese, e infine Panormo; Lilibeo fu dedotta molto tempo dopo da Pertinace o da Settimio Severo[27]. Incentivi assai scarsi determinarono, pure, la creazione di municipi a Messina, Lipari e, tardivamente, a Lilibeo, oltre che ad Agrigento, Alesa e forse Enna; nonchè il riconoscimento del diritto latino e dell'immunità a Centuripe, Noto e Segesta. Tutte le altre città, tranne poche eccezioni, restarono stipendiarie, come erano sempre state fin dall'inizio della conquista romana, e l'elenco dei 68 comuni siciliani, fornitoci da Plinio (N. H., III,88,91), pure approssimativo, non sembra riportare fondamentali differenze rispetto alla sistemazione augustèa, dato che il controllo delle cifre presso Cicerone corrisponde con esattezza.

Conviene, a questo punto, sentire il parere del geografo Strabone (VI,2,2 – 8,10), fonte imparziale, attendibile e contemporanea, per avere cognizione dei centri siciliani attivi e dei territori frequentati nell'isola, intorno agli ultimi decenni del I sec. a. C. Ma è chiaro che Strabone riflette una situazione determinatasi già in precedenza, al cadere delle guerre servili, e mano mano aggravatasi fino al collasso. Nella parte orientale si contano, tra le più popolate, le città di Messina, Taormina, Centuripe, Catania e Siracusa e tra queste spicca per vitalità Catania; mentre Siracusa, colonia augustèa dal 21 a. C., tenta la ricostruzione della Neapolis prossima ad Ortigia. Lungo la costa meridionale della Sicilia, che risulta in abbandono, vengono ricordate soltanto Agrigento e Lilibeo. La costa settentrionale, scarsamente popolata, conserva alcuni insediamenti come Alesa e Tindari, e tra gli empori Cefalù e Panormo. Le vecchie colonie greche della Sicilia, scrive Strabone, sono scomparse e la maggior parte delle terre dell'interno, prive di abitanti, sono oggi abbandonate ai pastori ad eccezione di Enna e di Erice.

Se alla testimonianza di Strabone aggiungiamo i dati desumibili dalle iscrizioni greche e latine della Sicilia di età imperiale, il quadro negativo non muta, anzi si aggrava almeno fino all'età dei Severi. Giacchè è soltanto con l'inizio del III sec. d. C. che le epigrafi onorarie imperiali, soprattutto quelle dedicate alla dinastia dei Severi, diventano abbastanza numerose; mentre continuano a restare scarse le iscrizioni onorarie di magistrati romani o municipali, segno indiscutibile del non coinvolgimento della Sicilia nel tessuto delle cariche romane, nè metropolitane nè periferiche[28]. Saranno sufficienti alcuni esempi: Areius di Alessandria è *procurator* sotto Augusto; C. Vibius Salutaris, di Efeso, è preposto ai porti siciliani; A. Claudius Charax, di Pergamo, è *quaestor*; Martinianus di Cappadocia è governatore; africani sono M. Vettius Latro e T. Flavius Macer, procuratori sotto Adriano, e P. Septimius Geta e L. Septimius Severus, governatori dell'isola alla fine del II sec. d. C. La straordinaria povertà delle iscrizioni funerarie pagane e delle pochissime cristiane, sia greche sia latine, fa precipitare codesto quadro assai negativo; al quale bisogna aggiungere il particolare significativo che il numero dei liberti, in tutta l'epigrafia siciliana – come acutamente sottolinea L. Bivona[29] – è modestissimo, e ascende a poco più di una trentina: segno evidente che l'istituto della manumissione era applicato, in Sicilia, in misura limitatissima. Un brevissimo cenno sulla questione del rapporto tra il greco, prevalente nella Sicilia orientale e sud-orientale, ed il latino, diffuso maggiormente nella parte nord-occidentale. Anche se il greco che si parlava a Lilibeo, al tempo della questura di Cicerone in Sicilia, era un cattivo greco (Cic., Div. in Q. Caecilium 12,39), merita ricordare che Diodoro di Agirio scrisse nel I sec. a. C. la sua pur disordinata 'Biblioteca' in un greco fluente e che ancora nel II sec. d. C., Apuleio (Met. XI,5) chiama i Siciliani trilingui, perchè parlano greco, latino e punico. A noi sembra che anche questo dettaglio sia un indice della diffusa resistenza davanti alla latinizzazione promossa dai coloni romani[30].

---

[26] G. Manganaro, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, pp. 450 – 453; G. Clemente, ibid., pp. 465 – 468.
[27] G. Clemente, in: Sicilia antica, II, 2, pp. 467 – 469; si veda anche: Lilibeo, pp. 17, 134.

In conclusione, crediamo che si possa sostenere quanto segue. Dopo Nauloco e l'impatto della Sicilia con il potere imperiale e le poche provvidenze di Ottaviano-Augusto, è chiaro che siamo alle ultime grandi vicende dell'isola. Lo stesso Pace, che pure intende presentare un quadro ottimistico della Sicilia nel periodo romano, scrive apertamente che, come in ogni provincia dell'impero, „la storia della Sicilia è una pagina bianca“, e poco oltre precisa che la storia imperiale si compì al di fuori dell'isola[31]. Basterà ricordare due fatti sintomatici della lontananza politica, in cui era confinata la Sicilia: dal I al III secolo si registrano i nomi di 31 governatori, davvero pochi, e tre sole visite frettolose di imperatori in carica. Oltre ad Augusto, visitarono l'isola, soltanto Caligola e più tardi Adriano, nel 126, al ritorno dal suo primo viaggio nell'Impero, ed è per questo che le monete riportano il titolo di *restitutor Siciliae*. Dopo di loro, nell'isola, soggiornò L. Settimio Severo, ma in qualità di governatore, nel 189–190 d. C., prima di salire al potere[32].

---

[28] L. Bivona, op. cit., p. 14; G. Clemente, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 469; L. Cracco Ruggini, in: Città e contado, p. 494, nota 24.

[29] Bivona, op. cit., p. 14.

[30] Vedi supra, nota 7; O. Parlangeli, in: Kokalos V 1959, p. 62 ss.

[31] Pace, I^2, p. 309.

[32] F. Grosso, La lotta politica al tempo di Commodo, Torino 1964, p. 413 ss.; L. Cracco Ruggini, in: Città e contado, pp. 493–494, nota 24.

Se ci volgiamo ad esaminare i monumenti superstiti, ci accorgiamo che non sussiste contraddizione tra lo stato generale dell'isola, delineato nelle pagine precedenti, e la dislocazione, il numero e l'importanza dei resti.

Incominciamo dagli aspetti più rappresentativi della scultura romana, come il rilievo storico, che però in Sicilia conta pochi esempi. Il primo è un piccolo frammento con figure togate[33], purtroppo acefale, della primissima età imperiale, forse una scena sacrificale appartenuta ad un arco onorario augustèo che fungeva da accesso all'anfiteatro di Siracusa. Il noto frammento di rilievo del British Museum in Londra[34], già nella Collezione Townley, proveniente da Agrigento, con gli ipotetici ritratti di Gerone II e di Filistide, potrebbe rappresentare invece un flamine ed una Vestale, secondo un'ipotesi espressa di recente, e quindi appartenere alla produzione classicistica di età giulio-claudia. Al tempo dei Flavi, o poco oltre, sarebbe da attribuire un interessante rilievo, purtroppo lacunoso, conservato al Museo Regionale di Palermo (Tav. IX)[35], la cui provenienza è incerta (Raffadali?, Marina di Caronia?), che rappresenta una scena di offerta compiuta dalle Vestali, davanti ad un tempio, ed alla presenza di un personaggio togato, forse l'imperatore. Lo stile è corsivo ed alcuni dettagli sono ingenui, tanto che il Rizzo fu indotto a parlare di arte provinciale. Più tardi, dei primi decenni del II secolo, se non addirittura antoniniani, sono i frammenti di colonna coclide del Museo di Castello Ursino a Catania[36], con la rappresentazione di tre cavalieri davanti alla cinta turrita di una città. I reperti provengono dalla zona della Cattedrale, in prossimità delle antiche mura, ed è probabile che il monumento fosse stato eretto nel foro; la colonna onoraria doveva superare di poco i dieci metri di altezza ed era quindi simile a quelle romane ma di dimensioni assai inferiori. Alla fine del II sec. d. C. è da ascrivere un altro frammento di rilievo, a carattere cultuale, del Museo di Castello Ursino a Catania[37], che rappresenta Cibele davanti ad un tempio, che si è supposto locale.

Un capitolo abbastanza complesso è in Sicilia quello della ritrattistica ufficiale, documentata soprattutto nelle colonie augustèe e in poche altre città, dove il periodo iniziale dell'Impero segna un intenso incremento della scultura onoraria persino al di fuori delle serie dinastiche. E' questa l'occasione di richiamare quanto abbiamo precisato nella premessa, e cioè che i marmi scolpiti siciliani sono opera quasi tutti di botteghe romane, alcuni anche di buone botteghe metropolitane, e che pochissimi, certamente eseguiti sul posto, potrebbero essere assegnati ad officine locali. Sicchè, quando possibile, è questo significativo elemento che ci sforzeremo di individuare in alcuni ritratti di Siracusa e in pochi altri di Tindari e di Termini Imerese, che autorizzerebbero l'ipotesi di esigui gruppi di maestranze attive nell'isola.

---

[33] P. Orsi, in: NSc 1889, p. 385.

[34] Pace, II, p. 131, fig. 123; N. Bonacasa, in: Sikanie, p. 282, fig. 421.

[35] G. E. Rizzo, in: BullCom LX 1932, p. 41 ss.; Pace, II, p. 148, fig. 137.

[36] G. Libertini, in: ASSO XXIX 1933, p. 115 ss.; Id., Scritti su Catania antica, Catania 1981, pp. 57–58, tav. I, 1; Pace, II, p. 144, fig. 134; F. Coarelli, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 381.

[37] Pace, II, p. 148, nota 1, fig. 138.

Conviene incominciare col ricordo del c. d. Cesare della Biblioteca Zelantea di Acireale[38], presentato da E. Böhringer, e classificato da B. Schweitzer copia tiberiano-claudia di un ottimo ritratto urbano repubblicano del secondo terzo del I sec. a. C. Pur apprezzando la sapiente maestrìa posta nel rendimento dei particolari del volto e la sobrietà dello stile, è chiaro che dal punto di vista iconografico siamo ben lontani dalla fisionomia di Cesare, e quindi nessuna connessione è possibile col tempietto di Capo Mulini – come è stato ipotizzato di recente[39] – nè con l'episodio del salvataggio di Ottaviano durante uno degli scontri con Sesto Pompeo.

Più significativi sono i complessi di ritratti della famiglia giulio-claudia, concentrati a Siracusa, Centuripe, Tindari e Termini Imerese, che dovevano essere collocati in edifici pubblici, come la Casa degli Augustali di Centuripe. Il miglior ritratto di età augustèa conservato in Sicilia è quello di Augusto[40], dalla Casa degli Augustali di Centuripe al Museo di Siracusa (Inv. 50698) (Tav. I,2), per il caldo modellato del volto, per lo stile misurato ed eclettico, che non rinuncia nè alla maestà nè all'umanità del principe, che può essere collocato ipoteticamente negli anni anteriori alla nomina a Pontefice Massimo ed è senza dubbio opera di bottega urbana. Dai dintorni della Basilica di Tindari proviene un ritratto colossale di Augusto (Inv. 394) (Tav. I,1)[41], dalla espressione vibrante e protesa, attraverso la forte penetrazione dello sguardo e l'accentuato movimento delle labbra, dominati da uno stile di piena sensibilità ellenistica probabilmente innestato in una tradizione locale. Questa, del resto, ci sembra che riaffiori in diversi marmi del periodo:[42] una testa maschile colossale, ispirata all'iconografia dinastica giulio-claudia, rilavorata nei capelli e negli occhi nel II sec. d. C., proveniente dal teatro di Taormina e conservata a Palermo, nel Palazzo dei Principi Alliata di Villafranca; un accattivante ritratto giovanile, della metà del I sec. d. C., da Centuripe al Museo di Siracusa (Inv. 19232), che riecheggia, nell'espressività rude e nella struttura volumetrica del volto, immagini tardo-repubblicane; ed un contemporaneo ritratto di privato a Siracusa (Inv. 43925) (Tav. II,1), dall'alveo del fiume Marcellino, assai preciso nel rendimento plastico, con efficaci tendenze naturalistiche nel disegno della bocca e nel movimento della parte inferiore del volto.

La varietà e la qualità dei ritratti giulio-claudii risultano da numerosi altri marmi, che vale la pena segnalare. Dal ritratto di Tiberio a Termini Imerese (Inv. 129)[43], tettonicamente serrato e con le superfici del volto purtroppo levigate e deturpate, che sciupano molta della sua immediatezza, ma è chiaro che il carattere della testa non sfugge all'accademismo dei tipi *imperium maius* e varianti databili dal 13 d. C. in poi; ai due ritratti di principi giulio-claudii, uno da Tindari a Palermo (Inv. 706) e l'altro nell'Antiquarium Comunale di Centuripe[44], descrittivo e classicistico il marmo di Palermo, concentrato nella fisionomia e tagliente nello stile quello centuripino; ai noti ritratti di Druso Maggiore o Germanico e di Druso Minore da Centuripe a Siracusa (Inv. 50699 e 50697) (Tav. III,1–2)[45], incisivo ed asciutto il primo, permeato di linguaggio stilistico tiberiano il secondo; al raffinato e sensibile ritratto coronato di Nerone giovane o Caligola[46], purtroppo frammentario, dal sito del foro di Siracusa (Inv. 6383), forse immagine ufficiale del principe, se si tratta di Caligola, che visitò la città e ne fece restaurare le mura; al più che probabile riconoscimento di Claudio come Zeus, nella statua colossale seduta da Tindari al Museo di Palermo (Inv. 702), restaurata ed integrata dal Villareale[47]; per chiudere con lo splendido ritratto maschile claudio (Tav. II,2), che riproduce le fattezze di un privato, rinvenuto nella necropoli romana e bizantina di Via Plebiscito a Catania, straordinaria sintesi di componenti ellenistiche fuse con la richezza strutturale e la precisa analisi fisionomica di tradizione italica[48]. Un cenno a parte merita il ritratto giovanile neroniano, dalla Basilica della Villa romana del Casale all'Antiquarium di Piazza Armerina, non foss'altro che per essere stato ricondotto nell'alveo della ritrattistica giulio-claudia siciliana[49].

---

[38] Bonacasa, p. 28, n. 31, tav. XIV, 1–2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, pp. 75, 77–78.

[39] F. Coarelli, in: Sicilia antica, II, 2, p. 382.

[40] Bonacasa, p. 35, n. 37, tav. XVII, 1–2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, p. 253.

[41] Bonacasa, p. 36, n. 38, tav. XVII, 3–4; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, pp. 253–254.

[42] Bonacasa, p. 38, n. 42, tav. XIX, 1–2; pp. 50–51, n. 58, tav. XXVII, 12; p. 50, n. 57, tav. XXVI, 3–4.

[43] Bonacasa, p. 67, n. 84, tav. XXXVIII, 1–2; C. Saletti, in: Athenaeum XLIII 1965, p. 229; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, p. 245.

Grande interesse documentario, piuttosto che stilistico, rivestono alcuni ritratti femminili. Agrippina Maggiore è raffigurata due volte a Termini Imerese (Inv. 144 e 126) (Tav. IV,1) e forse nella statua da Tindari al Museo di Palermo (Inv. 698)[50], e, senza dubbio, il primo marmo termitano, pure accademico, si rivela superiore per la riuscita fisionomia e per il disegno dei capelli fluidi e movimentati, subito contenuti dalla metallica linearità del velo; Agrippina Minore ovvero una privata, che segue strettamente la moda dell'*Augusta*, ci viene incontro da un ritratto del Museo di Siracusa (Inv. 44154)[51], purtroppo in pessime condizioni, rinvenuto nel sito del foro della stessa città. Di notevole portata stilistica, nel novero dell'iconografia femminile giulio-claudia, sono i due ritratti di Antonia Minore, da Centuripe a Siracusa (Inv. 35829) e da Tindari a Palermo (Inv. 705), per la costruzione descrittiva e lucida della fisionomia e per la ricerca della forte personalità della bellissima madre di Claudio[52]. L'immagine di una dama anziana, forse da Centuripe, al Museo di Palermo (Inv. 11083), colpisce per il verismo dei particolari del volto nella tradizione del ritratto femminile della tarda età repubblicana, rivisitato forse da una bottega siciliana del tempo di Tiberio[53].

---

[44] Bonacasa, p. 40, n. 45, tav. XX, 3–4; pp. 42–43 n. 48, tav. XXII, 12; J. Ch. Balty, in: AntClass XXV 1966, pp. 532–534.

[45] Bonacasa, p. 41, n. 46, tav. XXI, 1–2; pp. 41–42, n. 47, tav. XXI, 3–4; Balty, art. cit., pp. 531–532; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, p. 254.

[46] Bonacasa, pp. 45–46, n. 52, tav. XXIV, 1–2; Balty, art. cit., p. 537.

[47] Bonacasa, p. 47, n. 54, tavv. XXV, 1–2; LXXIX, 1; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, p. 254.

[48] Bonacasa Carra, pp. 9–13, tavv. I–II.

[49] Bonacasa, pp. 51–52, n. 60, tav. XXVIII, 1–2.

[50] Bonacasa, p. 57, n. 69, tav. XXXII, 1–2; p. 59, n. 72, tav. XXXIII, 3–4; p. 58, n. 70, tavv. XXXII, 3–4; LXXXIX, 1; Balty, art. cit., pp. 538–539.

[51] Bonacasa, p. 56, n. 68, tav. XXXI, 3–4; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, p. 254.

A confronto dei ritratti maschili del tutto irrilevanti, il periodo dei Flavi ha dato origine in Sicilia ad una ristretta ma buona produzione di ritratti femminili. Tra essi spiccano quello di Domizia Longina, moglie di Domiziano, da Tindari al Museo di Palermo (Inv. 705), e quelli di due dame dell'alta borghesia flavia, da Centuripe a Siracusa (Inv. 33263) e dalla Villa del Casale all'Antiquarium di Piazza Armerina, che denotano una straordinaria assimilazione del tipo iconografico ufficiale nella ritrattistica privata[54]. Al tardo periodo flavio va assegnata la maestosa statua-ritratto femminile dal ginnasio romano di Siracusa (Inv. 697) (Tav. IV,2), la cui alta caratterizzazione fisionomica, malgrado qualche scadimento di tono nella generale finezza dell'esecuzione, non ha confronti[55]. Probabilmente locale, e appartenuto forse ad un rilievo, riteniamo un imperioso ritratto maschile di Siracusa (Inv. 37100), da noi presentato come Nerva, ma senza fortuna[56]. E locale è da ritenere il volitivo busto femminile del Museo Civico di Termini Imerese (Inv. 127), forse il più caratteristico ritratto femminile borghese rinvenuto in Sicilia, che per il classicismo sia pure esteriore del suo stile va assegnato al tardo periodo traianèo[57]. Ad uno splendido ritratto di Traiano appartenne il frammento conservato a Siracusa (Inv. 767), forse rinvenuto nel teatro[58].

Di più difficile lettura, proprio perchè più esiguo, si fa il panorama della ritrattistica adrianea e antoniniana, sia per lo squilibrio tra effigi dinastiche e private, sia per la discontinuità fra ritratti maschili e ritratti femminili. Incominciamo, col segnalare il ritratto colossale di Adriano, nell'Antiquarium di Centuripe (Tav. V,1)[59], con corona di alloro e diadema, che dipende da un ottimo archetipo ufficiale metropolitano, benchè la fisionomia intenta e severa sia qui dilatata e sciupata dalla monumentalità. Da Siracusa proviene un interessante busto-ritratto di Vibia Sabina (Inv. 72699) (Tav. V,2)[60], moglie dell'imperatore Adriano, opera a carattere ufficiale, idealizzata e di pregevole fattura, che si potrebbe attribuire ad una bottega genericamente isolana, e fors'anche siracusana, ispirata dalle immagini metropolitane di Sabina-Augusta assimilata ad Hera. Una curiosa effigie di Antinoo-Dioniso (o Antinoo-

---

[52] Bonacasa, p. 60, n. 73, tav. XXXIV, 1–2; pp. 60–61, n. 74, tav. XXXIV, 3–4.

[53] Bonacasa, p. 61, n. 75, tav. XXXV, 1–2.

[54] Bonacasa, pp. 70–71, n. 89, tav. XL, 3–4; p. 71, n. 90, tav. XLI, 12; Bonacasa Carra, pp. 14–17, tavv. IV–V.

[55] Bonacasa, pp. 72–73, n. 92, tav. XLII, 1–2; XCI, 3.

[56] Bonacasa, p. 74, n. 93, tav. XLII, 3–4; Balty, art. cit., p. 539; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., I, p. 255.

[57] Bonacasa, pp. 79–80, n. 100, tav. XLVI, 1–2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 201.

[58] Bonacasa, p. 75, n. 94, tav. XLIII, 1–2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 201.

[59] Bonacasa, p. 82, n. 103, tav. XLVII, 1–2.

[60] Bonacasa Carra, pp. 18–21, tavv. VII–VIII.

Sobazio)[61], il favorito di Adriano, abbiamo in un busto, che ci è pervenuto in pessime condizioni, coperto da un velo trasparente e incoronato da una doppia fila di alloro; il marmo, certo di provenienza siciliana, è ora nel Museo di Agrigento. Nel ginnasio romano di Siracusa, come la grande statua iconica femminile flavia, fu pure rinvenuta la monumentale statua-ritratto togata (Inv. 698) (Tav. VI,2) forse di un magistrato vissuto al tempo di Adriano, dalla testa troneggiante e il volto rude, dove i particolari non rinunciano a colti schemi decorativi[62]. Il più bel marmo che abbia reso la Sicilia nel campo dell'iconografia romana imperiale è senza dubbio il ritratto di un privato da Partinico al Museo di Palermo (Inv. 1532) (Tav. VI,1), dalla solida costruzione, possente nella maschera del volto, pronto nella concentrazione dello sguardo e nel movimento della bocca, finemente chiaroscurato nelle masse pelose, da assegnare al 140 d. C. e fors'anche i primissimi anni del regno di Antonino Pio[63].

Gli ultimi decenni del II sec. d. C. non consentono osservazioni di sorta. Dal foro di Alesa proviene una statua-ritratto togata[64], purtroppo in pessime condizioni, che si colloca alla fine del regno di Marco Aurelio, forse un magistrato o altra autorità, nobile nella figura, il volto lungo e affilato, la barba fluente espressa coloristicamente. Alla tarda età antoniniana appartiene la statua-ritratto in costume isiaco, da Taormina al Museo di Palermo (Inv. 704)[65], che raffigura una fanciulla con chitone e mantello frangiato annodato sul petto, dall'ovale del volto pieno e pulito. Un probabile ritratto di Faustina Maggiore (Inv. 50696) e il ritratto di Faustina Minore (Inv. 743) sono conservati al Museo di Siracusa[66], ma sono opere mediocri e si ricordano soltanto per il dato iconografico, non per la qualità dello stile. Tra il regno di Marco Aurelio e quello di Commodo si collocano due ritratti femminili di Siracusa (Inv. 50693 e 41702)[67]. Il primo, per l'alta caratterizzazione fisionomica, lo si potrebbe associare in via ipotetica alle immagini giovanili di Annia Faustina, nipote di Marco, poi sposa in terze nozze dell'imperatore Elagabalo; il marmo, comunque, si impone per l'espressione serena e sorridente e per il movimento aggraziato della testa. Il secondo ritratto effigia una privata dalla fisionomia dura e volgare, gli occhi piccoli nelle grandi arcate, le labbra strette, i capelli fitti e appiattiti, riportati indietro e serrati da un nodo, e si presenta come un'acuta immagine borghese e provinciale, quasi certamente scolpita a Siracusa.

Vanno segnalate, inoltre, numerose statue togate maschili, purtroppo acefale, concentrate soprattutto a Siracusa ed a Tindari, poche altre provengono da Centuripe e da Termini Imerese[68]. Gli schemi iconografici sono tra i più svariati e qualche volta risentono di echi ellenistici, lo stile del panneggio illustra tutte le fasi comprese tra il decorativismo lineare di età giulio-claudia, il modellato ampio e chiaroscurale di periodo flavio, e la sostenuta plasticità, a volte anche aulica, dei togati traianei e adrianei. Nei panneggi delle statue iconiche femminili prevalgono linearismo formale e solida compostezza della struttura, ereditati dagli stessi archetipi classici, scelti per codesto tipo di statuaria prevalente a Siracusa, e meno documentata a Centuripe, Tindari e Termini Imerese, attraverso una serie di buone copie romane[69]. Nelle due categorie di sculture appena sopra ricordate non è avvertibile una coesistenza di indirizzi urbani e locali, per cui l'intera produzione essenzialmente conservativa deve essere assegnata a botteghe italiane.

---

[61] Bonacasa, p. 88, n. 111, tav. LI, 1–2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 201.

[62] Bonacasa, p. 85, n. 108, tavv. XLIX, 3–4; LXXXVII, 1.

[63] Bonacasa, p. 85, n. 109, tav. L, 1–2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 201.

[64] Bonacasa, p. 95, n. 120, tavv. LV, 3–4; LXXXVII, 2; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 202.

[65] Bonacasa, p. 100, n. 128, tavv. LVIII, 3–4; XCII, 4.

[66] Bonacasa, pp. 102–103, n. 132, tav. LX, 3–4; p. 103, n. 133, tav. LXI, 1–2; Balty, art. cit., pp. 539–540.

[67] Bonacasa, pp. 103–104, n. 134, tav. LXI, 3–4; pp. 104–105, n. 135, tav. LXII, 1–2.

Del resto, anche i documenti della scultura 'colta' nella Sicilia di età imperiale, pure assai limitati, non presentano sostanziali differenze rispetto ai prodotti della penisola; ed il panorama non muta anche estendendo l'esame ai piccoli monumenti, come le urnette marmoree[70]. Si tratta per lo più di copie romane della piena età imperiale, derivate da originali ellenistici comunque noti in Sicilia, nella scia di una tradizione coltivata dalla committenza isolana, che ha saputo piegare la produzione alle esigenze più svariate. Deriva da un originale di notevoli qualità la statua di Ade-Plutone ritrovata a Siracusa[71], che è una ripresa forse traianea di un tema ellenistico elaborato in ambiente insulare. La grande testa barbata di Zeus, rinvenuta a Siracusa[72], secondo alcuni presso l'ara di Gerone e secondo altri nell'anfiteatro, è una splendida copia romana di età antoniniana avanzata che riprende la maniera artistica dei prodotti del barocco pergameno. Da un raffinato originale ellenistico, della seconda metà del II secolo, che a sua volta era una ripresa colta di un prototipo del IV sec. a. C., deriva la statua acefala di Asclepio, copia imperiale di ottima fattura, rinvenuta ad Agrigento e conservata nel Museo di Palermo[73]. La grandiosa statua di Zeus, in piedi, proveniente da Tindari e ora a Palermo[74], largamente restaurata dal Villareale e completata forse non senza fondamento come Zeus Urios, è scultura romana che riproduce un tipo ellenistico di tradizione barocca certo non ignoto a Siracusa. Un'eccezionale statua di vecchio pescatore del Museo di Siracusa[75], soggetto di genere raffinato, di gusto tutto alessandrino, da riconnettere con un originale dell'ultimo ventennio del III sec. a. C., è finalmente entrata in Sicilia soltanto ad opera della committenza romana colta. Ad officine urbane è da assegnare il gruppo di statue monumentali che decorava la scena del teatro di Tauromenio (una Niobide, una testa di Venere, una di divinità femminile, forse Diana, un grande ritratto di principe giulio-claudio, quello che abbiamo ricordato in precedenza, e diverse altre sculture decorative comprese alcune teste per statue iconiche maschili augustee e antoniniane)[76]. E, per concludere, la più celebre scultura 'colta' della Sicilia imperiale: l'Afrodite Landolina di Siracusa, ottima copia del II sec. d. C., lavorata a veduta diretta dell'originale rodio-asiatico databile alla prima metà del II sec. a. C., importato o eseguito direttamente a Siracusa come statua di culto, votata nel santuario di Afrodite secondo un aneddoto dei giambografi Kerkidas e Archelaos[77].

---

[68] BONACASA, p. 133ss., nn. 177–183; 185–207; 208–214, tav. LXXIXss.

[69] BONACASA, p. 152ss., nn. 215–234, tav. LXXXIXss.

[70] NSc 1881, p. 68ss.; 1882, p. 85; 1883, p. 381; 1884, p. 163; F. COARELLI, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 381, nota 62 con bibl.

[71] N. BONACASA, in: Sikanie, p. 298, fig. 319.

[72] N. BONACASA, in: Sikanie, p. 298, fig. 332.

[73] N. BONACASA, in: Sikanie, pp. 298–307, fig. 326.

[74] N. BONACASA, in: Sikanie, p. 307, fig. 335.

[75] N. BONACASA, in: Sikanie, p. 307, fig. 336.

Da un rapido esame della distribuzione dei sarcofagi, posto che la loro origine coincida con l'ultimo impiego pure siciliano, è facile rilevare che, nel tempo, il maggior numero di esemplari ruota attorno a Palermo, nell'area palermitana e nella fascia costiera settentrionale, seguono poi i gruppi di Agrigento, Siracusa, Messina e Catania. L'intera produzione si colloca tra la seconda metà del II e l'inizio del IV sec. d. C. con sparute presenze nei secoli V e VI[78]. Per il periodo che a noi ora interessa, vanno segnalate tre sole importazioni attiche, segno della loro notevole dispersione in ambienti di antica cultura greca, dove, piuttosto che testimoniare un fenomeno commerciale, essi assolvono ad una funzione di trasmissione di motivi culturali graditi alla committenza[79]. Nuova e raffinata sensibilità classicistica ci attestano, dunque, il notissimo sarcofago di Fedra, ora a S. Nicola di Agrigento, di eccezionale drammaticità (Tav. X,1)[80]; il sarcofago con Meleagro nella chiesa di S. Agata la Vetere a Catania[81], ed il frammento con Achille dell'Antiquarium di Tauromenio[82]. Derivazione da sarcofago attico, probabilmente imitato a Roma, è il bell'esemplare di Agrigento, della seconda metà del II sec. d. C. con la morte di un fanciullo (Tav. X,2)[83]. Ad eccezione del gruppo di sarcofagi catanesi in pietra lavica, sicuramente locali; forme, tipologie e iconografie dei sarcofagi siciliani sono occidentali, e più precisamente romane. Buon prodotto classicistico, di età tardo-adrianea, può essere considerata la cassa con tiaso dionisiaco della Cattedrale di Sclafani[84]; e alla metà del II secolo va assegnato il sarcofago con Amazzonomachia della Cattedrale di Mazara, unitario nel disegno di alto livello artistico, malgrado il pessimo stato di conservazione[85]. E, infine, a maestranze discendenti dalla scuola della Colonna di Marco Aurelio dobbiamo il sarcofago con battaglia tra Romani e barbari del Museo di Palermo (Tav. XI,1), assai importante per le deformazioni ardite delle teste a fini espressivi[86].

---

[76] E. Gabrici, in: MonAnt XLI 1951, coll. 677–678.

[77] N. Bonacasa, in: Sikanie, pp. 295–296, fig. 339.

[78] Tusa, pp. 13–14, 205.

[79] A. Giuliano, Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici (Studia archaeologica 4), Roma 1962, pp. 20–21.

[80] Pace, II, p. 144, fig. 133; Tusa, pp. 21–27, n. 1, tavv. I–IX; A. Giuliano, op. cit., p. 60 n. 368; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 202.

[81] Tusa, pp. 39–41, n. 10, tav. XXI; A. Giuliano, op. cit., p. 66 n. 424.

[82] Tusa, pp. 195–196, n. 97, tav. CXXVIII, fig. 238; A. Giuliano, p. 60 n. 369.

[83] E. De Miro, in: Kokalos XXII–XXIII 1976–1977 (Atti IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia antica II, 1), pp. 426–427, tav. XXII; Id., La Valle dei Templi di Agrigento, Novara 1983, pp. 70–73.

[84] Tusa, pp. 166–172, n. 79, tavv. CIV–CVII; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 202.

Un discorso a parte meritano la pittura e il mosaico, che contano tra le categorie monumentali peggio documentate nella Sicilia di età imperiale. Se del mosaico sono giunte fino a noi alcune testimonianze, e certo non le più importanti, davvero pochi si può dire che siano i documenti conservati della pittura, e questi stessi, con imperdonabile negligenza, restano tuttora inediti, per cui la nostra conoscenza della pittura di III e IV stile in Sicilia è del tutto insufficiente. Le cause di tanta umiliante scarsezza sono almeno due. La ininterrotta frequenza dei siti di tradizione ellenistica – come Siracusa, Lilibeo, Centuripe e Catania, e di fatto, a Siracusa, la più importante città della Sicilia, non sono noti finora complessi di I sec. d. C. – e si tratta di siti che a partire dalla prima età imperiale sono stati sottoposti a modifiche spesso radicali ed a continui rifacimenti. La seconda causa è da individuare nell'abbandono in cui caddero altri centri siciliani, già importanti nell'ellenismo e poi scarsamente popolati in età augustèa fino al loro totale abbandono nel II sec. d. C. (Camarina, Megara Iblea, Morgantina, Eraclea Minoa, Iaitai, Solunto)[87].

Volgiamoci ora ad esaminare i pochi monumenti superstiti, che appartengono tutti, ovviamente, al patrimonio decorativo delle case. A Solunto, grazie ad uno studio abbastanza recente compiuto da stranieri[88], sappiamo che nella seconda metà del I sec. d. C. molte decorazioni parietali furono quasi completamente rifatte, come suggerisce l'esame di alcuni ambienti della Casa di Leda (*oecus*, cubicolo ovest e triclinio). Inoltre, sempre a Solunto, un esempio di ottima decorazione di III stile, tardo-augustèa, troviamo nel grande ambiente ad Ovest del cubicolo nella casa a peristilio all'estremità nord della strada principale; e pure di III stile è almeno la bella parete est di un *oecus* del c. d. Ginnasio.

La nostra rassegna dei mosaici in bianco e nero muoverà dalle principali città costiere, premettendo che questa tecnica, sviluppatasi in Italia ed anche nell'Africa Proconsolare nei secoli I–II d. C., in Sicilia non ebbe grande fortuna. Anzi, come vedremo, nel corso del II secolo si affermeranno nell'isola le nuove tecniche musive policrome, mediate dall'Africa, che da noi si svilupperanno prima e con maggiore fortuna che nella penisola italiana[89].

L'unico complesso conservato è quello della lussuosa villa, con annesso edificio termale, di Castroreale Bagni, in località San Biagio, poco ad Est di Tindari[90]. E' possibile riconoscervi almeno due fasi, una tardo-repubblicana e l'altra proto-imperiale, che oggi si tende a portare agli ultimi decenni del I sec. d. C.; addirittura, della prima metà del II secolo sarebbe l'unico mosaico figurato con scena di pesca, che orna il frigidario, probabilmente eseguito da botteghe locali. Gli ambienti 1, 2, 3 della villa hanno ricchi pavimenti a mosaico in bianco e nero, ed un bel pavimento a piastrelle esagonali marmoree, listato da mosaici geometrici, orna il c. d. *tablinum*. Si colloca intorno alla metà del I sec. d. C. la decorazione musiva della Casa B dell'*Insula* IV di Tindari[91], con pavimenti a mosaico adorni di semplici e ordinati motivi geometrici, forse in parte realizzati da maestranze siciliane; mentre il motivo dell'agile capra in nero, saltante in campo bianco, del vano 6, è di ispirazione romana. Tutti i reperti di Taormina si datano tra il tardo I secolo e il decorso del II d. C.[92]. Oltre ad alcuni grandi e raffinati pavimenti geometrici – di Via Cappuccini, di Salita Santippo e di Via Pirandello, la cui ricostruzione è stata tentata di recente dalla BOESELAGER – dobbiamo ricordare pure pochi frammenti di quadri figurati a mosaico, tra cui spicca per ingenua freschezza, ma anche per sommarietà di stile, l'*emblema* di Licurgo su un fondo di aggressivi quadrati neri e rombi bianchi, congiunti per le punte. All'inizio del II secolo risale pure il composito pavimento in bianco e nero delle terme di Solunto, oggi pressocchè distrutto, ed a noi noto da un disegno del 1872[93]. I pavimenti delle terme dell'*Insula* IV di Tindari pare che scendano alla fine del II o al principio del III secolo: sia i mosaici del piccolo *tepidarium* sia quelli del grande *tepidarium* con Dioniso-Bacco, pantera, Satiri e *kantharoi*; mentre di pieno III sarebbero le scene figurate del *frigidarium*[94].

---

[85] Tusa, pp. 64–70, n. 29, tavv. XXVIII–XL.

[86] Tusa, pp. 155–157, n. 74, tavv. XCII–XCVII.

[87] F. Coarelli, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, pp. 383–384; G. Clemente, ibid., p. 471.

[88] M. De Vos, in: BABesch L 1975, p. 195ss.

[89] Boeselager, p. 194.

[90] Boeselager, pp. 90–97, tavv. XXVI–XXVIII, fig. 55.

Nel corso del II sec. d. C., lo abbiamo detto, compaiono e si infittiscono i documenti del mosaico policromo ornamentale, a volte anche decorato con le prime timide rappresentazioni figurate, gli uni e le altre da riconnettere con il repertorio africano. Benchè i rapporti della Sicilia con l'Africa Proconsolare, nel campo dell'arte musiva, siano divenuti continui e proficui dopo un secolo circa, al tempo delle ville di Piazza Armerina, Patti ed Eloro, sta il fatto che questo nuovo stile policromo è stato recepito in Sicilia prima che in Italia. Resta tuttora aperto il problema se per i nostri mosaici di II e III secolo siano stati impiegati cartoni africani o se in Sicilia abbiano lavorato maestranze africane itineranti. Per il momento giudichiamo corrette le riserve avanzate dalla BOESELAGER. Se con la prima possibilità contrastano la scarsa diffusione e la diseguale omogeneità degli schemi geometrici, alla seconda alternativa si opporrebbe la non alta qualità delle raffigurazioni, certo non allo stesso livello degli esemplari africani analoghi[95].

Richiameremo l'attenzione su alcuni casi. Il mosaico con Europa, realizzato in uno stile approssimativo alla fine del II secolo, dalle pendici dell'acropoli di Lipari (via Umberto I)[96]. Tra la fine del II e gli inizi del III secolo si dispongono alcuni mosaici agrigentini, rinvenuti nel Quartiere ellenistico-romano di S. Nicola: nella Casa delle Svastiche, con l'esile ed elegante motivo che ripartisce il campo; nella Casa della Gazzella, il cui imponente tappeto con schemi geometrici svariati quasi soffoca il prezioso *emblema* in *vermiculatum* con una gazzella alla fonte, di chiara tradizione ellenistica (Tav. XIV,3); nella fantasiosa imitazione dei „segati di marmo" variegato, ripartiti in fitti esagoni, della Casa del Maestro Astrattista[97]. E press'a poco nello stesso torno di tempo si datano i sei ben noti pannelli del Museo Regionale di Siracusa[98], tutti provenienti dai dintorni della Stazione Ferroviaria, più tradizionali senza dubbio, meno estrosi ed anche meno corsivi di quelli agrigentini. Fatto curioso è che l'elaborato e vivacissimo schema ottagonale – riempito con due quadrati ad incrocio, resi con trecce, e nel campo interno una raffinata rosetta – che troviamo in un ambiente della Casa della Gazzella ad Agrigento è del tutto simile al motivo rinvenuto a Centuripe, e poichè i confronti non si limitano al solo particolare da noi segnalato, c'è da chiedersi come mai Centuripe gravitasse nella sfera agrigentina[99].

---

[91] BOESELAGER, p. 84ss., tavv. E, XXIV – XXV.

[92] BOESELAGER, p. 103ss., tav. XXIX, fig. 59; pp. 105 – 109, tavv. XXXII – XXXIV.

[93] BOESELAGER, pp. 83 – 84, tav. XXIII.

[94] BOESELAGER, pp. 114 – 127, tavv. XXXVI – XL.

[95] BOESELAGER, pp. 194 – 195.

[96] BOESELAGER, pp. 132 – 133, tav. XLI, fig. 82.

Benchè il numero dei ritrovamenti musivi policromi nell'entroterra siciliano e anche lungo le coste sia esiguo e la dispersione dei reperti non consenta di cogliere specifiche affinità, e benchè in alcuni centri continui a prevalere lo stile tradizionale in bianco e nero, come a Taormina, crediamo tuttavia di potere ipotizzare per la Sicilia, nei secoli II e III d. C., l'attività di gruppi di maestranze specializzate, per gran parte locali e altre direttamente influenzate dai grandi opifici dell'Africa.

In conclusione, se guardiamo alle sculture ed ai mosaici, tranne pochi monumenti in cui è possibile cogliere piena padronanza tecnica e alta qualità di stile, nella maggior parte dei casi siamo di fronte ad un numero di opere sicuramente importate tutte di livello medio e ad una scarsa produzione locale. Questo fatto è indizio chiaro di una marginalità culturale dell'isola, fenomeno non nuovo, del resto, se si pone mente alla grave crisi scoppiata nel I sec. a. C., dopo le guerre servili. La ripresa augustèa fu temporanea, e durante l'alto Impero la Sicilia appare già isolata. Quando, poi, a partire dall'epoca flavia la funzione annonaria dell'isola andò rarefacendosi, e di conseguenza il ruolo strategico ed il significato politico si appannarono, e continuò il processo di concentrazione della grande proprietà fondiaria a conduzione schiavile in mano all'aristocrazia romano-italica, è facile avvertire un'accentuata stagnazione sociale e produttiva[100]. Per contro, si ingigantiva lo sviluppo economico e sociale della grande borghesia africana, i cui interessi fondiari e mercantili erano pure in Sicilia, ed i cui ideali venivano esaltati nelle arti figurative e, in particolare, nel mosaico.

---

[97] E. De Miro, in: Rend Linc XII 1957, p. 135ss.; Boeselager, p. 138, tav. XLV, fig. 89; p. 135ss., tavv. XLIII – XLIV, fig. 87; p. 138ss., tav. XLVI, fig. 91; E. De Miro, Valle dei Templi cit., p. 75.

[98] Boeselager, pp. 154 – 160, tavv. LII – LIV.

[99] Boeselager, pp. 142, 195.

[100] M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., pp. 342 – 344.

II. Il III secolo d. C.

Questo secolo di crisi evidenzia dovunque il disordine e la miseria che dominarono in tutto l'Impero romano. Contraddittoriamente, esso investe solo in parte la Sicilia, giacchè questo è il momento in cui verso l'isola si rivolge l'attenzione dell'Urbe determinando alcuni esiti socio-economici favorevoli. Cresce il numero dei senatori romani proprietari di grandi patrimoni fondiari nel Meridione della penisola e in Sicilia, e l'isola diviene pure sosta obbligata lungo le rinnovate rotte commerciali per l'Africa, dove la stessa nobiltà romana possedeva beni immobili e interessi. Ma accanto ai possedimenti privati, anche quelli imperiali, nel III secolo, sembrano acquistare un rilievo assai maggiore nell'isola[101].

Senza volere affrontare i temi della politica di Settimio Severo, certo è che la protezione concessa ai contadini e al proletariato urbano contro la classe dominante e l'amministrazione centrale, se non fu una vera e propria scelta politica contro la città, determinò senza dubbio la ripresa dei ceti meno abbienti. Vero è che, con la militarizzazione del principato, l'esercito raggiunse indiscusso potere e notevole influenza politica, ed era alle porte un'altra grave frattura tra le classi; ma la vittoria dei contadini sulla borghesia urbana, determinatasi nei secoli III e IV, fu completa e venne a cessare il predominio della città sulla campagna[102].

In Sicilia, nel corso del III secolo, anche se la documentazione letteraria ed epigrafica è assai scarsa, si può assistere ad un lento ma progressivo processo di rivitalizzazione delle campagne, che è stato interpretato come una trasformazione del metodo di conduzione agraria, da schiavistico a colonario, un processo di transizione e di ristrutturazione delle terre che raggiungerà il suo apice con i latifondi organizzati di cui faranno parte le grandi *villae* di lusso del IV secolo. Di nuovo, nell'isola, l'economia dell'Impero tornava a fondarsi sull'agricoltura; questa volta con la costituzione dei grandi domini agrari, dove le *villae* oltre ad assolvere al compito di residenze aristocratiche erano veri e propri centri di gestione delle aziende. I grandi proprietari, sia dell'antica aristocrazia, i *clarissimi*, sia delle nuove classi di potere emerse nel corso del III sec. d. C., accumulavano disponibilità di terre rimediando al restringimento delle aree specializzate coltivabili. Il III secolo, dunque, segnò in Sicilia un accentuato distacco tra città e campagna, sempre più sentito a favore della campagna, dove molti uomini andavano alla ricerca di nuove difese. Così, i liberi lavoratori si trasformavano facilmente in coloni legati alla terra, e coloni diventavano pure molti proprietari minori, i quali cedevano i loro fondi ai grandi possessori in cambio di protezione (*patrocinium potentiorum*) obbligandosi a prestazioni e servizi, oltre che al normale versamento del tributo[103]. Si estendeva rapidamente, così, il sistema del colonato libero, pieno di tensioni e di contraddizioni, che doveva avere già acquistato spazio cospicuo sui latifondi siciliani accanto alla manodopera servile fin dal II sec. d. C., come del resto in Italia e in Africa. Ciò non vuol dire che il lavoro schiavile sia cessato: Gallieno, fra il 258 e il 261, avrebbe domato non senza fatica una sorta di *bellum servile* che devastava le campagne della Sicilia, e, al tempo di Melania Iuniore, cioè alle soglie del V secolo, troviamo in Sicilia svariate centinaia di *servi agricultores* disseminati nelle *villulae* rustiche del patrimonio dei Valerii[104].

---

[101] M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., pp. 334ss., 348ss.; E. Gabba, in: Città e contado, p. 524ss.

[102] M. Rostovzev, Storia economica e sociale dell'Impero romano (tad. it.), Firenze 1965, pp. 463ss., 493ss.

Per richiamare l'attenzione degli studiosi sui problemi socio-economici dell'isola e per avviare un serio discorso storico-archeologico, fu organizzata a Palermo, dal 2 al 4 dicembre 1982, un'importante riunione scientifica patrocinata dall'Istituto Siciliano per la Storia Antica sul tema: 'Città e contado in Sicilia fra il III e il IV sec. d. C.'. I risultati sono pubblicati nella rivista 'Kokalos', XXVIII – XXIX 1982 – 1983, pp. 315 – 543, ma qui vale la pena ricordarne alcuni in rapidissima sintesi.

Incominciamo con l'esame di un'attività specializzata dell'agrigentino, il commercio dello zolfo. La prosperità delle classi medie, sviluppatesi accanto alle famiglie di personaggi politici di rango, deve essere stata legata alla produzione dello zolfo, proficuamente attiva dopo la metà del II sec. d. C. e con punte massime di ricchezza nel corso del III secolo, sotto il controllo del monopolio imperiale, per esaurirsi dopo i primi decenni del IV secolo. In coincidenza del periodo suddetto, notiamo ad Agrigento un numero rilevante di case medie e di lusso, la decisiva affermazione dei mosaici pavimentali policromi rapportati al Nord Africa, la richiesta di alcuni sarcofagi costosissimi e la monumentalizzazione della necropoli romana, indizi chiari di una committenza facoltosa. Una volta esauritosi il commercio dello zolfo, gli interessi economici agrigentini si concentrano sulla campagna[105]. Buona parte del territorio della Sicilia centro-meridionale appare ricco, già nel III secolo, di insediamenti rurali, alcuni di lunga durata fino all'età bizantina, altri inglobati ben presto nei latifondi che andavano nascendo e che si affermeranno nel IV secolo, mentre il tessuto sociale agrigentino si attivava con l'apporto del Cristianesimo: sepolture ipogeiche, strutture catacombali, una basilichetta paleocristiana monoabsidata, forse una *memoria* eretta in età costantiniana nel luogo del martirio dei Santi Pellegrino e Libertino, morti sotto la persecuzione di Valeriano e di Gallieno[106].

E' l'occasione, questa, per precisare che la presenza di comunità cristiane organizzate in Sicilia verrebbe a coincidere con la ripresa economica che caratterizza l'isola a partire dall'età dei Severi, quando lo sviluppo dei centri siciliani più importanti si annuncia parallelo a quello delle città dell'Africa[107].

---

[103] V. D'Alessandro, in: ArchStSir N. S. 5 1978 – 79 (1981), p. 724; Id., L'Italia del Medioevo, Roma 1985, pp. 7 – 21; M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., pp. 344ss.

[104] L. Cracco Ruggini, in: Città e contado, p. 486.

[105] E. De Miro, in: Città e contado, pp. 319 – 326.

[106] E. De Miro, in: Città e contado, pp. 326 – 329; R. M. Bonacasa Carra, ibid., pp. 411 – 414.

La parte orientale dell'isola, sia nella regione camarinese che lungo la costa, seguendo la strada Agrigento-Siracusa, sia sull'altipiano ibleo, offre un quadro non dissimile ma non così fitto di centri importanti – Caucana è uno di essi sul mare – e di insediamenti rurali minori sia nel territorio di Lentini e Carlentini, sia nella zona centro-meridionale della provincia di Catania. Anche nelle città (a Catania, e poi a Siracusa, sede ufficiale del governatore, ed a Centuripe, florido centro agricolo dell'entroterra etneo) si riscontrano indizi cronologicamente paralleli di crescita – per il numero e la qualità dei reperti – nell'edilizia pubblica e privata, nella decorazione delle case, nei monumenti funerari, già a partire dagli inizi del III secolo[108].

Il censimento effettuato finora nella Sicilia occidentale ha individuato insediamenti agricoli e commerciali lungo il percorso costiero Agrigento-Lilibeo, nei dintorni di Mazara e nella stessa città, ed a Sciacca (*Aquae Labodes* o *Thermae Selinuntinae*), le terme, appunto, che sorsero lungo la grande arteria meridionale di collegamento terrestre, oltre che in prossimità di Lilibeo. Qui, a Marsala, dopo il II sec. d. C. si rileva un'intensa attività edilizia che tende a crescere con la costituzione della *Colonia Helvia Augusta Lilybitanorum*, che fece di Lilibeo una tappa obbligata sul percorso Roma-Africa e nel III secolo procurò alla colonia rinnovata prosperità economica[109]. In sostanza, persistente vitalità rivelano i centri portuali di Palermo, Termini e Lilibeo, certo protetti dalla famiglia „africana“ dei Severi, come ci attestano le numerose iscrizioni dedicatorie[110], e perchè non va dimenticato che in Sicilia erano stati proconsoli sia Settimio Severo, sia suo fratello Geta. Un indizio dell'importanza delle tre città può essere colto nella lunga attività di un'influente famiglia senatoria radicata nell'isola, i *Maesii Fabii Titiani*, i cui rami troviamo in tutta la Sicilia occidentale e che nel V secolo riuscì pure ad imparentarsi con i *Symmachi* ed i *Caeionii*[111].

Parallelamente al fenomeno di ripresa economica, che abbiamo delineato con rapidità, si può rilevare, rispetto al secolo precedente, la circolazione di un buon numero di monumenti già a partire dai primi decenni del III secolo. Codesta crescita, che è qualitativa, si avverte appena nella ritrattistica, e con maggiore chiarezza nei sarcofagi, e, ancora di più, nella produzione musiva policroma, che spesso raggiunge l'alto livello di esecuzione dei contemporanei prodotti a mosaico dell'Africa Settentrionale e dell'Oriente romanizzato.

---

[107] R. M. BONACASA CARRA, in: Città e contado, p. 409.

[108] G. DI STEFANO, in: Città e contado, p. 332ss.; U. SPIGO, ibid., p. 341ss.

[109] C. A. DI STEFANO, in: Città e contado, p. 355ss. e pp. 360–367; G. WATAGHIN CANTINO, in: Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche (Quaderni de „La ricerca scientifica“ – CNR 100), Roma 1978, p. 641 ss.; G. BEJOR, in: AnnPisa V, 4 1975, p. 1275 ss.

[110] Confronta supra, nota 28.

[111] L. CRACCO RUGGINI, in: Città e contado, pp. 493–497.

Nella serie dei ritratti è facile cogliere, oltre alla rarefazione dei temi privati, un sorprendente squilibrio tra le testimonianze epigrafiche che celebrano per esempio la dinastia severiana, assai privilegiata in Sicilia e nel palermitano in modo speciale, ed i pochissimi ritratti ad essa relativi. Aumentano, invece, in maniera considerevole i sarcofagi; e il loro commercio è indizio del buon livello di alcuni ceti, i quali non solo incominciano a preferire l'inumazione e consegnano il proprio ricordo terreno ad una sepoltura di rispetto piuttosto che all'appariscenza della effigie scolpita, ma caricano di significati intimi alcune classi di prodotti. Non è un caso che oltre la metà dei numerosi sarcofagi pagani e cristiani noti in Sicilia appartenga al III secolo[112].

Prima di affrontare il tema dei sarcofagi, vale la pena ricordare brevemente i pochi esempi superstiti di ritratti siciliani, tutti di buona fattura. Il busto-ritratto di Geta al Museo Civico di Caltanissetta (Tav. VII)[113], ricco di vitalità soprattutto nel profilo già d'impronta tardoantica, proviene da Sabucina Bassa, località Piano della Clesia, dove pare siano i resti di una villa romana, e va assegnato agli anni 204–205 d. C., tra il primo ed il secondo gruppo di ritratti dell'adolescenza, dello sfortunato figlio secondogenito di Settimio Severo e Giulia Domna. E' probabile che il marmo sia miracolosamente sfuggito alla *damnatio memoriae* perchè conservato in una dimora privata. Posa volitiva e sguardo ispirato pervadono il piccolo ritratto di giovane principe del Museo Pepoli di Trapani, forse proveniente dalla Sicilia Occidentale, e già nella collezione Curatolo di Paceco[114]. Non è da escludere che ci troviamo di fronte ad un ritratto di Geta, ovvero, secondo altra ipotesi, il marmo rientra nelle prime immagini ufficiali di Gordiano III. E, infine, un eccellente ritratto di Siracusa (Inv. 50691), forse rinvenuto a Catania, purtroppo gravemente danneggiato, che è effigie di un privato di poco posteriore alla metà del III sec. d. C., la testa volta di scatto a destra, l'espressione altamente concentrata[115]. E' stata pure avanzata l'ipotesi che il marmo rappresenti l'imperatore Aureliano, e in questo caso la sua datazione andrebbe collocata negli anni 270–280 d. C. Ben poco si può dire dei ritratti femminili. Tra quelli che meritano di essere ricordati, qualcuno ce n'è di Giulia Domna, come il marmo di Messina Inv. A 244, purtroppo d'incerta provenienza, freddo nel volto dall'ovale pieno, incorniciato da una gonfia capigliatura d'effetto[116].

Durante il III secolo assistiamo alla massima diffusione dei sarcofagi in Sicilia ed in questo stesso periodo circola nell'isola il meglio della produzione. Se diamo come ipotesi attendibile l'origine siciliana di molti esemplari, non tenendo conto dei successivi trasferimenti e reimpieghi, noi disponiamo di un panorama abbastanza ampio e di rilevante interesse, anche per un'analisi delle tematiche ricorrenti, prima fra tutte quella del mito locale di Kore che figura in ben quattro esemplari: i primi tre del III, nella Cattedrale di Mazara del Vallo, al Museo Regionale di Messina (Inv. A 224) e nella Cattedrale di Raffadali, e l'ultimo, che è di IV secolo, nel Castello Chiaramontano di Racalmuto[117]. Unico sarcofago asiatico di tutta la Sicilia, è quello di tipo Sidamara, probabilmente rinvenuto in una necropoli di Catania e conservato nel Duomo della stessa città, che non figura tra i più antichi della serie, nè tra i più raffinati[118]. Il resto della produzione è uscita da botteghe romane, il cui repertorio spesso mediocre rende uniforme il livello di numerosi esemplari. Superano di poco l'ambito artigianale i tre che segnaliamo qui appresso. Il sarcofago di Volusia Longina, nel Museo Regionale di Palermo (Inv. 993) (Tav. XI,2), degli inizi del secolo, molto accurato nella complessa decorazione e ordinato nella lunga iscrizione del cartiglio dedicata dal padre alla figlia defunta[119]. Intorno alla metà del III sec. d. C. va datato un bel sarcofago con le Muse, nella Cripta della Cattedrale di Palermo, assai complesso sulla fronte scandita da figure, ritmate nel movimento e scolpite con eccezionale perizia (Tav. XII,1)[120]. Una tematica occidentale tipica del III secolo ci attesta il sarcofago con leoni che azzannano cerve, nel Cortile dell'Episcopato di Monreale, composito nello schema decorativo e riuscitissimo nel marcato espressionismo della maschera leonina, da assegnare con prudenza alla metà del secolo (Tav. XII,2)[121].

---

[112] Tusa, pp. 13–14; 205–206.

[113] Bonacasa Carra, p. 25ss., tavv. XII–XIV.

[114] Bonacasa, p. 108, n. 139, tav. LXIII, 3–4; Balty, art. cit., pp. 540–541; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 202.

[115] Bonacasa, p. 112, n. 146, tav. LXVII, 1–2; Balty, art. cit., pp. 544–545.

[116] Bonacasa, p. 116, n. 151, tav. LXIX, 3–4.

Del tutto affermato, nel corso del III secolo, con una documentazione spesso imponente e di buon livello in molte zone dell'isola, è il mosaico policromo.

Meritano subito attenzione, proprio all'inizio del secolo, i pavimenti di due lussuose case scoperte negli anni 1868–69 e 1904 nell'area di Piazza della Vittoria a Palermo, che è l'unica zona non edificata della *palaeopolis* punico-romana. Quasi tutti i reperti musivi sono conservati nel Museo Archeologico Regionale di Palermo. Alcuni mosaici pavimentali geometrici, in bianco e nero, ornano i vani 3, 4, 5 della Casa A, con raffinati motivi a scacchiera ed a rombi disposti „a stuoia" (Inv. N. I. 2285) – di poco anteriori rispetto agli altri – a quadrilobi floreali neri in campo bianco, a rete di elementi fusiformi neri stesa sul bianco (Inv. N. I. 2279 e 2296), e, nel vano 7, con un complesso tappeto di fitti motivi geometrici a ruota stellata, rombi e cerchi iscritti in quadrati (Inv. N. I. 2281)[122]. Dal vestibolo del lato nord, vano 1, proviene il bel mosaico di Nettuno trionfante su quadriga (Inv. N. I. 2275), che sembra di poco più antico del complesso di mosaici figurati della Casa A[123]. Il grande mosaico pavimentale dell'aula rettangolare 2, che è stato recentemente interpretato in chiave dionisiaca, è senza dubbio dell'età dei Severi (Inv. N.I. 2286). Esso presenta un vasto ordito a cerchi e mandorle definiti da treccia continua che delimita pure i bordi del tappeto musivo, al cui interno si contano 18 pannelli con scene mitologiche e 12 medaglioni, 7 con stagioni e venti, 1 è lacunoso, e 4 con rosette; su questi ultimi fu steso un riquadro con ornato geometrico che sostituì, forse dopo il terremoto del 365, una scena figurata[124].

---

[117] Tusa, pp. 70–72, n. 30, tav. XLI; pp. 83–85, n. 35, tavv. XLVIII–L, figg. 81–84; pp. 162–164, n. 77, tavv. CI–CII, figg. 190–192; pp. 159–161, n. 76, tavv. XCVIII–CI, figg. 184–189; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 203.

[118] Tusa, pp. 37–39, n. 9, tavv. XIX–XX; G. A. Mansuelli, op. cit., II, p. 202.

[119] Tusa, pp. 144–146, n. 67, tavv. LXXXII–LXXXIV, figg. 150–154.

[120] Tusa, pp. 104–109, n. 46, tavv. LX–LXIII; L. Paduano Faedo, I sarcofagi romani con muse, ANRW II, 12,2, Berlin–New York 1981, pp. 93–94, tav. X.

[121] Tusa, pp. 90–91, n. 38, tavv. LIII–LIV, fig. 95.

[122] Boeselager, pp. 183–186, tavv. F, LXIII, LXV.

Intorno alla metà del secolo si colloca il notissimo mosaico con Orfeo musico tra le fiere, dalla stanza 6 della Casa A (Inv. N.I. 2287). Anche se gli animali sono isolati e statici, disposti senza apparente connessione con la figura centrale, il mosaico si impone per l'altissimo senso della policromia che è pari alle raffigurazioni analoghe delle città africane[125]. Che il soggetto sia stato in voga in Sicilia, è provato dal fatto che nella stessa Palermo, in Via Maqueda, venne trovato un frammento di mosaico (Inv. N.I. 2284), uguale a quello or ora descritto di Orfeo[126].

All'attività di maestranze africane, come sembra probabile, sono da assegnare i mosaici delle terme di Capo Boeo a Marsala, scoperti poco prima del 1939 e poi sondati nel 1972. L'*Insula* era occupata, nella stesura del III secolo, da un'unica grande abitazione fornita di impianto termale; tra gli altri mosaici geometrici spicca il bel pavimento policromo, oggi conservato a Palermo (Inv. N.I. 24367), che proviene dal vano 36, abilmente suddiviso in pannelli[127]. Tuttavia, il mosaico più giustamente noto è quello del *frigidarium* delle terme con leone, leonessa, tigre e pantera che assalgono cavallo, antilope, gazzella e cervo, che richiama con insistenza i contemporanei mosaici africani della fine del III secolo (Tav. XIV,1)[128].

E' il momento di precisare che alcuni motivi riscossero particolare fortuna in Sicilia. La gazzella, per esempio, fauna tipica delle zone predesertiche dell'Africa Settentrionale, che abbiamo ricordato a proposito dello splendido *emblema* policromo di Agrigento, databile al II – III secolo, ritorna due volte a Marsala, nelle terme di Capo Boeo, e in un quadro musivo della fine del IV secolo, rinvenuto nel 1971 negli scavi di Viale Isonzo (Inv. N.I. 24366) (Tav. XIV,2)[129]. Mentre è a tutti noto che il repertorio delle fiere che assalgono cervidi trionferà, in età costantiniana, nell'ambulacro della „grande caccia" di Piazza Armerina. E potremmo continuare segnalando altri esempi, comuni al repertorio musivo nord-africano.

---

[123] BOESELAGER, pp. 174 – 175, tav. LIX, fig. 119.

[124] BOESELAGER, pp. 175 – 183, tavv. LX, fig. 121; LXI – LXII; R. CAMERATA SCOVAZZO, in: Kokalos XXI 1975, p. 231ss.

[125] BOESELAGER, pp. 186 – 192, tav. LXIV, fig. 128.

[126] BOESELAGER, p. 187, tav. LXIV, fig. 129.

[127] Lilibeo, p. 142, n. 171.

[128] BOESELAGER, pp. 144 – 145, tav. XLVII, fig. 93; Lilibeo, p. 135.

[129] Lilibeo, p. 142, n. 170, fig. 84.

Sempre a Lilibeo fu rinvenuto, in Via Caturca nel 1913, un mosaico policromo di „stile fiorito" con le quattro Stagioni (Inv. N. I. 2289), vicinissimo ad una classe ben documentata nell'Africa Proconsolare e la cui datazione oscilla tra la fine del II e gli inizi del III sec. d. C.[130].

Proviene da Siracusa, in occasione di un trovamento del 1934–35 nell'odierno Corso Matteotti, ed è conservato al Museo (Inv. 50700), un mosaico pavimentale frammentario con la toletta di Venere, su un campo di grandi motivi floreali quadrilobati ed ovali, che è della tarda età severiana[131]. E, sempre in ambito siracusano, alla prima metà del III secolo vanno ascritti i frammenti di un mosaico con scena di cavalieri a caccia, dal disegno sostenuto e dalla policromia ricercata, rinvenuto nel 1970 a S. Teresa Longarini sulla direttrice Siracusa-Avola[132].

Non è certo questa la sede idonea per passare in rassegna tutti gli altri mosaici siciliani di III secolo, rinvenuti a Siracusa, Catania, Taormina, Comiso, Centuripe e Termini Imerese; la maggior parte di essi è giunta fino a noi in frammenti, malgrado ciò si può affermare che il generale livello qualitativo è buono. Anche i mosaici, dunque, come del resto i sarcofagi non fanno che riconfermare quella crescita socio-economica che abbiamo delineato all'inizio e che sembra caratterizzare, soprattutto in base ai dati archeologici, con maggiore continuità e ricchezza, le città della Sicilia centro-meridionale e occidentale, e in tono minore quelle della parte orientale. Ma non basta. Nel III e di più nel IV secolo, i principali centri costieri dell'isola conobbero, sia pure con enormi squilibri, e dopo duecentocinquant'anni di degrado, un notevole rinnovamento, con esiti positivi fino al V secolo, per via degli interventi evergètici dell'aristocrazia senatoria e dei suoi esponenti al governo dell'isola. Pure private del ruolo politico e amministrativo, che aveva costituito il cardine della loro vita sociale, alcune città portuali mantennero privilegi non indifferenti: Messina, Catania e Siracusa sulla rotta per l'Egitto; Palermo, Termini e Lilibeo su quella africana[133].

Quanto ai problemi connessi con l'urbanesimo siciliano dei secoli III e IV – antitesi città-campagna, distacco dalla cultura urbana – è forse più prudente parlare di spostamento di interessi dalla vita cittadina, di nascita di nuovi incentivi economici legati alla ristrutturazione delle terre, piuttosto che di generico decadimento delle città. Insomma, la tesi supinamente ripetuta che il dominio romano imperiale significò per la Sicilia decadenza totale delle città – e, comunque, non certo di quelle costiere – mentre in tutte le altre province determinò la crescita dell'urbanizzazione, deve essere sottoposta ad una revisione sollecita e corretta[134].

---

[130] F. Canciani, in: CronAStorArte X 1971, p. 121ss.; Boeselager, pp. 146–149, tav. XLVIII–L, fig. 99.

[131] Boeselager, pp. 149–154, tav. LI, fig. 101.

[132] Boeselager, pp. 163–165, tav. LVI.

[133] G. Uggeri, in: Città e contado, p. 432.

[134] D. Asheri, in: Città e contado, pp. 475–476.

III. Il tardo Impero e la fine della Sicilia antica

Il 21 maggio dell'878 Siracusa cadde in mano agli Arabi. La fine della prima e più gloriosa città della Sicilia segnò la fine della Sicilia antica. Dal 535, anno in cui Belisario conquistò l'isola all'878, la Sicilia fu sotto il dominio bizantino – non favorevole ai Siciliani nè amato dai Siciliani – e per cinque anni successivi, dal 663 al 668, Siracusa divenne la capitale dell'impero bizantino, con sprechi finanziari intollerabili, fino a che Costante II non vi fu assassinato. Da Belisario agli Arabi, della Sicilia romana, di cui noi continuiamo ad occuparci, non restava che ben poca cosa. Per questo, è opportuno che il termine ultimo del nostro discorso venga fissato ai primi del VI secolo[135], piuttosto che al 476, anno della caduta dell'Impero romano d'Occidente.

Dagli inizi del IV secolo ai primi decenni del VI, la storia delle arti figurative in Sicilia si presenta sotto il duplice aspetto della tarda antichità e dell'affermato Cristianesimo, e vediamo attuarsi nell'isola una lenta ma netta convergenza dei repertori pagano e cristiano, fatto che è comune a Roma e all'Italia. Con la Grande Riforma di Diocleziano l'isola entra a far parte delle *regiones suburbicariae* ed occupa un posto di rilievo non solo per l'approvvigionamento delle due capitali Roma e Milano, ma anche per il ruolo fondamentale che l'aristocrazia senatoria continua a svolgervi. La nuova realtà istituzionale ed i provvedimenti amministrativi di Costantino determinano una nuova funzione delle attività economiche, le strutture agrarie e produttive vengono modificate e potenziate, e anche la viabilità tiene conto dello sviluppo delle *massae* e delle esigenze delle città portuali.

Quello della viabilità è un argomento che merita attenzione e che va trattato con la massima cautela[136]. L''Itinerarium Antonini' riporta soltanto tre strade costiere e tre strade interne, il che è sorprendente; poche le varianti tradite dalla 'Tabula Peutingeriana'. La spiegazione sta nel fatto che, in età imperiale, la viabilità restò in Sicilia sostanzialmente quella dell'epoca repubblicana, non avendo Roma interessi strategici e militari nell'isola, e anche perchè la progressiva ruralizzazione andava originando il disgregarsi della maglia viaria asservita a nuovi centri di attrazione economica, le *massae* più produttive. Le fonti itinerarie riportano numerose *mansiones* collegate con le esigenze funzionali dei latifondi e soprattutto dei complessi ville-fattorie-borgate incluse nelle *massae*. Ora, le otto nuove stazioni itinerarie del *cursus publicus* costantiniano sono: Calloniana, Calvisiana, Comitiana, Capitoniana, Corconiana, Petiliana, Filosofiana e Pitiniana. E' stato precisato che ancora nei secoli III–IV appare più importante la costa che non l'interno dell'isola, non solo per le rotte ma anche per le strade. Però questo avviene sulla costa nord, mentre lungo quella sud i centri scompaiono cedendo davanti al latifondo, e nella parte occidentale dell'isola anche a vantaggio delle „acque termali", richieste e frequentate dal ceto senatorio.

---

[135] M. I. FINLEY, op. cit., pp. 178, 206, 209–210, 215–216; V. VON FALKENHAUSEN, R. FARIOLI CAMPANATI, in: I Bizantini in Italia, Milano 1982, pp. 29, 272ss.

[136] G. UGGERI, in: Città e contado, p. 437ss.

La tarda antichità si apre nell'isola, come del resto nelle altre province dell'Impero, segnata da una profonda trasformazione delle strutture produttive. In Sicilia, come in Africa, si arrivò ben presto al compimento di quel processo di concentrazione fondiaria che doveva contrassegnare dal IV al VI secolo la fisionomia sociale dell'isola. Ma durante quel periodo la Sicilia fu pure centro economico-politico dell'Occidente, quale distretto integrante della penisola[137]. Le ricerche archeologiche effettuate nelle zone meridionali e centrali della Sicilia hanno dovunque confermato una straordinaria ripresa dei vecchi centri siculi in precedenza abbandonati, che rifioriscono in età tardoromana e nel periodo bizantino; e lo stesso avviene con l'intensa diaspora degli insediamenti nel fertile retroterra della Sicilia orientale. Terra di latifondo privato e di latifondo senatorio, in primo luogo, vale la pena ricordare tra le tappe finali di questo lungo processo l'impegno siciliano delle prestigiose famiglie dei Nicomaci, dei Simmaci, dei Valerii, cui apparteneva Pirnano, il marito di Melania Iuniore; anche se ci sfugge la totalità dei nomi di senatori, di *domini* illustri, di funzionari e di ecclesiastici, i quali per buona parte dell'anno eleggevano a residenza l'isola.

Progressivamente, nei secoli V – VI, benchè le vecchie città non esercitassero più alcuna attrattiva, la Sicilia seppe riconquistare un nuovo ruolo mediterraneo ed una più rilevante funzione annonaria, che aveva sempre avuto prima che il dominio romano la esautorasse. Dalla prima invasione vandalica del 440 fino al periodo dell'estenuante guerra goto-bizantina, quando, con la perdita dell'Africa, l'isola fu di vitale importanza per il rifornimento granario di Roma, le campagne siciliane svolsero la loro ultima e incontrastata centralità economica[138].

Il nostro discorso, sui monumenti di questi tre secoli, IV – VI d. C., convergerà quasi esclusivamente sui mosaici e in qualche modo sulle pitture catacombali; ben poco, infatti, tranne qualche dato relativo alla circolazione dei sarcofagi, è possibile raccogliere sulle arti plastiche. Questa nuova dimensione del fenomeno artistico, del resto già avvertita nel III secolo, è indice di un rapporto diverso della committenza siciliana di fronte alle tradizionali serie monumentali altamente personalizzate. Si fa strada, ora, una predilezione spiccata verso le arti decorative, diffuse da una pressante cultura pittorica „africana", che trova nella produzione del mosaico la via per un rapido compiacimento dei *clarissimi* e dei nuovi ceti borghesi. E' davvero una perdita enorme, per il nostro assunto, la quasi totale scomparsa della pittura del tempo, la cui alta qualità è riflessa nella forma artigianale del mosaico e nelle scarse decorazioni delle catacombe cristiane. Com'è già risultato evidente dalle paginette storiche iniziali, in questo campo specifico della tarda antichità si affermeranno le prime concrete testimonianze dell'arte paleocristiana in Sicilia, diverse soltanto nell'iconografia e non certo sul piano storico-artistico.

---

[137] L. Cracco Ruggini, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 487ss.; M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., p. 344ss., in particolare pp. 348 – 349.

[138] L. Cracco Ruggini, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, pp. 496 – 497.

Soffermiamoci un momento sui mosaici della grandiosa villa di Piazza Armerina (Tavv. XV – XVII), eseguiti da maestranze africane, che costituiscono finora – sino a quando non verranno interamente scavate e pubblicate le due ville di Patti e del Tellaro – il più straordinario documento d'insieme che ci resti dell'arte musiva africana di età tardo-antica"[139]. La cultura artistica dell'Africa Proconsolare raggiunge nella decorazione dei mosaici pavimentali il punto più alto della sua espressione, dotata di tecnica espertissima e unitaria e arricchita da un intensissimo senso del colore, che ha trasferito nelle commesse siciliane. La presenza di artisti locali è senza dubbio minima, rispetto alla massiccia prevalenza di maestranze che appartenevano alle officine africane; così come del tutto irrilevante era la tradizione artistica isolana dei primi secoli dell'Impero, per resistere alla straripante cultura figurativa africana.

L'ambulacro della „Grande caccia" (Tav. XVI,1), situato dinanzi all'ambiente basilicale, con la sua sbalorditiva dimensione, presenta un complesso susseguirsi di scene diverse e ricche di significati attorno alle figurazioni del *dominus* e del suo seguito (Tav. XV,1)[140]. Un eccezionale sfondo paesaggistico rinsalda la coerenza realistica del mondo signorile della „Piccola caccia", pure costretto entro registri sovrapposti, tipici del mosaico africano di IV secolo[141]. Rispetto all'unità della composizione ed all'accorta tessitura tipologico-stilistica che la villa dimostra, la decorazione musiva del peristilio ovoidale e del triclinio triabsidato rappresenta una delle poche rotture che il complesso lascia trasparire (Tav. XV,2); i significati simbolici della decorazione musiva dei due ambienti e lo stile annunciano una cultura figurativa assai diversa di matrice orientale, forse si tratta di motivi pergameni, passati attraverso un cartone africano[142].

Dopo la completa e lodevole edizione della villa da parte di A. Carandini, A. Ricci, M. De Vos e in seguito al recente Convegno di Studi (28 settembre – 1 ottobre 1983), organizzato a Piazza Armerina dalla Scuola di Perfezionamento in Archeologia dell'Università di Catania, l'attrattiva dell'identità del proprietario, del *dominus*, ha ceduto il passo al vivace dibattito sul tema sociologico generale che l'indagine sul *dominus* può meglio definire. Secondo gli editori e la Cracco Ruggini, potrebbe trattarsi di L. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonius degli Aradii-Valerii, famiglia che aveva grandi interessi in Sicilia e in Africa, il quale fu primo *consularis* dell'isola tra il 327 ed il 331 e *comes* negli anni 330 – 331[143]. Se Proculo Populonio è il proprietario-committente, egli avrebbe gestito il programma iconografico secondo il suo rango, la sua mentalità e il suo gusto, scegliendo l'unico linguaggio figurativo possibile, quello del mosaico „africano", con cui qualificare una vera e propria cultura del potere fondata sulla vittoria dell'uomo sulle passioni e sulla forza bruta e sulla supremazia di *virtus* e *fidelitas*, fors'anche con una precisa allusione contro Licinio (Tav. XVI,2)[144]. La discussione, inoltre, ha fissato perentoriamente, tra i due violenti terremoti degli anni 306 – 310 e 365 la realizzazione del complesso: il primo terremoto avrebbe fermato la vita della villa rustica e il secondo tutta o in parte la vita della grande villa signorile, costruita e decorata tra il 320 e la metà del secolo. Ma è bene ricordare che la villa del Casale e il territorio circostante furono frequentati ininterrottamente almeno fino all'850 circa d. C. E' noto, altresì, che la villa era collegata con la *mansio* di Filosofiana, segnalata dall''Itinerarium Antonini' sulla via Catania-Agrigento, e tutto lascia supporre che Filosofiana costituisse lo sbocco del latifondo che gravitava attorno alla villa[145].

---

[139] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Roma. La fine dell'arte antica, Milano 1970, p. 244.

[140] A. Carandini, in: Filosofiana, pp. 93 – 104; A. Ricci, ibid., p. 210ss.

[141] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Fine arte antica, cit., pp. 245 – 246.

[142] A. Carandini, in: Filosofiana, pp. 82 – 85.

[143] A. Carandini, in: Filosofiana, pp. 31 – 43.

Pochi chilometri ad Ovest di Eloro, in contrada Caddeddi, presso la sponda destra del Tellaro, sono stati rinvenuti i resti di una villa che dominava la pianura in prossimità del fiume, adorna di ricchi mosaici pavimentali policromi in ottimo stato di conservazione[146]. La cronologia dei mosaici, in base ai dati di scavo, ricavati dalla liberazione dei lati nord, ovest e sud del grande peristilio e di alcuni ambienti, uno dei quali absidato si apre al centro del lato sud del portico, dovrebbe essere posta poco oltre la metà del IV sec. d. C.; e, se così, le tracce diffuse di incendio, forse dovute al terremoto del 365, farebbero supporre un uso limitatissimo della dimora, poichè non sussistono prove archeologiche di fasi posteriori. Il pavimento del portico è decorato da un elegante tappeto a mosaico con medaglioni a motivi geometrici, intorno ai quali si svolgono e si intrecciano ampie corone di foglie di alloro. Un grande *emblema* con scena epica, anch'esso riquadrato da un ricco festone di foglie di alloro, orna la più orientale delle stanze sul lato nord del portico e illustra l'episodio del riscatto del corpo di Ettore (Tav. XIX). Le iscrizioni sottolineano i nomi degli eroi greci Ulisse, Achille e Diomede, dei Troes e di Priamo; la versione raffigurata è quella dei Frigi di Eschilo. Il pavimento della stanza adiacente dalla parte di Ovest, a quella ora descritta, consiste in un sapiente e raffinato sistema decorativo ottenuto con crateri e festoni (Tav. XXI), che inquadrano quattro formelle a mosaico con le figure di un satiro e di una menade in atteggiamento di danza presso un'ara (Tav. XX). Sempre sul lato nord del portico, un grande ambiente quadrato ha restituito uno splendido mosaico (Tav. XVIII), che copre tutto il pavimento, con rappresentazioni di scene di caccia ripartite su quattro registri e delimitate da una fascia a meandro e riquadri con volatili. Il terzo registro comprende due delle scene più significative: un carro trainato da buoi, che doveva trasportare le fiere catturate entro gabbie, attraversa a fatica una palude accompagnato da un folto seguito di cavalieri e servi, sotto gli occhi di tre personaggi paludati; segue un'imponente figura femminile ammantata e seduta – che occupa il centro ideale e fisico del mosaico – certo personificazione dell'Africa o di Cartagine, che guarda verso la drammatica scena di un personaggio barbuto assalito da una tigre, che due cacciatori tentano di ferire. C'è da dire subito che le scene, pure organizzate su registri, non seguono una disposizione schematica – come nel mosaico della „Piccola caccia" di Piazza Armerina – e l'intento palese è quello di dare un'impressione unitaria, pur se gli episodi sono staccati, assegnando agli elementi paesaggistici efficaci collegamenti. Unità di concezione e qualità di esecuzione rivelano soprattutto le scene animate e vivaci nei dettagli e gli straordinari effetti cromatici. Opera di abilissime maestranze, il complesso musivo del Tellaro, è indizio del buon livello culturale e dell'alto censo della committenza, in una società isolana di IV secolo dove la villa di Piazza Armerina non resta fenomeno isolato.

---

[144] S. Settis, in: MEFRA 87 1975, pp. 982 – 987; A. Carandini, in: Filosofiana, pp. 58 – 59, 84.

[145] F. Coarelli, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, pp. 385 – 386.

[146] G. Voza, in: Kokalos XVIIII – XIX 1972 – 73 (Atti III Congr. Inter. di Studi sulla Sicilia antica), pp. 190 – 192; Id., ibid., XXII – XXIII 1976 – 77 (Atti IV Congr. Inter. di Studi sulla Sicilia antica), pp. 572 – 574; Id., in: RMErg XXV 1982, p. 202ss.; Id., in: Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale, Napoli 1973, p. 173ss., tavv. LVII – LIX.

La riprova è nella fortunata scoperta, in un'altra area dell'isola, a breve distanza dalla costa nord, nella zona di Patti Marina, di una grandiosa villa romana situata nei pressi della sponda destra del torrente Montagnareale (Tavv. XXII – XXIV)[147]. Qui, al contrario che ad Eloro, la vita si è svolta senza interruzioni dal V al X secolo e forse sino all'XI. Il primo impianto della villa risale al II – III sec. d. C., nella redazione monumentale di IV – V secolo il nucleo centrale della grande dimora signorile era costituito dal grande peristilio e dal complesso architettonico attorno ad esso gravitante, nel momento, cioè, in cui la villa ebbe il periodo di massimo splendore ed un'impronta architettonica che richiama con insistenza Piazza Armerina. Più volte, per il complesso di Patti (Tav. XXII), è stato fatto il nome di S. Melania Iuniore la quale possedeva una stupenda villa proprio su questo stesso tratto della costa settentrionale della Sicilia, come assicura il testo agiografico che ci narra la vita della Santa. Sia o non sia stata la dimora di Melania, il complesso di Patti rivela una testimonianza di ricchezza complessa e articolata e una dimensione sociale di altissimo rilievo. Le opere pavimentali, costituite da mosaici policromi a motivi geometrici, sono in genere in buono stato: sul lato meridionale del portico, tra fasce bianche che comprendono un motivo ad onde ed uno a treccia, è una doppia serie di riquadri delimitati da festoni di alloro che racchiudono composizioni geometriche e vegetali assai stilizzate (Tavv. XXIII,1; XXIV). Davanti alla sala triabsidata il mosaico è formato da grossi medaglioni poligonali o circolari con al centro animali domestici o fiere, rappresentati in un contesto naturale molto schematizzato (Tav. XXIII,2 – 3).

Infine, le recenti scoperte di Patti gettano luce, a nostro avviso, anche sui mosaici pavimentali geometrici di un grande ambiente absidato scoperto a Carini[148] alla fine del 1873, in special modo sul tappeto centrale decorato con lo schema a stelle di quadrati, che è senza dubbio di IV secolo ed è comune anche a qualche casa del quartiere ellenistico-romano di Agrigento.

---

[147] G. VOZA, in: Kokalos XXII – XXIII 1976 – 77, pp. 574 – 579; ID., ibid., XXVI – XXVII 1980 – 81 (Atti V Congr. Inter. di Studi sulla Sicilia antica II,1), pp. 690 – 693; ID., in: RMErg cit., p. 202ss.

[148] R. CAMERATA SCOVAZZO, in: ArchCl XXIX, 1 1977, p. 134ss., tav. XXXIV.

Nel fenomeno complesso e disuguale della tarda antichità isolana, abbiamo visto che si iscrivono almeno tre grandi ville: Piazza Armerina, Tellaro e Patti Marina. Se la prima di esse è meritatamente la più nota, dall'immediato dopoguerra ad oggi, di recente, le altre due hanno contribuito ad approfondire la lettura del patrimonio musivo ed a rivedere le teorie sul significato delle dimore signorili in Sicilia. Insomma, temi scene e personaggi risultano intimamente legati alla struttura economica e sociale della regione, caratterizzata dai grandi latifondi agricoli privati e imperiali, ovvero agli interessi che i proprietari avevano in Africa oltre che in Sicilia. Premesso che si tratta di grandi monumenti rurali, cioè di ville aristocratiche usate come residenze padronali e come centri amministrativi della *pars dominica* e delle rendite del latifondo, esse riflettono fortune principesche concentrate in Sicilia tra il IV ed il VI secolo – fino a quando Giustiniano non estrometterà dall'isola la nobiltà romana – in un lungo periodo, insomma, in cui il governo centrale di Roma, dopo essersi disinteressato per secoli della Sicilia, incominciò a pensare al risanamento socio-economico dell'isola ed alla sua gestione politica, immettendo le terre siciliane nell'orbita degli interessi fondamentali dell'Urbe[149].

La Sicilia non occupa un posto di rilievo nel panorama dell'architettura paleocristiana della parte occidentale dell'Impero. Pochissimi i *martyria*, più ricca e articolata la serie delle chiese che si contano tra il IV ed il VI sec. d. C.[150]. A noi preme segnalare, in questa sede, i mosaici conservatisi che non sono molti. Tre successive fasi sono state riconosciute nel pavimento a mosaico, di repertorio geometrico africano, della basilica di Salemi, individuate con buona approssimazione tra la metà del IV e gli inizi del VII secolo; alla seconda fase, metà V – seconda metà VI, viene assegnato il mosaico oggi visibile[151]. Il vivace tappeto musivo che ornava la navata centrale della basilichetta di Caucana, con motivi di animali compresi entro losanghe, rientra nella seconda metà del V secolo e richiama il più noto esempio della Pirrera, ricordato qui appresso[152]. Appartiene al periodo fine V – inizi VI secolo, il pavimento a mosaico geometrico con *emblemata* monofigurati della basilica in contrada Pirrera di S. Croce Camerina, per il quale sono stati proposti confronti con esemplari africani e antiocheni[153]. Il bel mosaico pavimentale, l'unico figurato, della basilica di Via Dottor Consoli a Catania è stato ricollegato correttamente con mosaici di Antiochia e di Seleucia, ed assegnato alla metà del VI secolo[154].

---

[149] L. Cracco Ruggini, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, pp. 490 – 492; M. Mazza, in: Kokalos, cit., pp. 350 – 351.

[150] S. L. Agnello, in: IX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1962, p. 53ss.; Id., in: ArchStorSir N. S. V 1978 – 79, p. 115ss.; Id., in: XXVII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina, Ravenna 1980, p. 13ss.; R. M. Bonacasa Carra, in: Città e contado, p. 408ss.

[151] B. Pace, MonLinc XXXIX 1917, coll. 697 – 736; R. M. Bonacasa Carra, in: Città e contado, pp. 419 – 421, tav. LIV; M. Bilotta, in: FelRav CXIII – CXIV 1977, p. 31ss., in particolare pp. 60 – 64.

[152] P. Pelagatti, in: SicA 18 – 20 1972, p. 97ss.; Ead., in: Kokalos XVIII – XIX 1972 – 73, p. 185ss.

Un altro rapido cenno vogliamo dedicare agli affreschi che decorano gli ipogei pagani e le catacombe cristiane di Siracusa e di Lilibeo, che sono documento dell'attività di discrete botteghe di pittori locali; e prevalgono sugli affreschi di pochi altri centri della Sicilia. Il PACE ha individuato in alcune catacombe di Siracusa e di Lilibeo modelli di pittura decorativa romana di tradizione classicistica, che non si distaccano dai primi esempi di catacombe romane, e altri dipinti realizzati con accesa policromia secondo dichiarati valori impressionistici[155]. G. AGNELLO ha sottoposto ad ampia revisione l'intera materia con ottimi risultati nella valutazione d'insieme e nelle proposte di datazione[156]. Meritano di essere segnalati a Lilibeo[157]. La volta di una cappella rupestre rinvenuta nel fondo Gandolfo e oggi distrutta, con bella decorazione geometrica, riprodotta da un acquarello del 1886; del complesso faceva parte un arcosolio decorato con roselline e un bel soffitto a cassettoni nell'imbotte. Un affresco del Buon Pastore, noto da un acquarello, delle catacombe dei Niccolini, che è di IV secolo. Allo stesso secolo il PACE assegnava con larga approssimazione l'ambiente ipogeico affrescato conosciuto come Grotta della Sibilla, collegabile con una delle residenze di Capo Boeo, poi inglobato nella Chiesa di S. Giovanni Battista. Il repertorio figurativo con pesci, vasi colmi di frutta entro pannelli, conchiglie e nastri risalirebbe addirittura, secondo G. AGNELLO, alla fine del II-prima metà III sec. d. C.

Nel repertorio delle due Catacombe Cassia e S. Lucia di Siracusa[158], predomina l'iconografia del Buon Pastore e dell'Orante, comune all'arte cristiana dei secoli II e III, con aspetti e atteggiamenti in tutto simili a quelli delle catacombe romane. Quello di S. Lucia era un cimitero di povere comunità cristiane, che però non disdegnavano scene pittoriche abbastanza complesse, come quella con Oranti, Buon Pastore e Giona, pervasa di simbolismo ma eseguita con tecnica scadente. Sensibilità pittorica, esecuzione pregevole e freschezza di colori è dato riscontrare nella Catacomba Cassia, un vasto cimitero sviluppatosi con numerosi settori in periodi diversi, ma il cui nucleo di pitture più rappresentative rientra nella seconda metà del III secolo. Il Buon Pastore, l'Orante e la scena di Giona del settore E, eseguito da un artista di buone capacità, è tra le migliori pitture catacombali, influenzate dalla tradizione ellenistica. Richiama le figure dell'ipogeo romano degli Aurelii un'espressiva testa di Apostolo, forse d'intento ritrattistico con preciso riferimento al defunto. A motivi decorativi delle pitture pompeiane si rifà l'alta qualità della decorazione floreale della Rotonda di Vittoria. Con il IV secolo gli affreschi della Catacomba Cassia denunciano un progressivo scadimento tecnico e formale: l'arcosolio di Marcia con le figure del Cristo e dei SS. Pietro e Paolo, che sembra ripetere stancamente analoghe composizioni dei sarcofagi di IV secolo; la scena del banchetto eucaristico, nel settore H, che è rappresentazione confusa e di difficile lettura; le tarde rielaborazioni del tema iconografico del Buon Pastore e dell'Orante (catacomba E); l'ingenuità della scena con la Resurrezione di Lazzarro, ormai molto danneggiata; la negligenza nell'esecuzione dell'Ingresso a Gerusalemme (?), con un ritmo affannosamente complesso. La fase più tarda di Vigna Cassia (settore M) si colloca tra la fine del IV e la metà del V secolo. Ricorrono nelle pareti e nelle volte degli arcosoli imponenti riquadri di larghe bande scure, un espediente decorativo che verrà usato spesso nella pittura bizantina in Sicilia.

---

[153] G. V. GENTILI, La basilica bizantina della Pirrera, Ravenna 1969, pp. 44ss., 91ss.

[154] G. RIZZA, in: BdA 1964, p. 1ss.

[155] PACE, IV, pp. 383–389.

[156] G. AGNELLO, La pittura paleocristiana, cit., passim, pp. 126–148.

[157] G. AGNELLO, La pittura paleocristiana, cit., pp. 104ss., 137ss.; O. GARANA, Le catacombe siciliane e i loro martiri, Palermo 1961, p. 159ss.; B. PATERA, in: BCA Sicilia II 1981, p. 52ss.; M. A. LIMA, in: SicA XV 1982, p. 73ss.; R. M. BONACASA CARRA, M. A. LIMA, in: Lilibeo, pp. 191–207.

[158] G. AGNELLO, La pittura paleocristiana, cit., pp. 126–133; O. GARANA, op. cit., p. 289ss.

Sicuramente post-costantiniana, per le forme architettoniche, è la catacomba di S. Giovanni[159]; ma le sue decorazioni si snodano per più secoli. Dalla metà del IV, e di tradizione classica, sono la Madonna col bambino e la fastosa decorazione con girali, tralci e racemi del corridoio principale. L'introduzione di un'anima in Paradiso e l'Incoronazione della Vergine Deodata sono da assegnare probabilmente al V secolo. Al secolo successivo va datata la maggior parte degli affreschi di S. Giovanni, tra cui spicca un arcosolio con la caratteristica decorazione con colonne sormontate da capitelli bizantini. Sicuramente post-costantiniano, e forse addirittura dei primi del V secolo, è il perduto affresco delle due defunte Alessandrie, nella contigua Cripta di S. Marziano, vivace nei colori ma difettoso per tecnica[160]; l'affresco, da interpretare in chiave simbolica con le due bambine rappresentate come matrone, richiama con insistenza la tomba di Veneranda in Domitilla per l'intento ritrattistico.

Nel campo della scultura e del rilievo non troviamo in questo periodo nuove iconografie, tanto meno echi di quelle due contrastanti correnti, l'una ufficiale e l'altra plebea, che animarono a Roma le officine costantiniane. E' presente, invece, in Sicilia, ma spesso sotto forme appena avvertibili, quella convivenza di repertori pagani e cristiani, che, soprattutto nei sarcofagi, è possibile cogliere dovunque in Occidente. Della produzione artistica postcostantiniana, che ebbe carattere non solo ufficiale, ma aulico e di corte, non v'è traccia alcuna in Sicilia, non dico nell'ambito della produzione scultorea ma neppure a livello di dittici d'avorio e di argenterie. Del tutto improbabile è la provenienza siciliana di un dittico, già proprietà di F. E. ANDREWS di Cardiff, ora conservato al Victoria and Albert Museum di Londra, che è di V secolo e di scuola occidentale.

---

[159] G. AGNELLO, La pittura paleocristiana, cit., pp. 133–137; O. GARANA, op. cit., p. 289ss.

[160] G. AGNELLO, La pittura paleocristiana, cit., pp. 32ss., 137.

Incominciamo ancora una volta dal ritratto, non foss'altro che per rilevarne il definitivo tramonto. La testa colossale di Massenzio-Ercole (?), dalla Basilica della Villa del Casale all'Antiquarium di Piazza Armerina (Tav. VIII,1)[161], probabile acrolito di una grande statua eroica, interessa qui più per la cronologia e la destinazione che per l'identificazione, assai problematica. Ad età costantiniana è da riportare un possente ritratto maschile dalla contrada Cassaro di Modica al Museo di Siracusa (Inv. 30041), purtroppo scheggiato nel volto, vicino alla fisionomia di Costanzo II[162]. Un ritratto di Agrigento (Inv. 499), dal quartiere ellenistico-romano di S. Nicola, denota stile vivido e puntuale, benchè il marmo sia ridotto ad un frammento, e cela forse i tratti di Costantino giovane[163]. L'effigie di Trophimus (Tav. VIII,2), come assicura l'iscrizione incisa sul dado di base, ci viene incontro dal busto-ritratto rinvenuto presso il sepolcro n. 9 della necropoli di Via Dottor Consoli a Catania. I valori plastici del volto rispondono ad un gusto quasi deformante, il carattere stilistico del ritratto, che riesce assai personale, è da ascrivere al primo decennio del V secolo, quasi certamente ad età onoriana[164].

Nel panorama assai rarefatto della produzione dei sarcofagi, che incontriamo a partire dal IV sec. d. C., e che in Sicilia è possibile seguire fino agli albori del VI, pochi sono gli esemplari che si impongono all'attenzione per la maggior parte concentrati a Palermo e nella provincia.

Conviene ricordare subito un'opera che va assegnata probabilmente ad officina siciliana, dei primi decenni del secolo. E' il sarcofago con la caccia al cinghiale della Cattedrale di Mazara del Vallo (Tav. XIII,1)[165], la scena ridotta agli elementi essenziali (cane, cavaliere al galoppo, cinghiale) tra connotazioni di paesaggio che sintetizzano allusivamente la vegetazione boschiva; il rilievo ha tono scadente, malgrado qualche immediatezza e certo rozzo movimento. Alla prima metà del IV secolo appartiene un sarcofago del Duomo di Cefalù, con strigilature e *tabula* rettangolare con busto del defunto, da assegnare, in base al repertorio simbolico, alla scultura paleocristiana[166]. Si conserva nella Cattedrale di Palermo il sarcofago detto „di Costanza" – perchè fu riadoperato per accogliere le spoglie di Costanza d'Aragona, moglie di Federico II – adorno sulla fronte di una vivace scena di caccia disegnata con notevole ricercatezza e con vigile attenzione verso gli animali[167]. Al secondo quarto del IV secolo va posto il notissimo sarcofago di Adelfia al Museo di Siracusa (Inv. 864) (Tav. XIII,2), rinvenuto nel 1872 nelle Catacombe di S. Giovanni[168].

---

[161] Bonacasa, pp. 118–119, n. 154, tav. LXXI, 1–2.

[162] Bonacasa, pp. 119–120, n. 155, tav. LXXI, 3–4.

[163] Bonacasa, p. 120, n. 156, tav. LXXII, 1–2; Balty, art. cit., p. 546.

[164] Bonacasa, pp. 121–122, n. 159, tav. LXXIII, 3–4.

[165] Tusa, pp. 72–77, n. 31, tavv. XLII–XLIV.

[166] Tusa, pp. 59–60, n. 27, tav. XXV, fig. 57; R. M. Bonacasa Carra, in: Documenti e testimonianze figurative della Basilica ruggeriana di Cefalù (Catalogo della Mostra), Palermo 1982, p. 63, tav. IV/5,1.

[167] Tusa, pp. 129–130, n. 59, tav. LXXV.

[168] S. L. Agnello, Il sarcofago di Adelfia, cit.; Tusa, pp. 173–181, n. 80, tavv. CVIII–CXVI, fig. 216.

Eccezionale per l'abile suddivisione delle scene in due registri, con pannelli che riproducono scene dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento, e per la qualità delle figure e per la vastità dell'opera scultorea, che è pari soltanto a quella del sarcofago di Giunio Basso, uscito dalla stessa bottega urbana di età costantiniana. L'iscrizione ricorda Adelfia, moglie di un *comes Balerius*, certo un governatore dell'isola, e proprio L. Aradio Valerio Proculo Populonio fu *consularis* negli anni 327 – 331 d. C. In piena età teodosiana, nella seconda metà del secolo, va collocato il sarcofago con scena nuziale della Cattedrale di Palermo[169], assai ricercato nella disposizione paratattica delle figure, ma altrettanto privo di cura nel disegno dei particolari, poco sentiti. A questo punto, segnaliamo di nuovo il gruppo di sarcofagi in pietra lavica del Museo di Castello Ursino a Catania[170], opere di botteghe locali della fine del IV secolo – probabilmente rinvenuti in necropoli della stessa città, com'è certo per due di essi – alcuni decorati sulla fronte con tre festoni indicati schematicamente e un altro con facciata architettonica. Uno dei sarcofagi cristiani più interessanti rinvenuti in Sicilia è quello con i dodici Apostoli, conservato nella Cripta della Cattedrale di Palermo[171], non molto raffinato nell'esecuzione ma solenne nel racconto, che può essere degli inizi del V secolo. Da questo momento, i sette, otto esemplari che si contano a Messina, Palermo, Trapani e Siracusa, non denotano alcuna particolarità di rilievo, nè tipologica nè stilistica. Arriviamo, così, ai primi del VI secolo con un sarcofago a vasca dalle Catacombe di S. Giovanni a Siracusa (Inv. 5954), probabilmente eseguito sul posto da un artigiano locale, con la rappresentazione di due busti a bassissimo rilievo, una donna ed un ragazzo, ai lati di una colonna[172].

Il discorso che abbiamo appena sfiorato a proposito del sarcofago di Adelfia, dell'imponente fenomeno dell'importazione di opere d'arte, merita qualche approfondimento. Presso l'estremo lembo sud-orientale della Sicilia, a Capo Passero, è stato esplorato il relitto di una nave, affondata poco dopo il 500 d. C.; il carico comprende numerose parti architettoniche di una chiesa eseguite in marmo proconnesio e provenienti dalla Propontide[173]. Anche se la nave non era diretta in Sicilia, ma più verosimilmente in un porto dell'Africa settentrionale, l'esempio è assai significativo per comprendere la vastità del fenomeno dell'esportazione di opere d'arte alla fine dell'Impero.

In luogo di una conclusione

„Non vi sono conclusioni. Ci rifiutiamo di chiudere un grande fenomeno storico in alcune formule“. Così scriveva R. Bianchi Bandinelli a chiusura del suo volume 'Roma, la fine dell'arte antica'[174]; e noi vorremmo dire le stesse cose per la parte della storia siciliana che abbiamo affrontato in queste pagine, perchè complessa, varia e discorde è la produzione artistica dell'isola in età imperiale, con azioni e reazioni, assimilazioni e rigetti.

---

[169] Tusa, pp. 121 – 124, n. 55, tavv. LXX, fig. 127 – LXXII.
[170] Tusa, pp. 49 – 52, nn. 15 – 21, tavv. XXX, fig. 47 – XXXII.
[171] Tusa, pp. 124 – 126, n. 56, tav. LXXIII.
[172] Pace, IV, p. 415; Tusa, pp. 181 – 182, n. 81, tavv. CXVI, fig. 217 – CXVII.
[173] F. Coarelli, in: Sicilia antica II, 2, p. 387 e nota 104 con bibliografia precedente.

E' sorprendente il fatto che ancora oggi, sia nei manuali sia nei libri scritti per gli addetti ai lavori, la Sicilia romana non abbia peso, se non fosse per qualche ritratto, pochi sarcofagi e l'immancabile villa di Piazza Armerina universalmente nota. Per difetto d'informazione, rinunciando ad una visione storica d'assieme, si cade immancabilmente nella rete allettante di una fittizia e antistorica continuità dal centro verso la periferia, e si dimentica l'enorme divario tra i ceti produttivi di Roma e le esigenze delle classi siciliane, espresse da una società mutevole, emarginata politicamente ed economicamente periferica.

Per fortuna, una critica che tiene conto di queste considerazioni primarie si è già iniziata, e crediamo che non mancherà di fare ulteriori progressi. Ora che ci stiamo avvicinando a chiudere il nostro discorso, vogliamo ricordare che molti degli eventi trattati in queste pagine non riescono chiari a noi stessi e meriterebbero indagini più lunghe ed accurate. Per questo non abbiamo intenzione di esprimere certezze, se mai sentiamo il dovere di porre interrogativi.

Facciamoci, dunque, a ricordare rapidamente le tappe e i risultati della nostra rassegna:

I) Ciò che abbiamo cercato di documentare è proprio quella unità interna del processo storico che lega „strettamente il fatto economico a quello politico e all'uno e all'altro subordina il fatto culturale. Nel fatto culturale rientra anche il fatto artistico". E questo non è autonomo.

II) Abbiamo assistito al lungo periodo di depressione socio-economica dell'isola, originata dalla progressiva caduta della funzione annonaria e dal decadimento irreversibile del ruolo strategico e del significato politico, che raggiunse i limiti del degrado nel corso del II secolo e determinò una grave stagnazione sociale e produttiva.

III) Riteniamo di avere individuato nel III secolo, in accordo con altri studiosi, l'inizio di alcuni favorevoli rivolgimenti economici collegati al processo di rivitalizzazione delle campagne, alla nascita dei primi grandi patrimoni fondiari ad opera della nobiltà romana, al nuovo metodo di conduzione agraria per mezzo del colonato libero, alla riconversione di cespiti di ricchezza, che tornano a privilegiare alcuni centri costieri.

IV) A partire dall'età costantiniana, il mutato orientamento politico di Roma e soprattutto l'intervento diretto nell'isola di agguerrite famiglie aristocratiche, pronte a riscattare il ruolo della campagna a fini agrari e industriali, determina finalmente in Sicilia un periodo di sicurezza legato agli interessi del latifondo, tanto da trasferire nell'organizzazione capillare delle

---

[174] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Fine arte antica cit., p. 369.

villae, dei *fundi* e delle *massae* forme di vita semi-urbane il cui assetto è riflesso anche nella funzionale dislocazione delle *mansiones*.

V) Nella realtà del processo storico della tarda antichità abbiamo inserito mano mano, quando avvertibili distintamente per iconografia e significato, le espressioni artistiche paleocristiane – scarsissime nella plastica, di un certo rilievo nelle pittura catacombale – che sono al di fuori, anche in Sicilia, della crisi ideologica della romanità tarda, di cui peraltro non hanno intaccato il mutamento della forma artistica; mutamento che ha origini ben più lontane e autonome, cioè nella rottura dell'equilibrio naturalistico, nell'abbandono del modulo organico e nella rinuncia al razionalismo.

L'approdo di questa lunga riflessione critica dovrebbe essere, alla fine, una più chiara ridefinizione delle tendenze predominanti nella cultura artistica della Sicilia di età imperiale, e che per comodità possiamo tentare di sintetizzare, seguendo i nostri stessi risultati, che non sono nè definitivi nè completi. La fondamentale dipendenza della produzione scultorea dalle officine romane e in qualche caso orientali, per quanto riguarda ritratti e sarcofagi, con alcune timide presenze di botteghe locali. L'autonomia del repertorio dei mosaicisti nei confronti degli opifici dell'Urbe e della penisola, non solo per la mancata accettazione del mosaico in bianco e nero, ma soprattutto per la precoce diffusione del mosaico policromo. La prevalenza delle arti decorative, pittura e mosaico, a partire dalla seconda metà del III secolo, diffuse da una straripante cultura figurativa africana. Detto questo, è chiaro che il tema fin troppo impegnativo che ci eravamo posto, cioè di conoscere sino a qual punto e con quali esiti la Sicilia fu realmente romanizzata, non può ottenere risposta univoca e semplice. Quand'anche dal nostro esame si volesse far scaturire una qualche risposta definitiva, resta il fatto che un'indagine seria e completa non è stata finora condotta nel territorio, e pertanto l'esito della risposta riposerebbe solo sulla conoscenza, anch'essa parziale, dei centri più noti.

Riteniamo più proficuo cogliere ancora una volta l'occasione per suggerire ai responsabili dell'Amministrazione Regionale Siciliana, ed ai colleghi delle Soprintendenze Archeologiche e degli Istituti Universitari, di coordinare e sviluppare con ogni mezzo le ricerche sulla Sicilia di età romana e medioevale, tenendo conto che la storia antica dell'isola – com'è stato scritto da noi stessi e da altri[175] – non è infatti soltanto una storia dei Greci e dei Punici.

Indice delle illustrazioni

Tav. I,1 Tindari, Museo Archeologico. Ritratto di Augusto. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1478).

2 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto di Augusto. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1394).

---

[175] N. Bonacasa, in: La presenza della Sicilia nella cultura degli ultimi cento anni. Atti Congr. Studi Inter. Società Siciliana di Storia Patria, Palermo, 20–25 ottobre 1975, Palermo 1977, p. 676ss.; A. Carandini, in: Filosofiana, p. 11.

Tav. II,1 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto maschile di età tiberiana. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1362).

2 Catania, Museo Comunale di Castello Ursino. Ritratto maschile di età claudia. (Foto Istituto Archeologia, Università Palermo).

Tav. III,1 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto di Druso Maggiore. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1364).

2 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto di Druso Minore. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1366).

Tav. IV,1 Termini Imerese, Museo Civico. Ritratto di Agrippina Maggiore. (Foto Gabinetto Fot. Nazionale, F 8671).

2 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Statua-ritratto femminile di età flavia (particolare). (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1345).

Tav. V,1 Centuripe, Museo Comunale. Ritratto colossale di Adriano. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1532).

2 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Busto-ritratto di Vibia Sabina. (Foto del Museo).

Tav. VI,1 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto maschile tardo-adrianèo. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1268).

2 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Statua-ritratto togata di età adrianèa (particolare). (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1348).

Tav. VII Caltanissetta, Museo Civico. Busto-ritratto di Geta. (Foto Istituto Archeologia, Università Palermo).

Tav. VIII,1 Piazza Armerina, Antiquarium della Villa. Ritratto colossale di Massenzio-Ercole (?). (Foto Gabinetto Fot. Nazionale, F 10284).

2 Catania, Museo Comunale di Castello Ursino. Busto-ritratto di Trophimus. (Foto Fond. I. Mormino, 1221).

Tav. IX Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Rilievo con Vestali e scena di sacrificio. (Foto DAI Roma, 71. 650).

Tav. X,1 Agrigento, Chiesa di S. Nicola presso il Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di Ippolito e Fedra. (Foto del Museo).

2 Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di un fanciullo. (Foto del Museo).

Tav. XI,1 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago con scena di battaglia tra Romani e Barbari. (Foto DAI Roma, 71. 659).

2 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di Volusia Longina. (Foto Istituto Archeologia, Università Palermo).

Tav. XII,1 Palermo, Cripta della Cattedrale. Sarcofago con le Muse. (Foto DAI Roma, 71. 681).

2 Monreale, Cortile dell'Episcopato. Sarcofago con leoni che azzannano cerve. (Foto DAI Roma, 63. 2277).

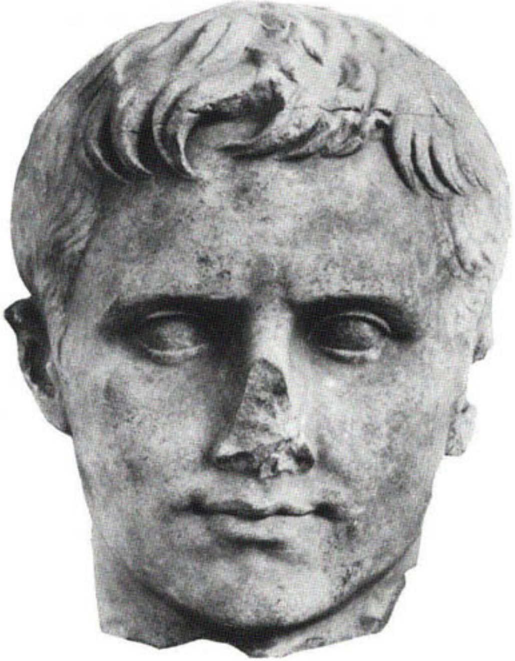
Tav. XIII,1 Mazara del Vallo, Cattedrale. Sarcofago con la caccia al cinghiale. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Palermo).

2 Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di Adelfia. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).

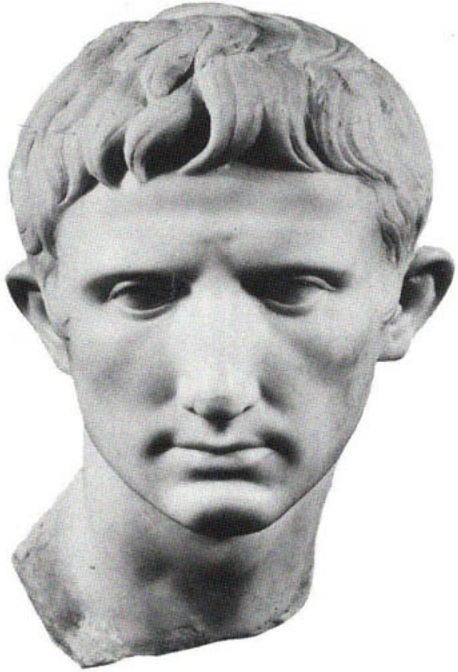
Tav. XIV,1 Marsala, Terme dell'Insula di Capo Boeo. Mosaico delle belve. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Palermo).

2 Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Mosaico con stambecco, dall'Insula di Viale Isonzo a Marsala. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Palermo).

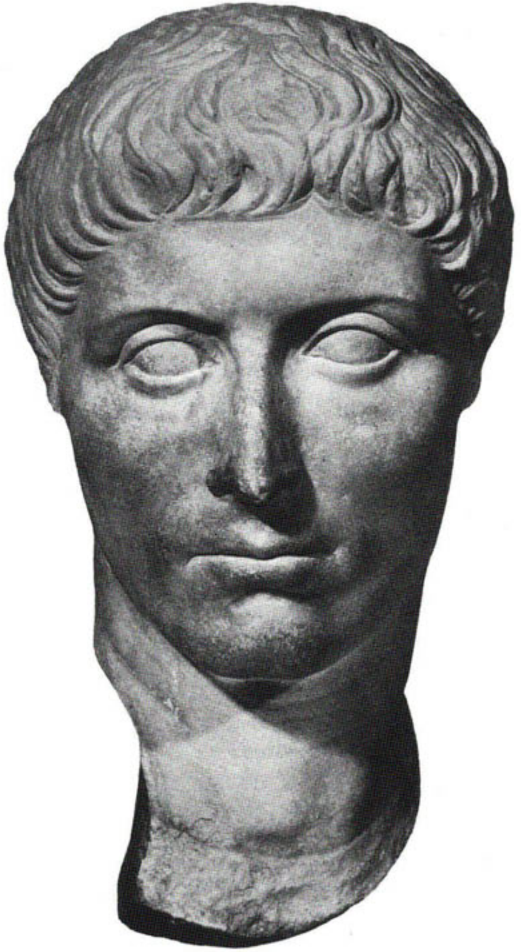
3 Agrigento, Quartiere ellenistico-romano di S. Nicola. Mosaico con gazzella alla fonte. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).



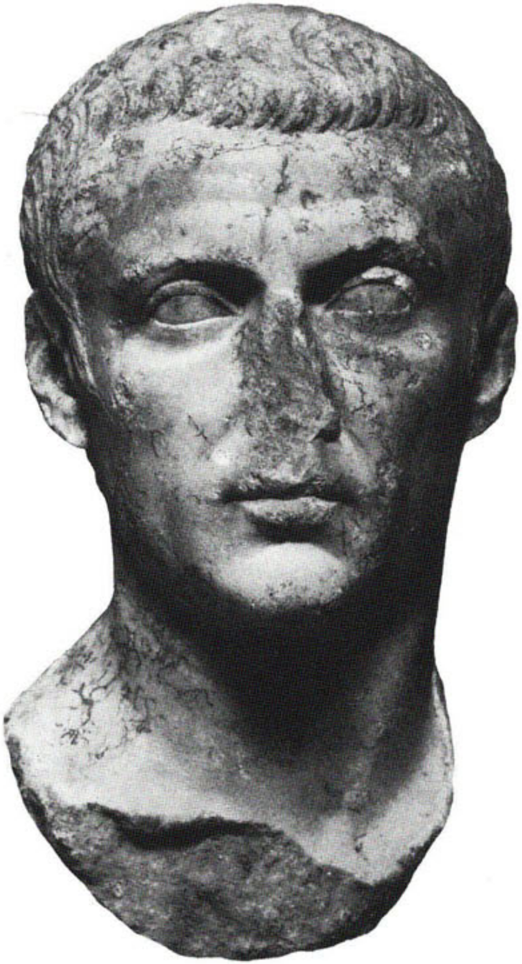
1. Tindari, Museo Archeologico. Ritratto di Augusto



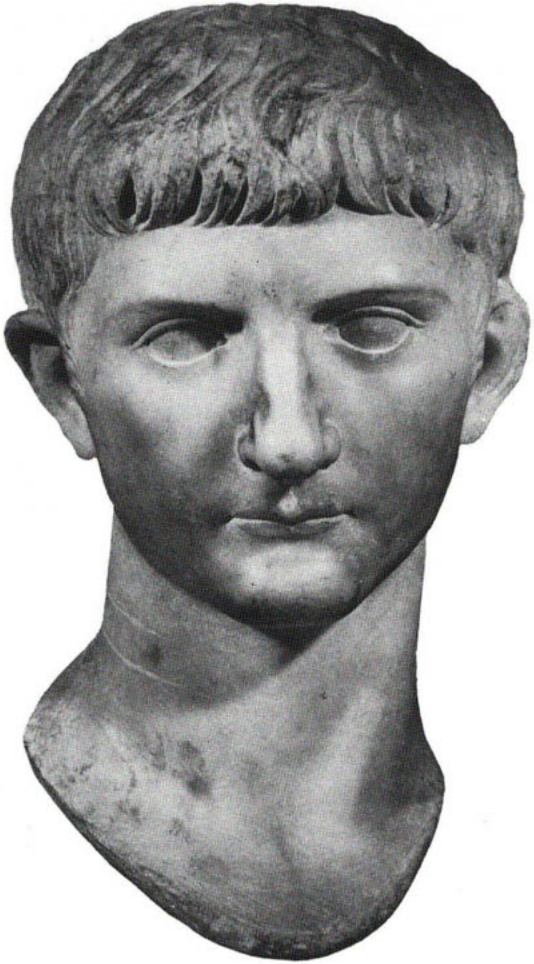
2. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto di Augusto



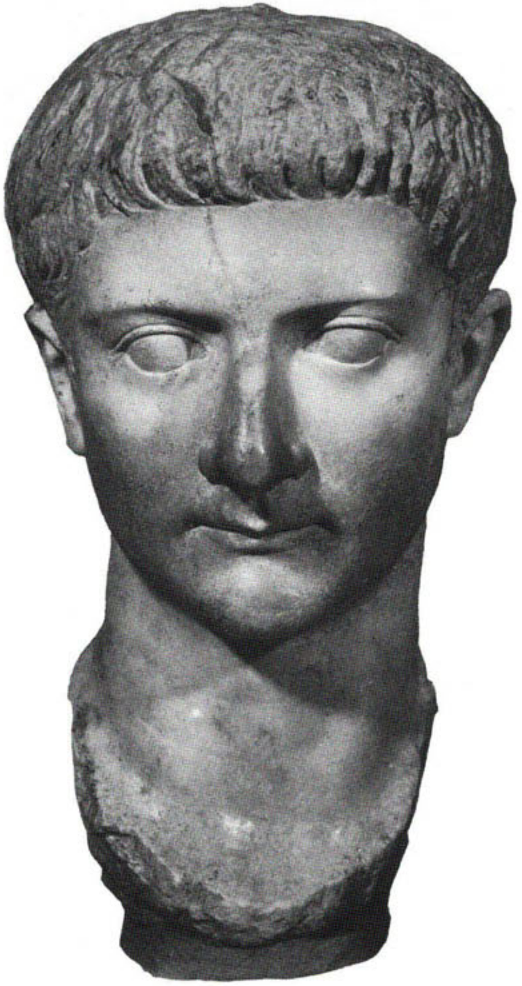
1. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto maschile di età tiberiana



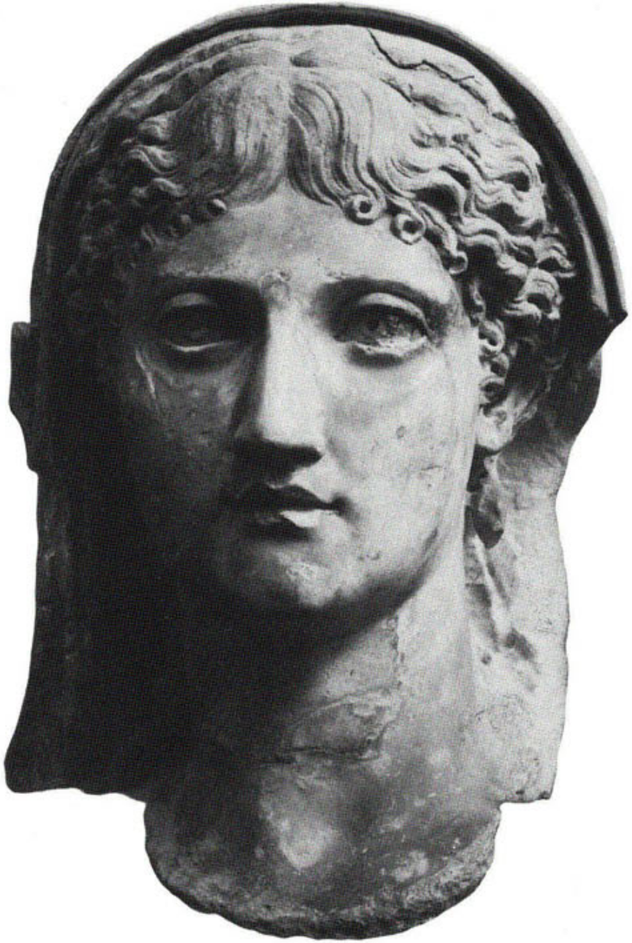
2. Catania, Museo Comunale di Castello Ursino. Ritratto maschile di età claudia



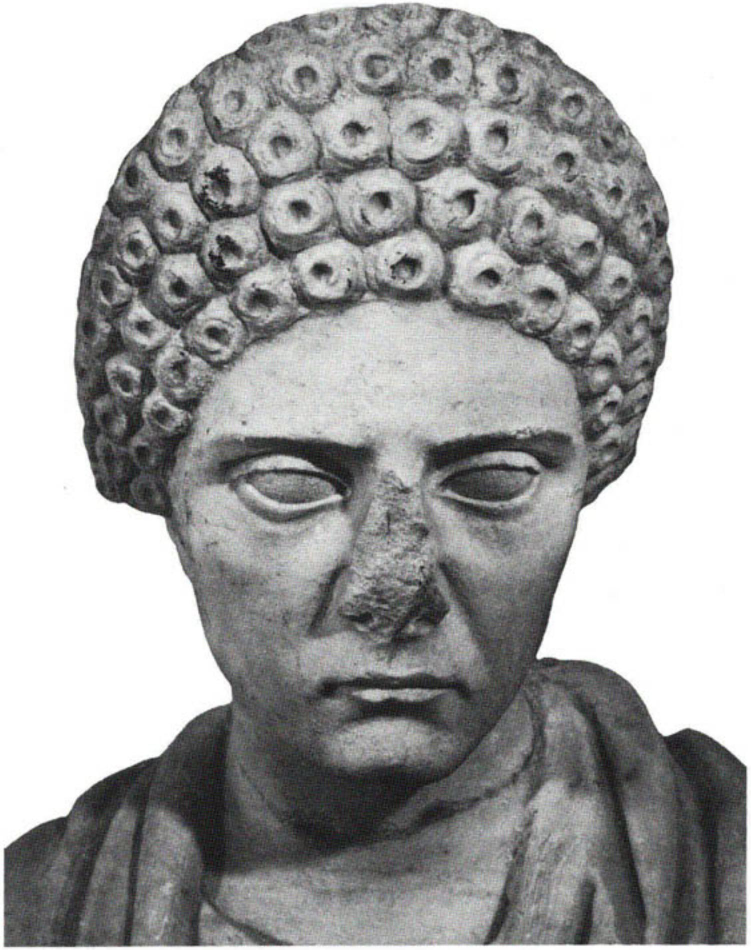
1. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto di Druso Maggiore



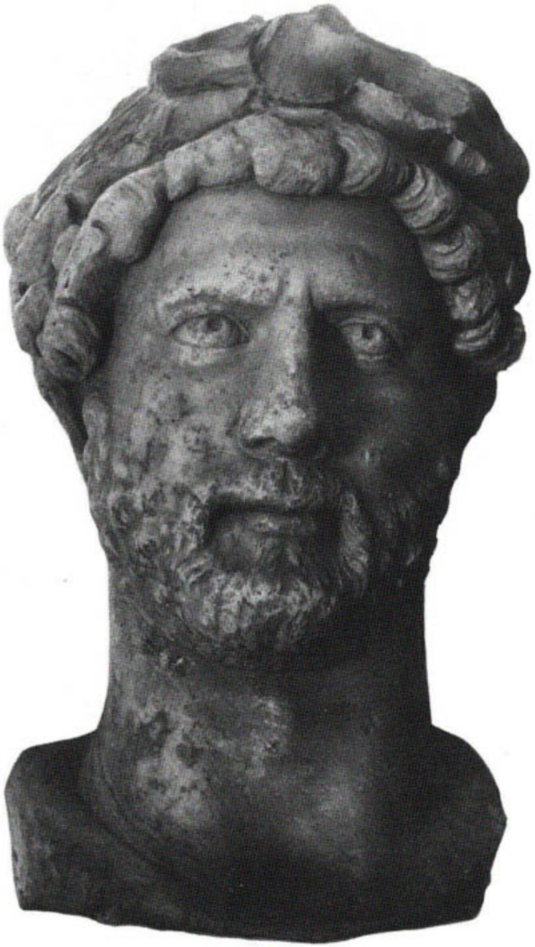
2. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto di Druso Minore



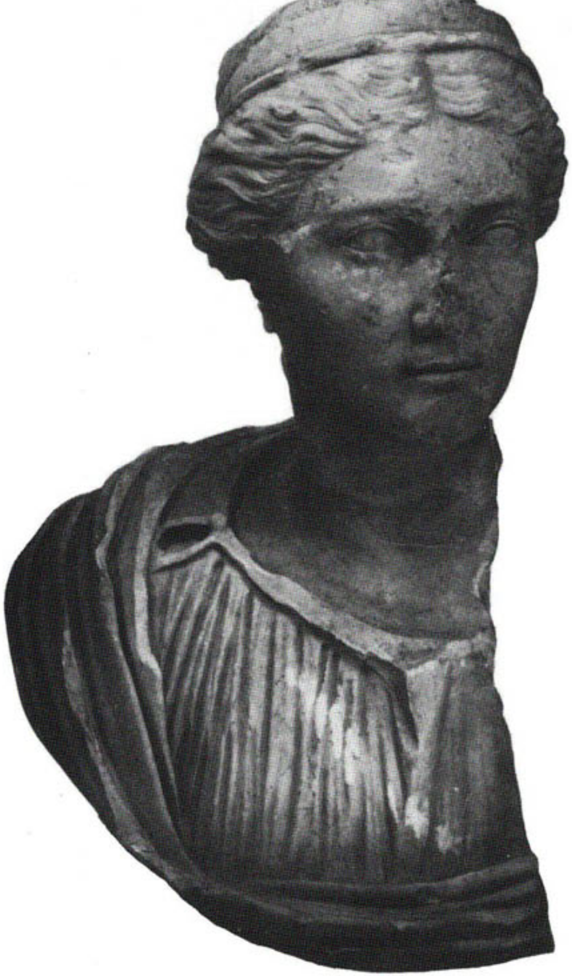
1. Termini Imerese, Museo Civico. Ritratto di Agrippina Maggiore



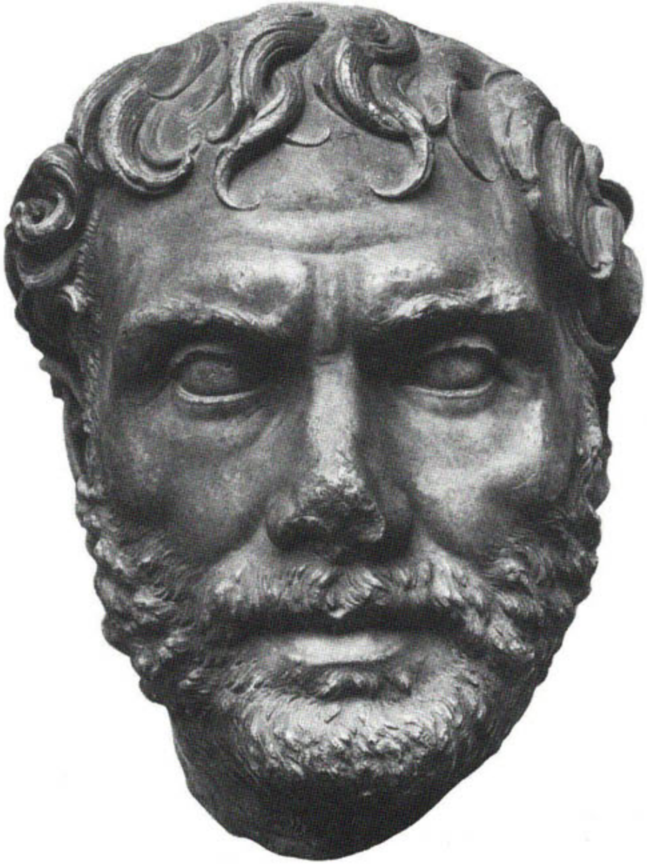
2. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Statua-ritratto femminile di età flavia (particolare)



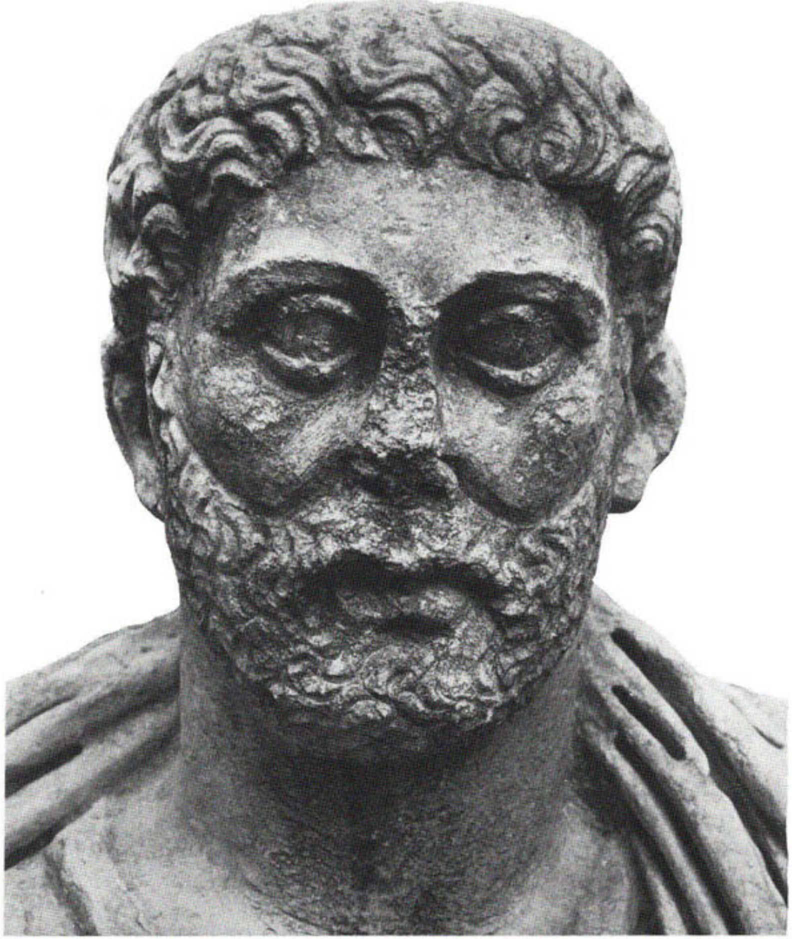
1. Centuripe, Museo Comunale. Ritratto colossale di Adriano



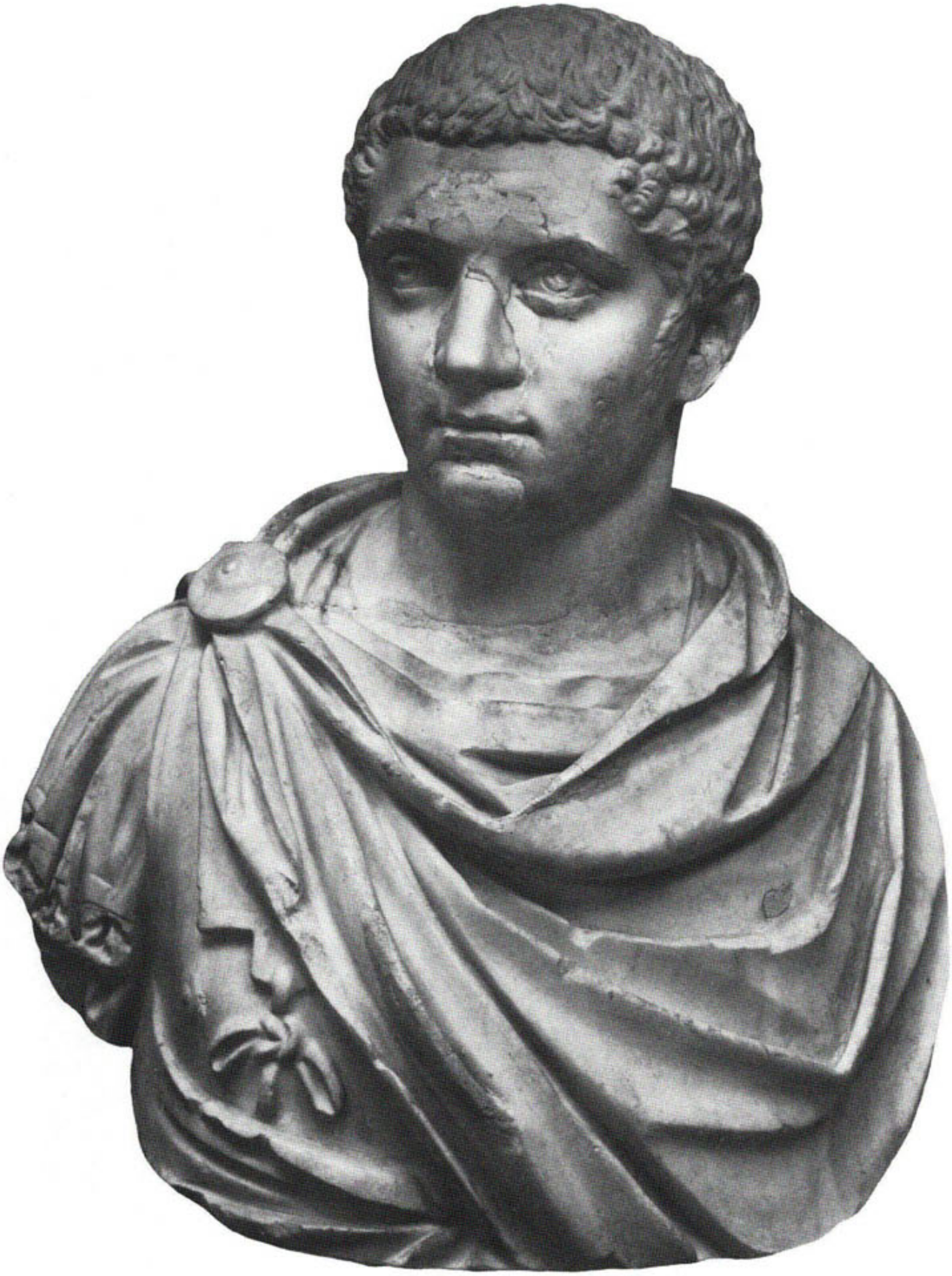
2. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Busto-ritratto di Vibia Sabina



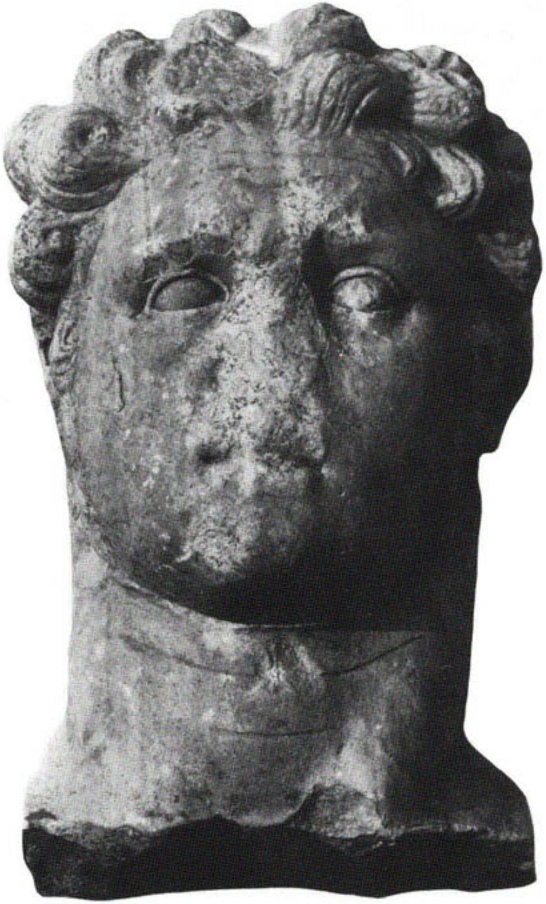
1. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Ritratto maschile tardo-adrianèo



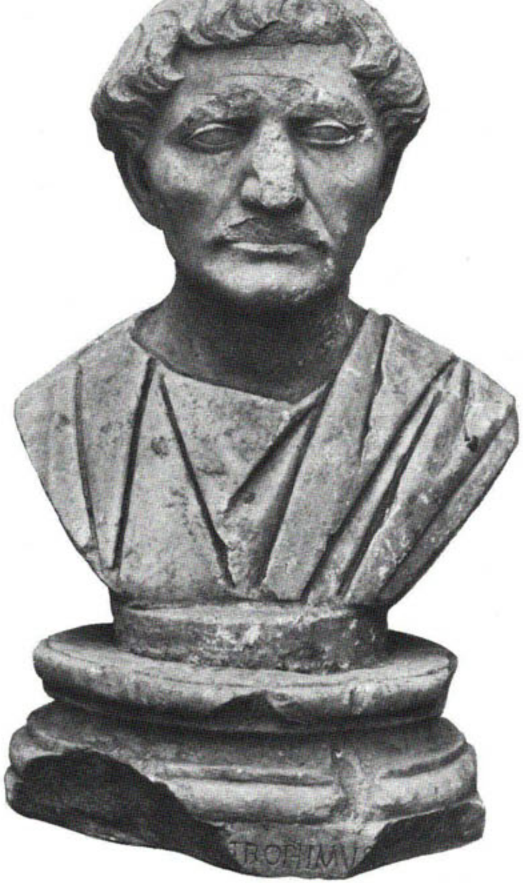
2. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Statua-ritratto togata di età adrianèa (particolare)



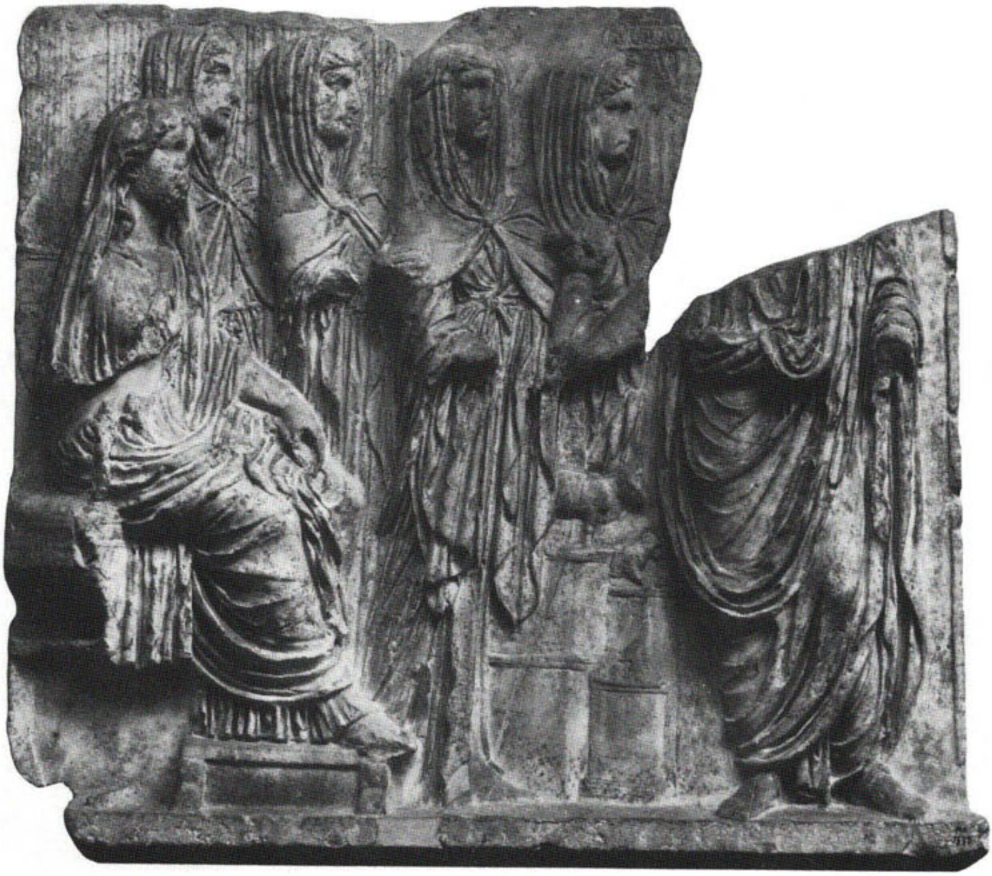
Caltanissetta, Museo Civico. Busto-ritratto di Geta



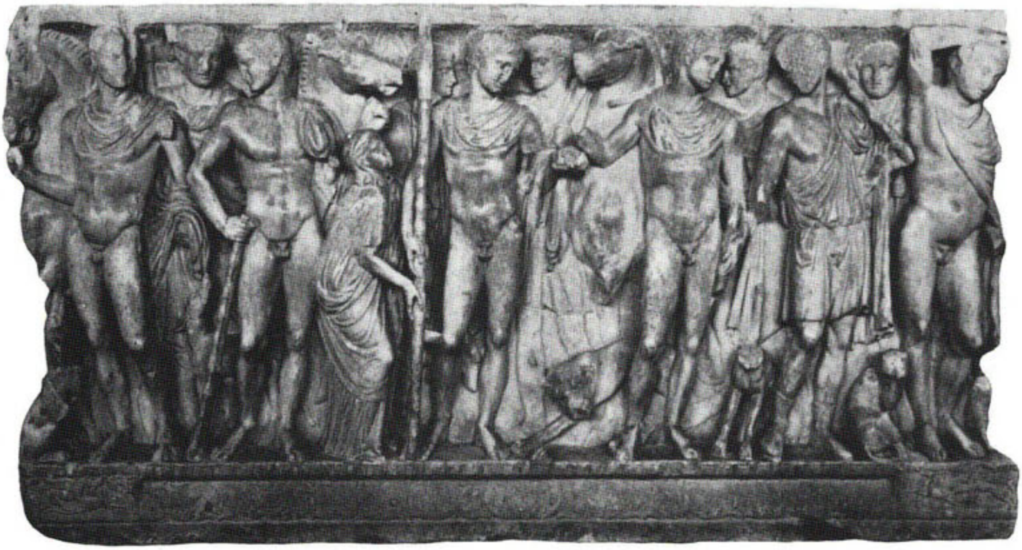
1. Piazza Armerina, Antiquarium della Villa. Ritratto colossale di Massenzio-Ercole (?)



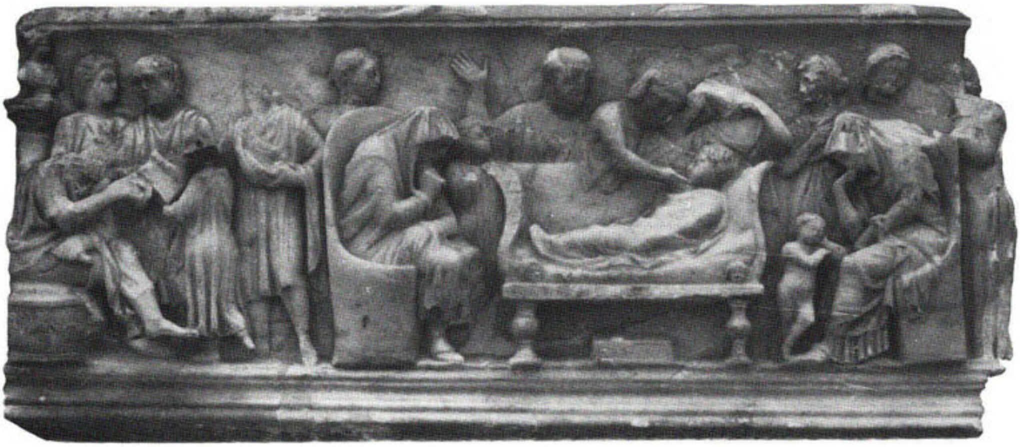
2. Catania, Museo Comunale di Castello Ursino. Busto-ritratto di Trophimus



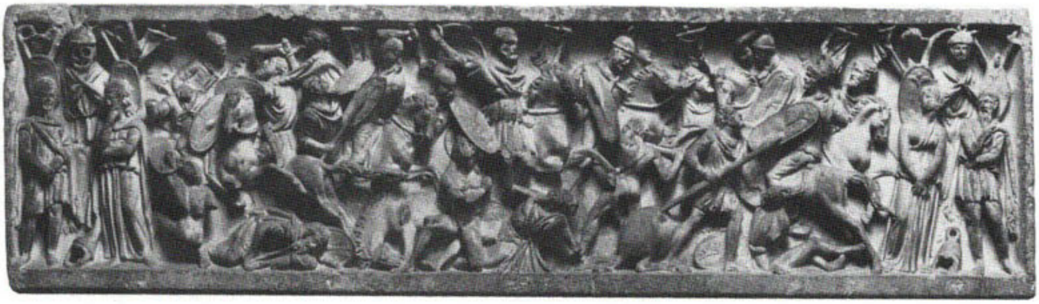
Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Rilievo con Vestali e scena di sacrificio



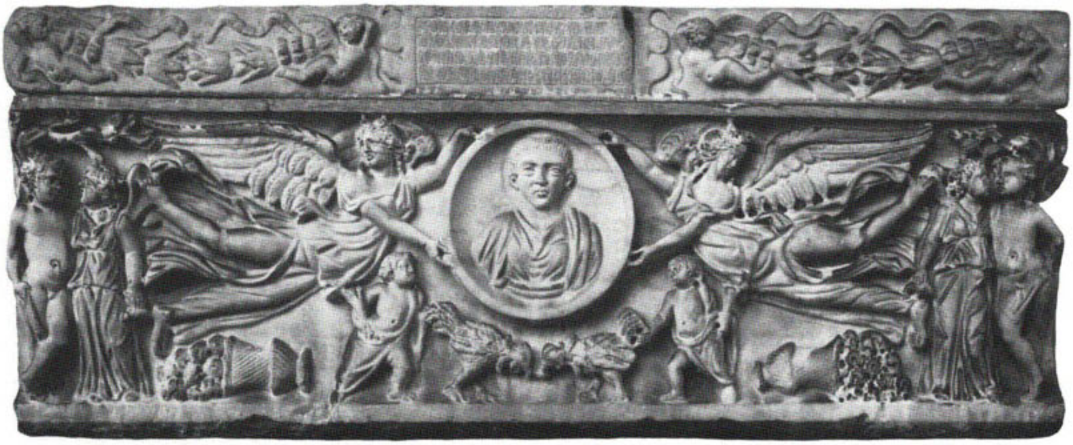
1. Agrigento, Chiesa di S. Nicola presso il Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di Ippolito e Fedra



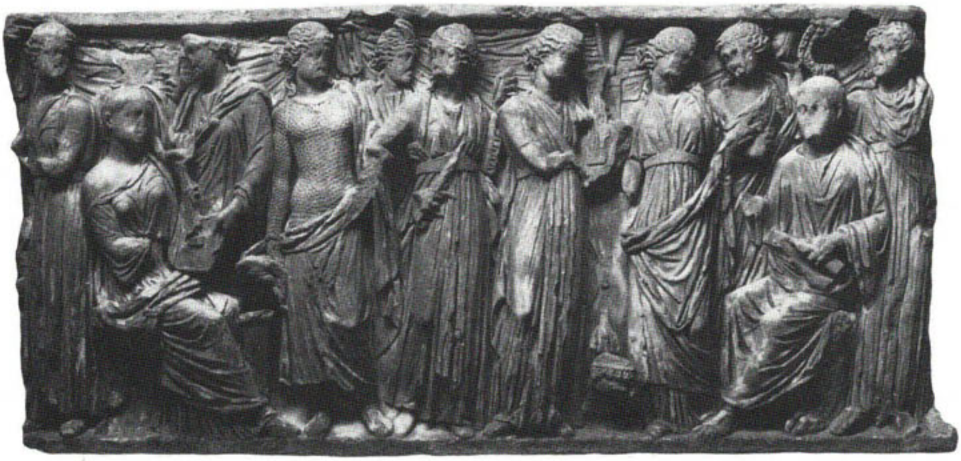
2. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di un fanciullo



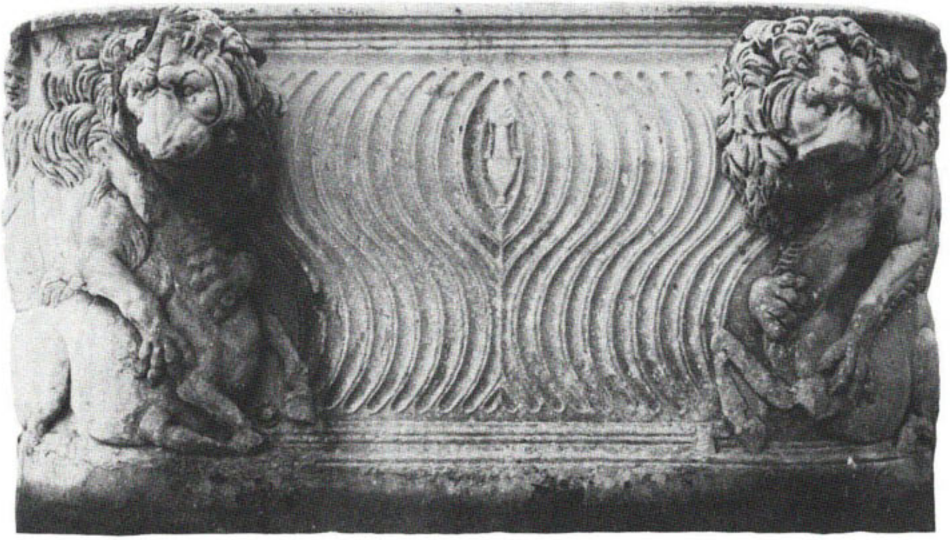
1. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago con scena di battaglia tra Romani e Barbari



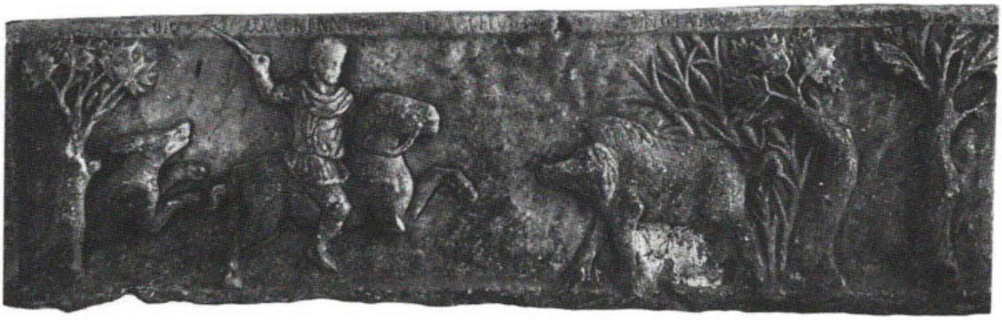
2. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di Volusia Longina



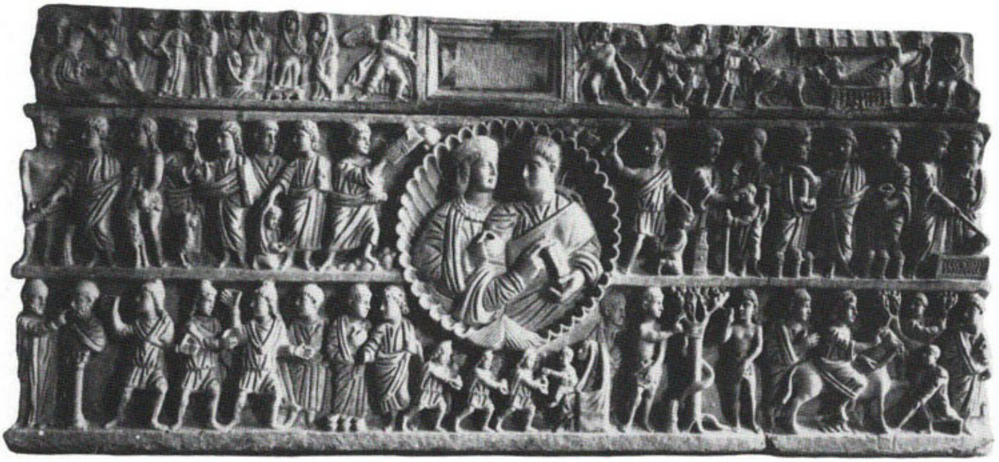
1. Palermo, Cripta della Cattedrale. Sarcofago con le Muse



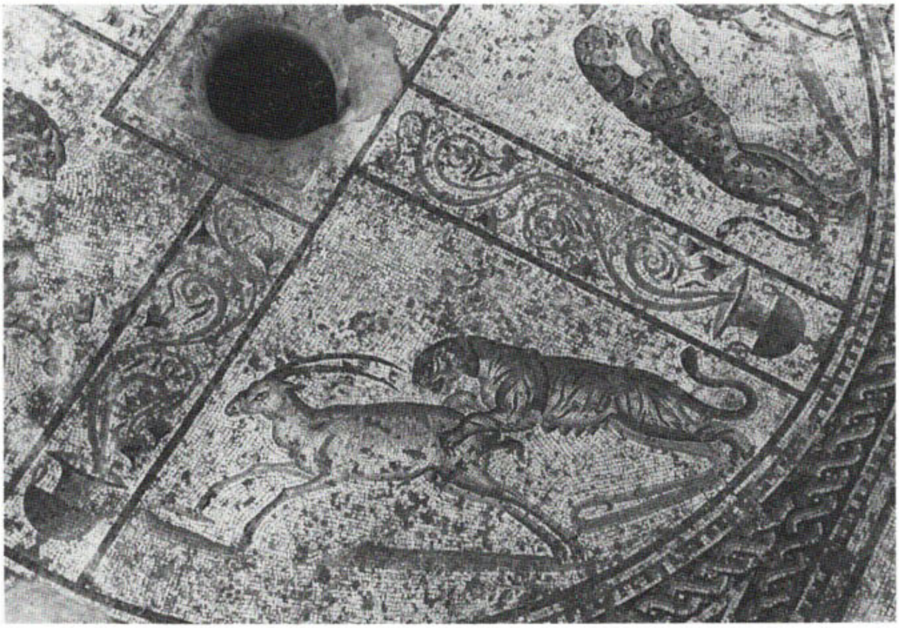
2. Monreale, Cortile dell'Episcopato. Sarcofago con leoni che azzannano cerve



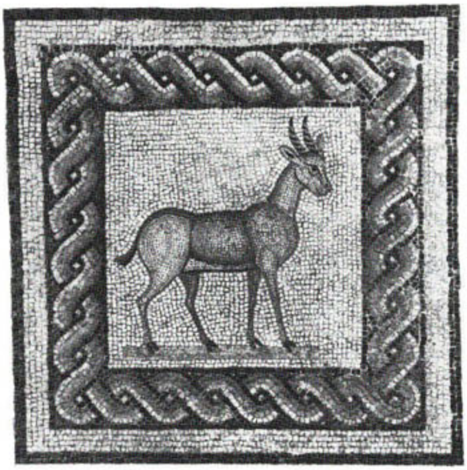
1. Mazara del Vallo, Cattedrale. Sarcofago con la caccia al cinghiale



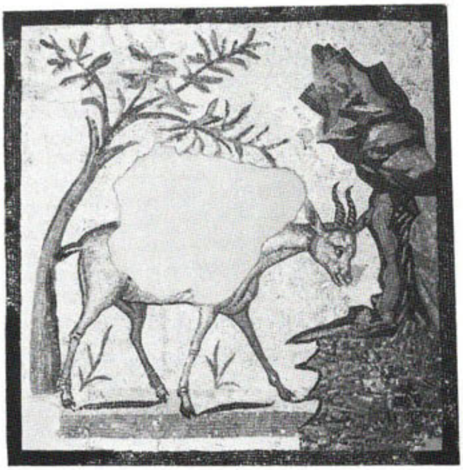
2. Siracusa, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Sarcofago di Adelfia



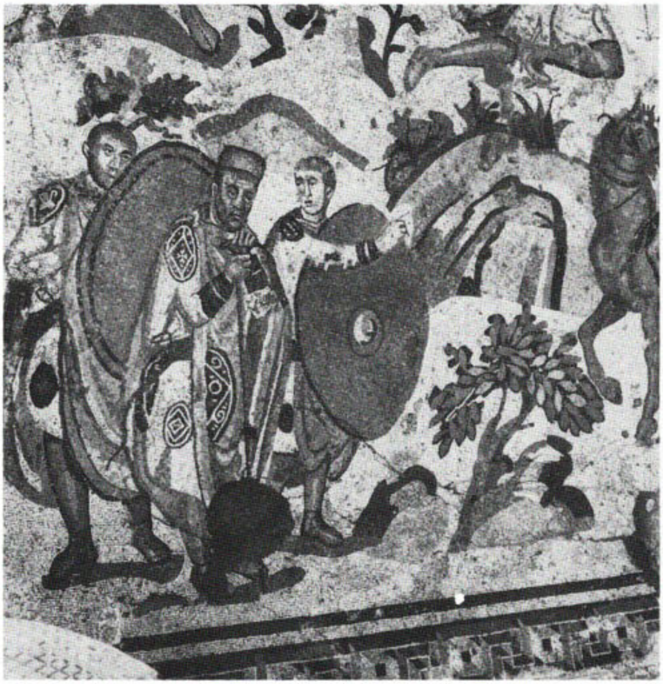
1. Marsala, Terme dell'Insula di Capo Boeo. Mosaico delle belve



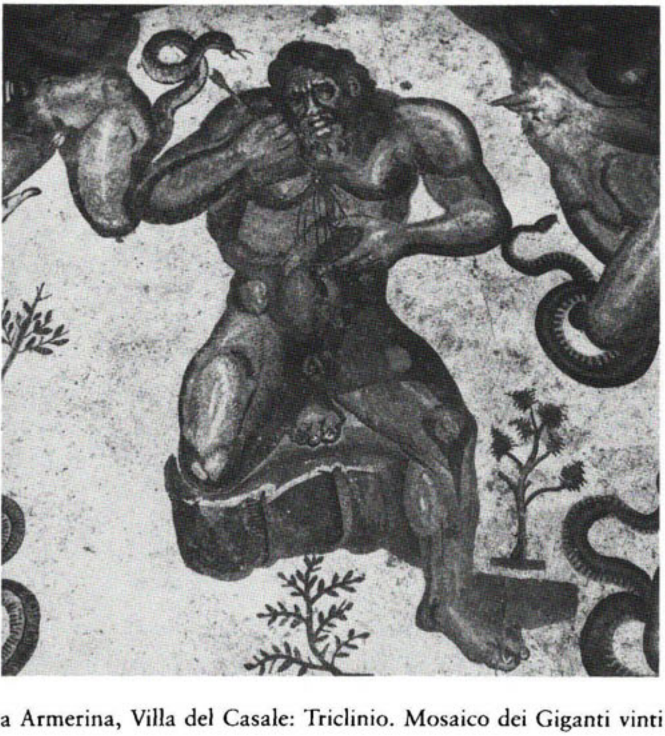
2. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale. Mosaico con stambecco, dall'Insula di Viale Isonzo a Marsala



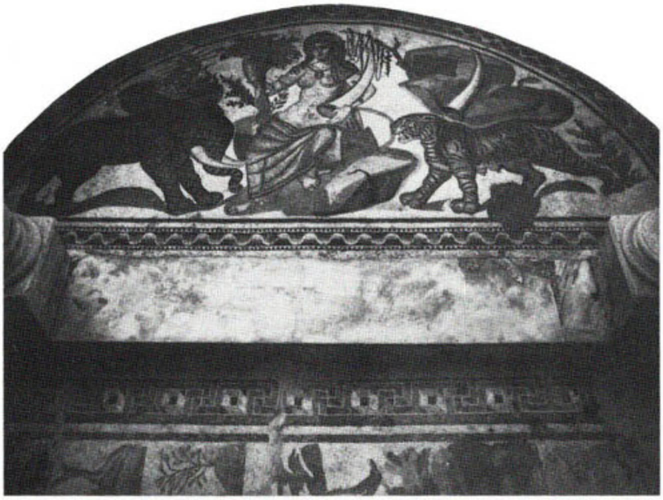
3. Agrigento, Quartiere ellenistico-romano di S. Nicola. Mosaico con gazzella alla fonte



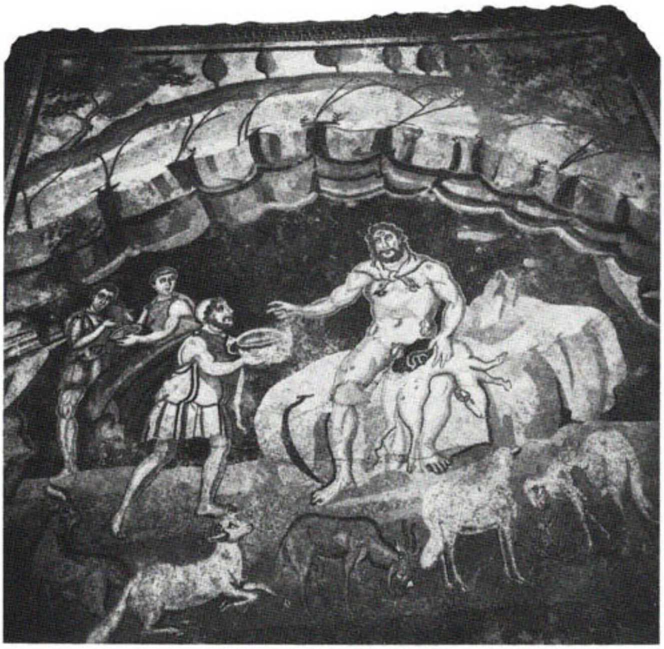
1. Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Corridoio della Grande Caccia. Mosaico con il gruppo dei proprietari



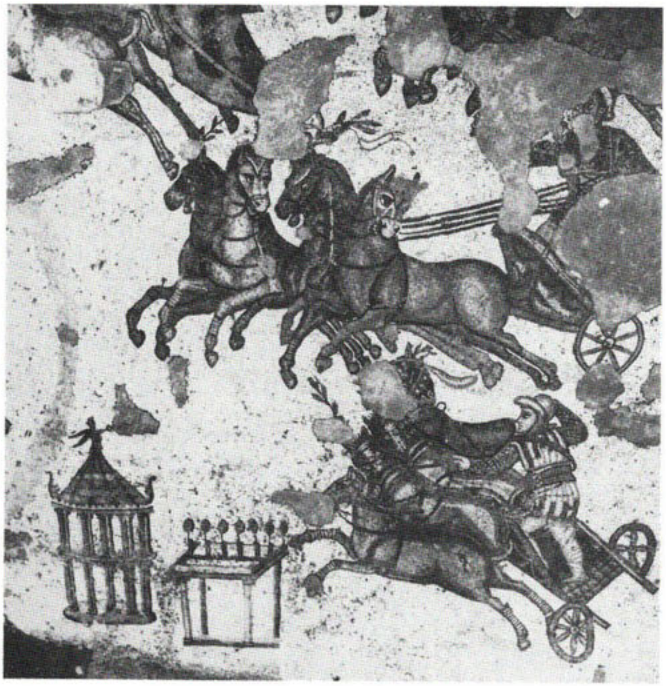
2. Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Triclinio. Mosaico dei Giganti vinti (part.)



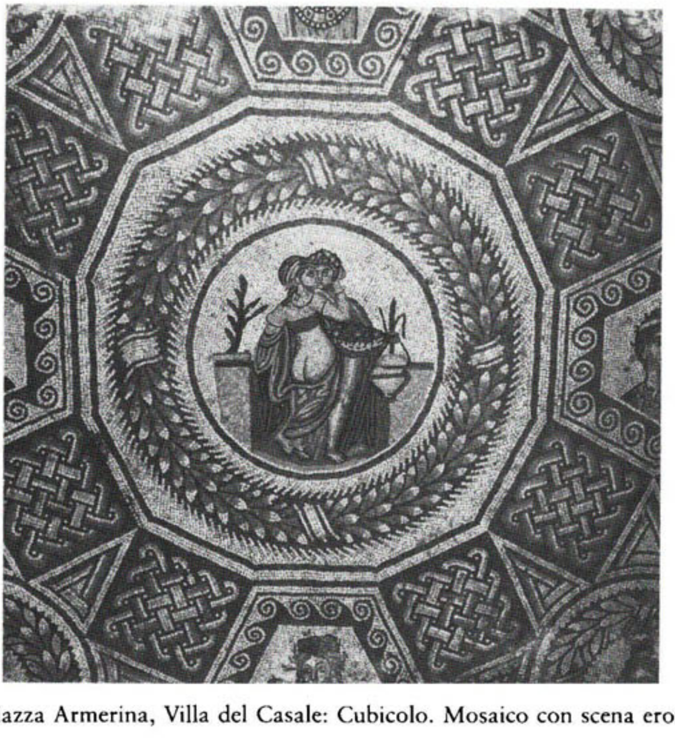
1. Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Corridoio della Grande Caccia. Mosaico con la personificazione dell'Africa (?)



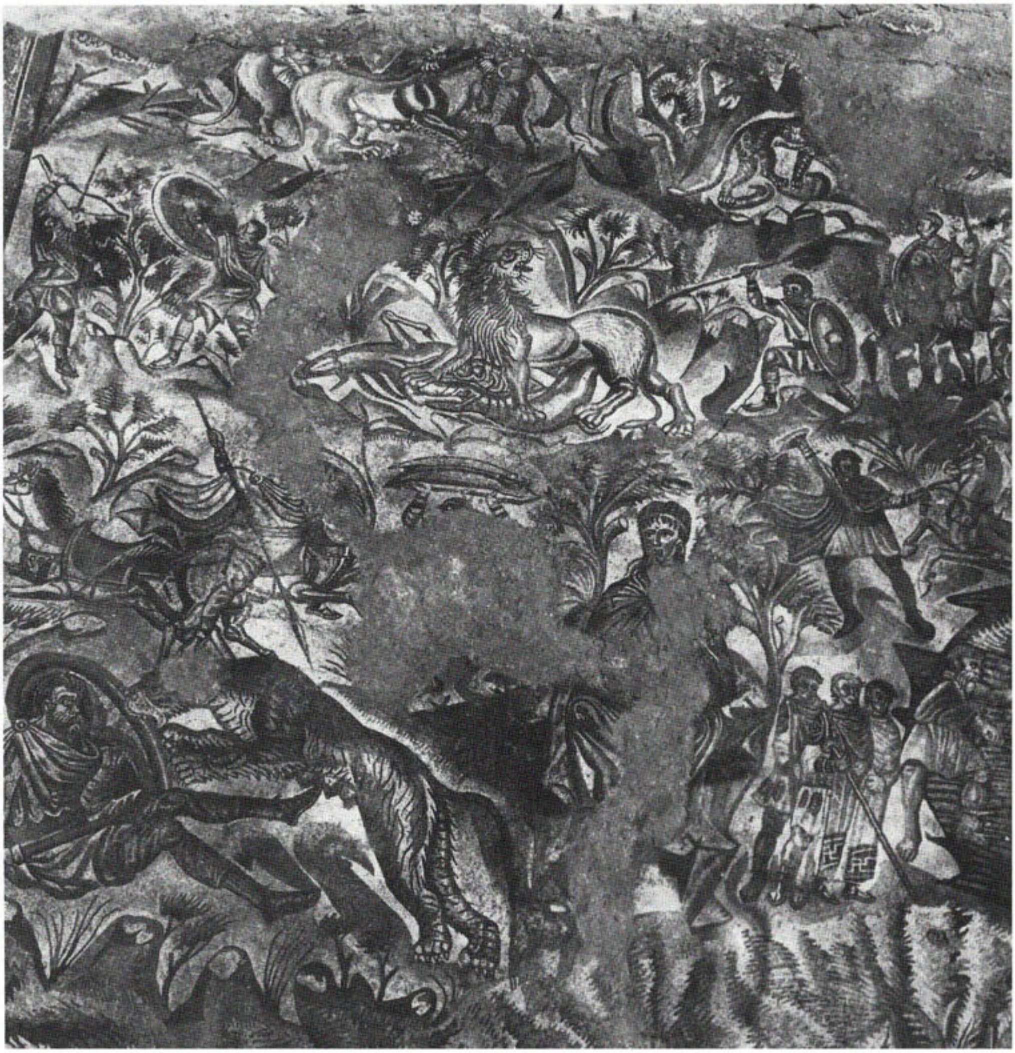
2. Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Vestibolo. Mosaico con Polifemo e Ulisse



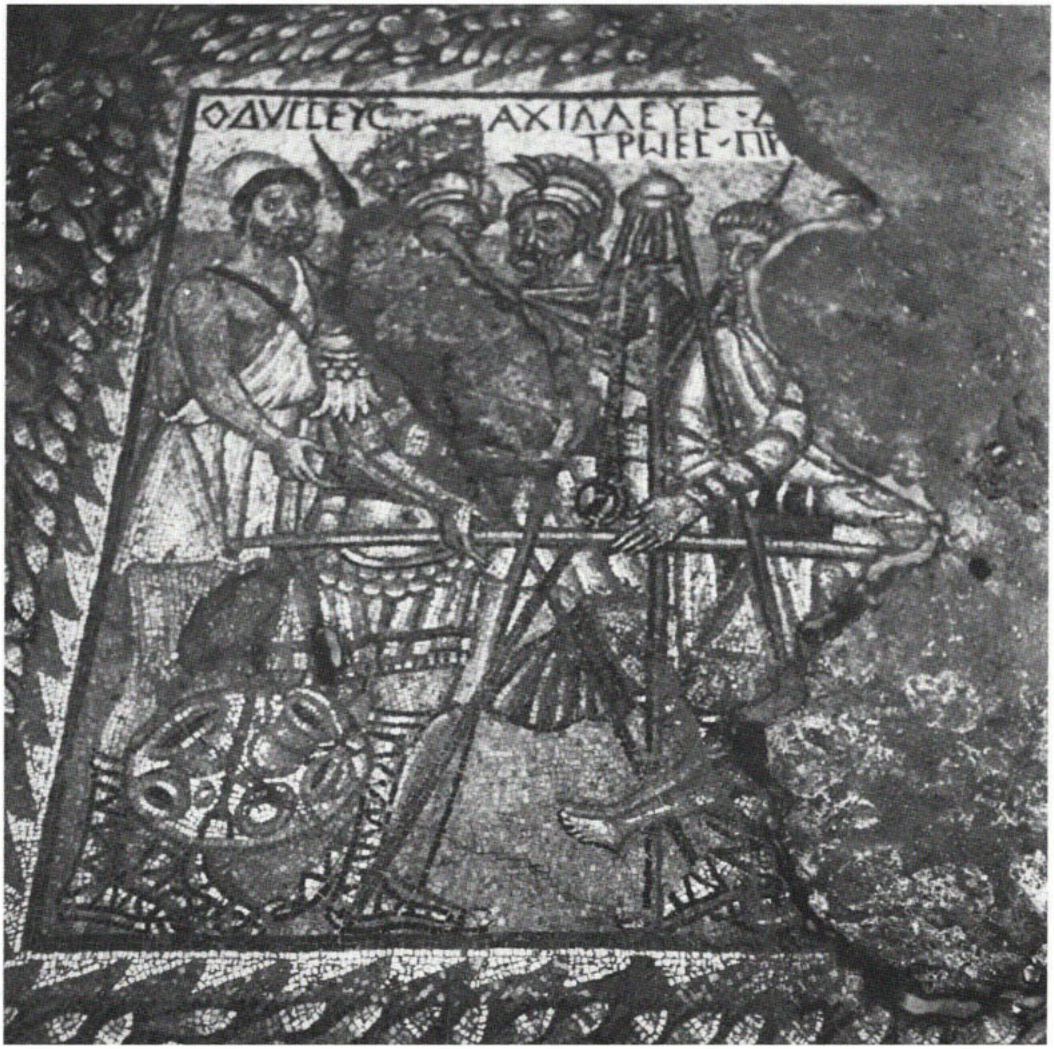
1. Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Ginnasio. Mosaico con gare nel Circo



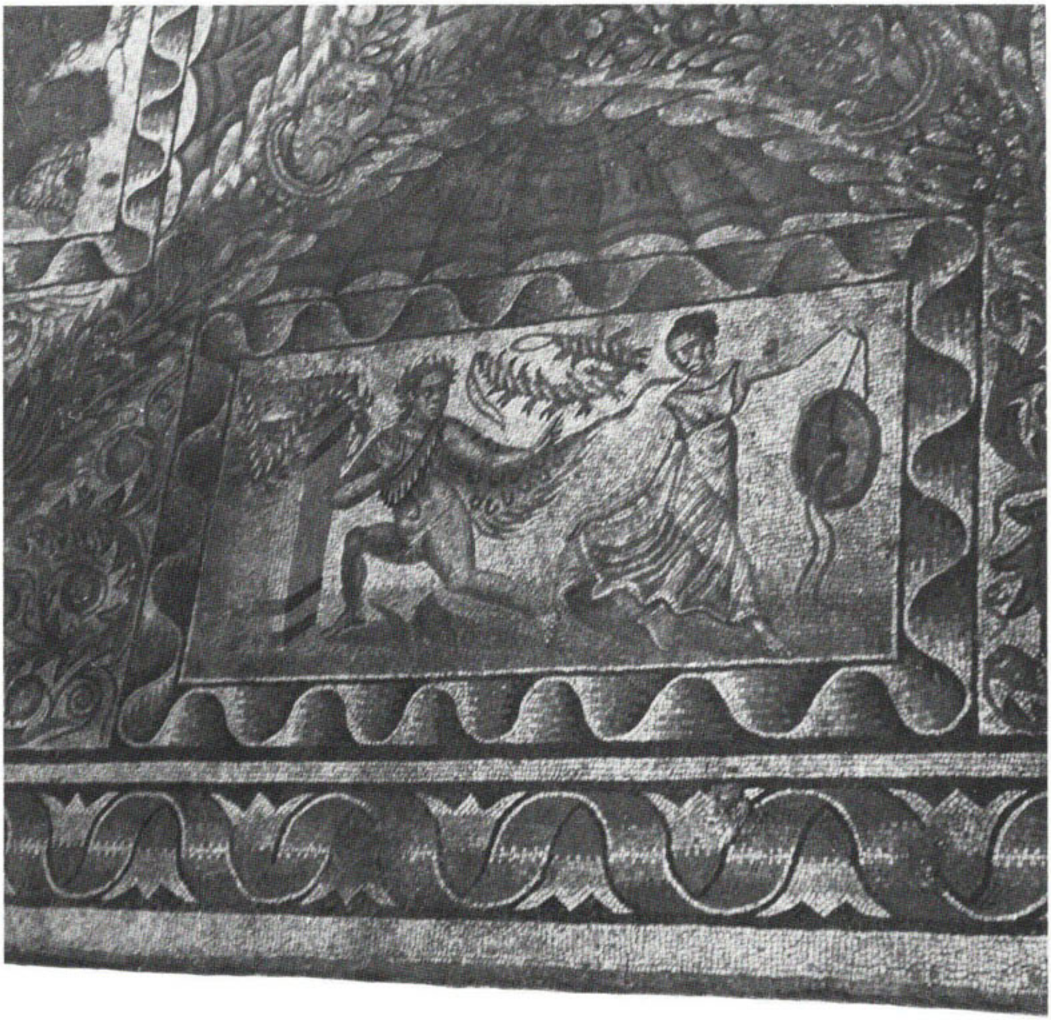
2. Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Cubicolo. Mosaico con scena erotica



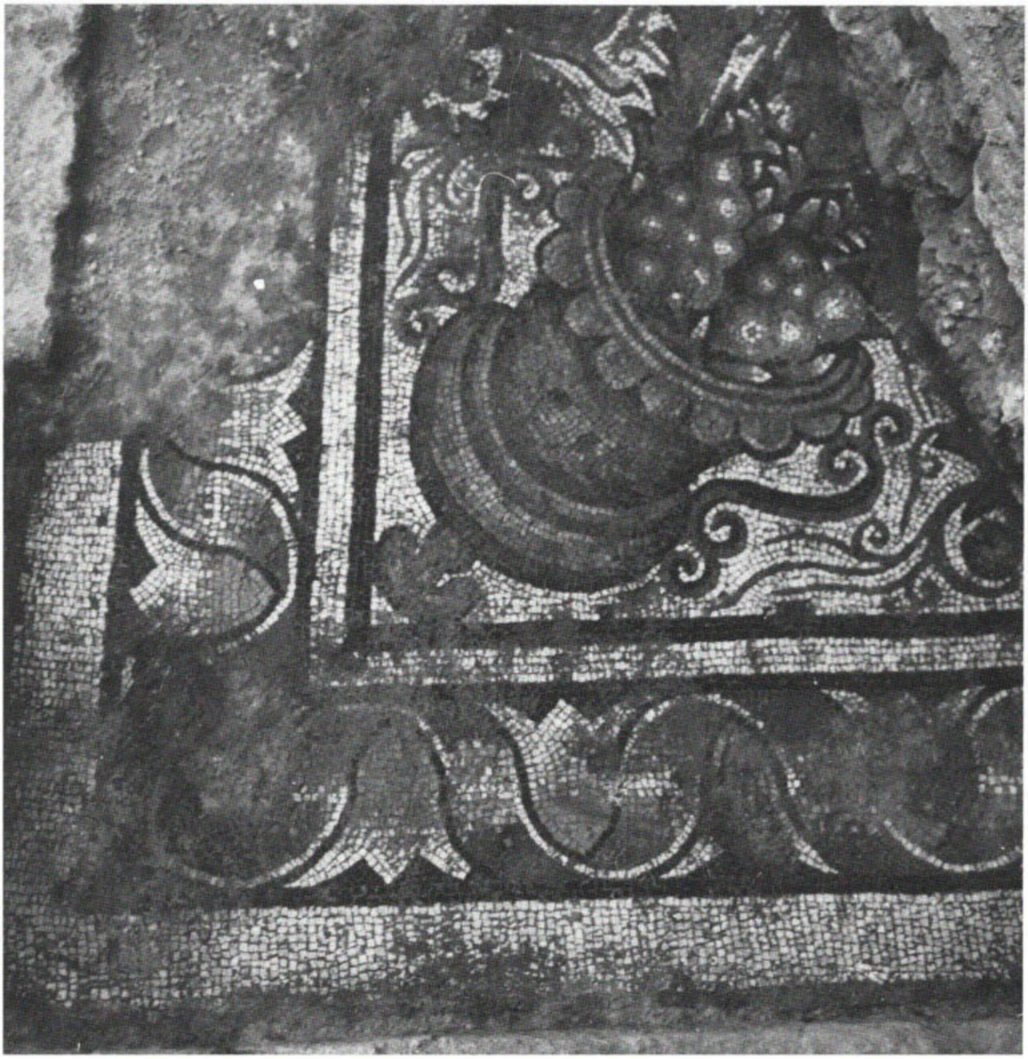
Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Grande mosaico della caccia, con personificazione dell'Africa(?)


ΟΔVCCΕΥC
ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥC·Δ
ΤΡWΕC·ΠΡ

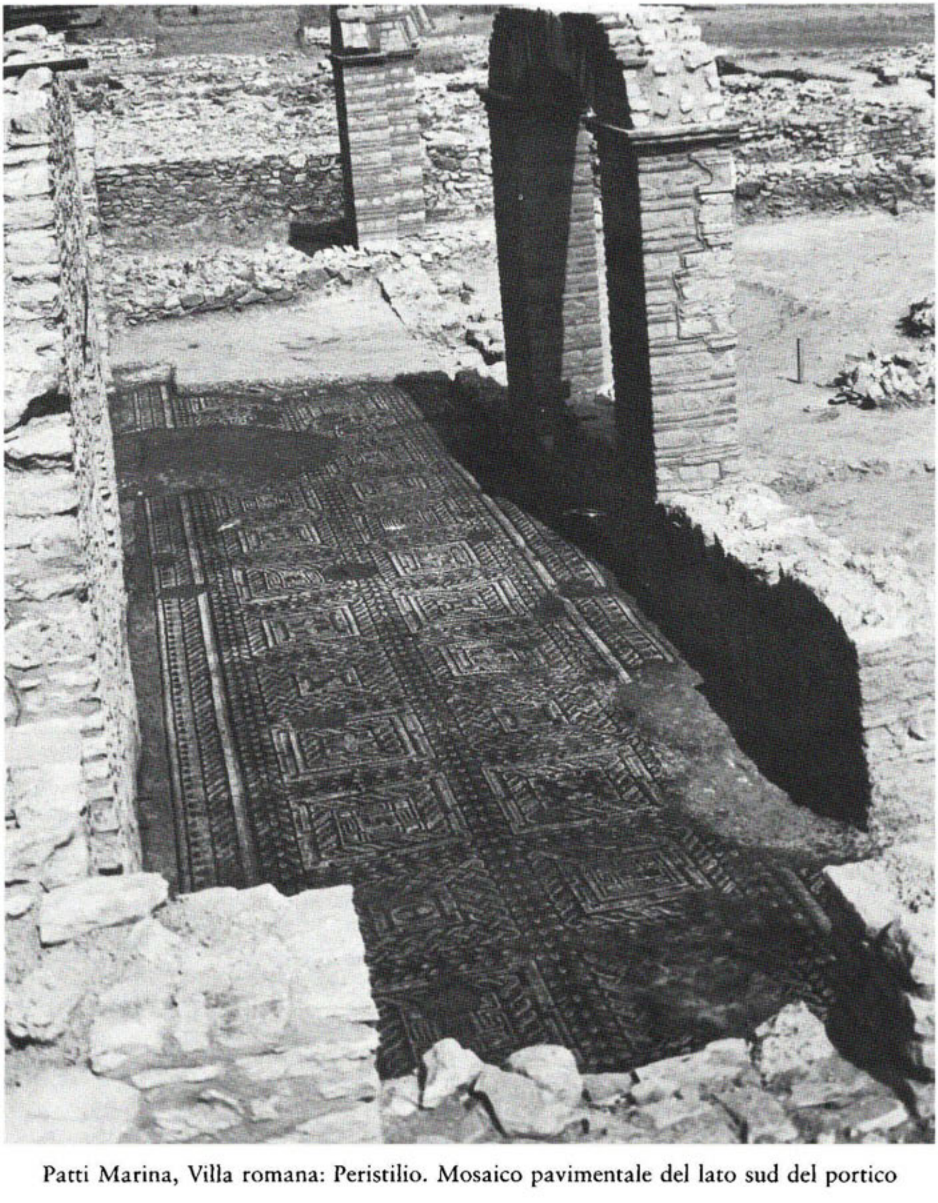
Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Mosaico col riscatto del corpo di Ettore, alla presenza di Odisseo, Achille, Diomede, Priamo e Troiani



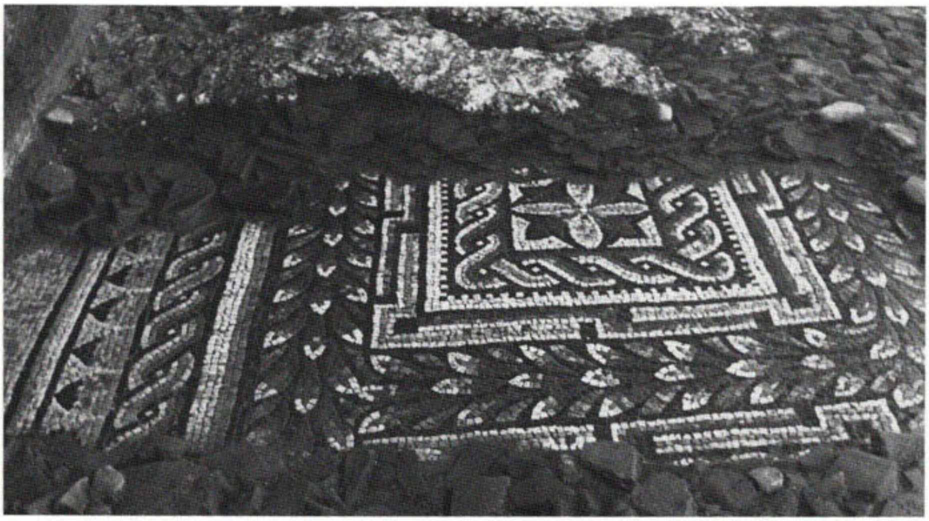
Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Mosaico con Satiro e Menade timpanista, danzanti presso un'ara



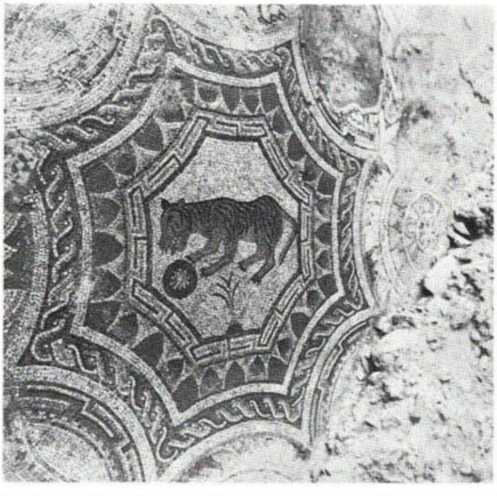
Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Mosaico con grande *kantharos* colmo di elementi floreali e grappoli d'uva



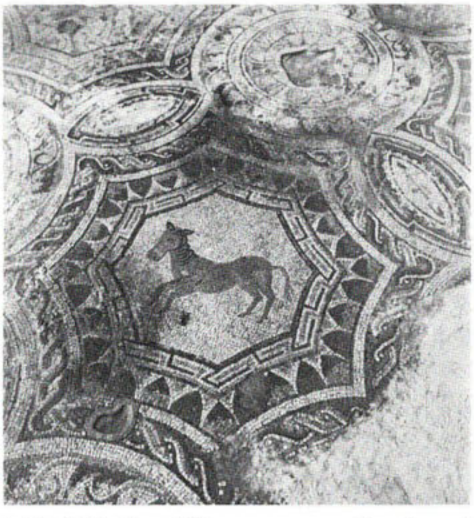
Patti Marina, Villa romana: Peristilio. Mosaico pavimentale del lato sud del portico



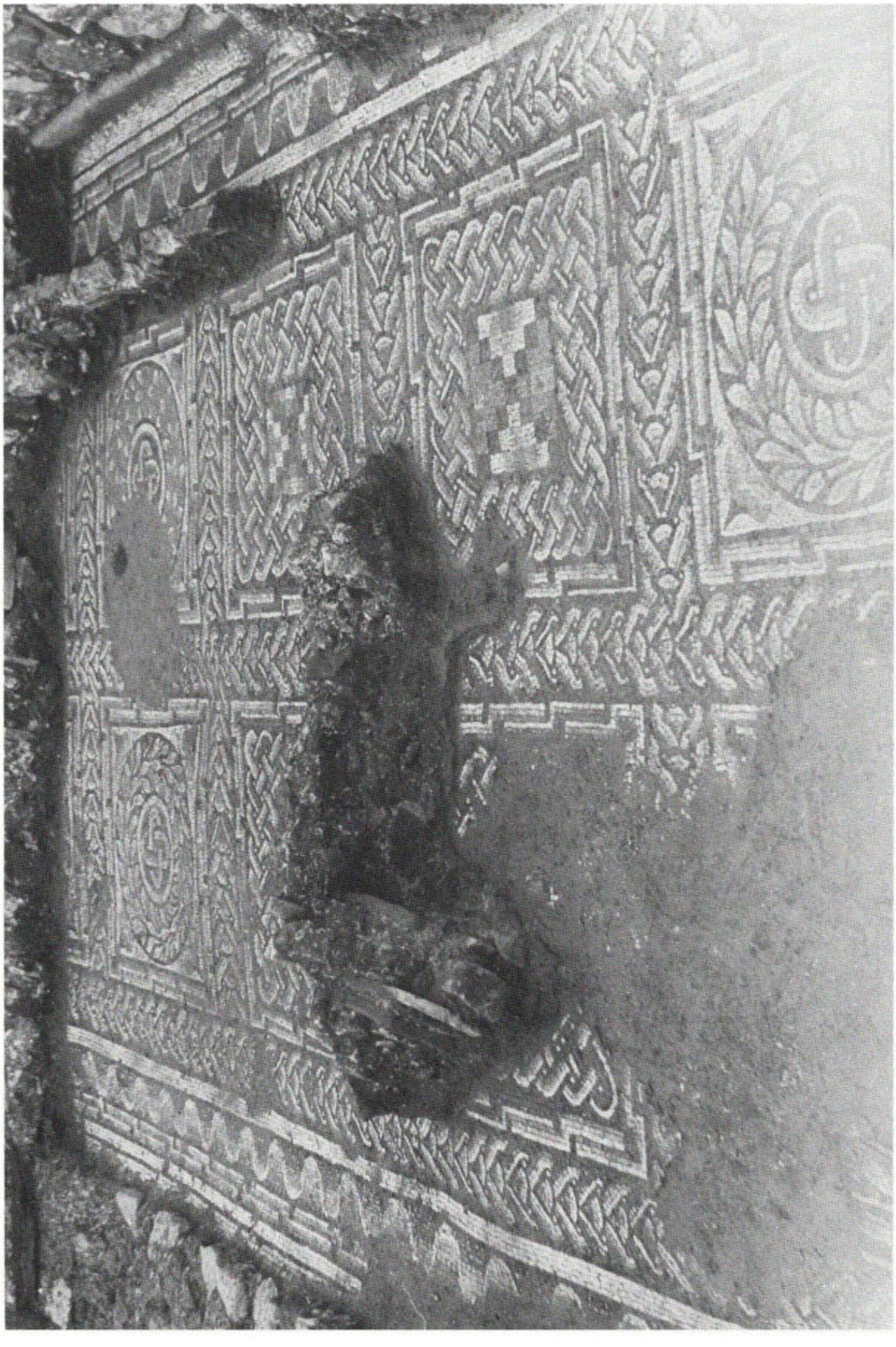
1. Patti Marina, Villa romana: Peristilio. Strato di tegole sul pavimento del portico del lato sud



2. Patti Marina, Villa romana: portico davanti alla sala tricora. Mosaico con medaglioni poligonali, al centro un felino



3. Patti Marina, Villa romana: portico davanti alla sala tricora. Mosaico con medaglioni poligonali, al centro un asino



Patti Marina, Villa romana: Peristilio. Mosaico pavimentale del lato est del portico

Tav.	XV,1	Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Corridoio della Grande Caccia. Mosaico con il gruppo dei proprietari. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).
	2	Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Triclinio. Mosaico dei Giganti vinti (part.). (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).
Tav.	XVI,1	Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Corridoio della Grande Caccia. Mosaico con la personificazione dell'Africa (?). (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).
	2	Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Vestibolo. Mosaico con Polifemo e Ulisse. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).
Tav.	XVII,1	Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Ginnasio. Mosaico con gare nel Circo. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).
	2	Piazza Armerina, Villa del Casale: Cubicolo. Mosaico con scena erotica. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Agrigento).
Tav.	XVIII	Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Grande mosaico della caccia, con personificazione dell'Africa(?). (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
Tav.	XIX	Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Mosaico col riscatto del corpo di Ettore, alla presenza di Odisseo, Achille, Diomede, Priamo e Troiani. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
Tav.	XX	Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Mosaico con Satiro e Menade timpanista, danzanti presso un'ara. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
Tav.	XXI	Eloro, Villa del Tellaro. Mosaico con grande *kantharos* colmo di elementi floreali e grappoli d'uva. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
Tav.	XXII	Patti Marina, Villa romana: Peristilio. Mosaico pavimentale del lato sud del portico. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
Tav.	XXIII,1	Patti Marina, Villa romana: Peristilio. Strato di tegole sul pavimento del portico del lato sud. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
	2	Patti Marina, Villa romana: portico davanti alla sala tricora. Mosaico con medaglioni poligonali, al centro un felino. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
	3	Patti Marina, Villa romana: portico davanti alla sala tricora. Mosaico con medaglioni poligonali, al centro un asino. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).
Tav.	XXIV	Patti Marina, Villa romana: Peristilio. Mosaico pavimentale del lato est del portico. (Foto Soprintendenza Arch. Siracusa).

Opere pubbliche ed edifici per lo spettacolo nella Sicilia di età imperiale

di OSCAR BELVEDERE, Palermo

Sommario

Introduzione 346

I. Il periodo augusteo e giulio-claudio 347
  1. Siracusa. La nuova sistemazione monumentale della Neapolis 349
  2. Edifici celebrativi e commemorativi: il tempietto di Capo Molini 358

II. La ripresa flavio-traianea: l'anfiteatro di Termini Imerese 361

III. Il periodo adrianeo e la sua appendice antoniniana 363
  1. Il teatro e l'odeon di Taormina 364
  2. I grandi edifici di Catania 368
  3. Edifici termali, acquedotti, ninfei 373
  4. Il c.d. Ginnasio di Siracusa 380

IV. Tecniche edilizie del I – II sec. d. C. 382

V. La politica imperiale e la crisi finanziaria del II secolo 390

VI. Il momento severiano e il periodo tardo-antico: il settizodio di Lilibeo; edifici termali cittadini; la ripresa delle campagne e gli edifici termali rurali 393

Bibliografia e abbreviazioni 410

Indice delle illustrazioni 412
  I. Tavole 412
  II. Figure 413

Introduzione

Come nelle altre province della parte occidentale dell'impero, l'architettura romana, cioè la tradizione architettonica romano-laziale e romano-campana, non penetrò in Sicilia prima dell'età augustea e la sua diffusione è da mettere in rapporto con la deduzione nell'isola di alcune colonie, voluta da Augusto intorno al 20 a. C. Il WARD PERKINS, alcuni anni fa[1], a proposito della Gallia Narbonense e dell'Africa, mise in rilievo che per tutto il II – I sec. a. C. la cultura architettonica di queste province si mantenne generalmente nel solco della tradizione tardo-ellenistica in esse radicata, sebbene ci sfugga ancora il ruolo svolto in questo campo dalle colonie fondate in età repubblicana nei due territori[2]. Se ciò è vero per Africa e Gallia, tanto più ovvio appare in Sicilia il mantenimento di una esclusiva tradizione culturale ellenistica[3], sia pure forse con qualche eccezione nelle città costiere, che dovettero accogliere numerosi residenti italici[4], i quali portarono con sé la propria cultura architettonica. Quest'ultima fece sentire la sua influenza in alcuni aspetti dell'architettura domestica e anche, in pochi casi, nel campo dell'edilizia pubblica[5]; è altrettanto evidente, tuttavia, che la tradizione architettonica italica rimase circoscritta e non ebbe larga diffusione nei centri siciliani, che restarono legati alla cultura ellenistica. Il complesso dell'agorà di Solunto[6]; la stoà di Halesa[7], quella tardo-ellenistica di Termini Imerese[8], gli edifici di Taormina e Siracusa, le abitazioni di Morgantina, per citare solo alcuni esempi, confermano la vitalità della architettura ellenistica in Sicilia (un aspetto del tenace legame con la cultura greca)[9], pur in un periodo che, dalle guerre puniche a quelle servili e alle spoliazioni di Verre, non fu certo particolarmente prospero per le città siciliane[10].

---

[1] J. B. WARD PERKINS, in: JRS 60, 1970, pp. 1 – 19, in particolare pp. 1 – 2 e 18 – 19.

I. Il periodo augusteo e giulio-claudio

La deduzione nell'isola di colonie, in seguito al viaggio di Augusto del 22 – 21 a. C., costituì il primo vero tentativo, da parte dei Romani, di attuare una politica colonizzatrice in Sicilia[11], politica che possiamo supporre non indolore per le comunità, perché i suoi connotati punitivi[12] non risparmiarono le città prescelte[13], anche se nel tempo non mancarono conseguenze positive[14]. Infatti, la deduzione dei coloni immise nelle comunità gruppi di cittadini romani, con proprie nuove esigenze in fatto di servizi, e quindi di opere pubbliche, e soprattutto dotati di capacità politica sufficiente per ottenere che il governo imperiale prestasse attenzione alle loro necessità. Non meraviglia, quindi, che l'attività edilizia si concentri, come più volte ormai è stato sottolineato[15], nelle colonie – con le significative e spiegabili eccezioni di Lilibeo e Centuripe[16] – e non meraviglia neanche che i primi interventi in questo senso avvengano già in età augustea. La politica edilizia di Augusto, nonostante i vanti delle sue *'res gestae'*, non fu molto prodiga verso le città provinciali, stimolate piuttosto a far da sé[17]; tuttavia si possono individuare due linee di tendenza, la prima volta a organizzare nelle nuove colonie almeno alcuni dei servizi essenziali (foro e *capitolium*, teatro o anfiteatro)[18]; la seconda a promuovere la costruzione di monumenti a carattere celebrativo e commemorativo (in primo luogo gli archi onorari) e a organizzare i luoghi di culto imperiale. In Sicilia sono noti entrambi gli aspetti di questa politica, sia pure in maniera limitata; il primo, poiché in conformità alle direttive generali dell'imperatore (forse anche perché le città si erano dotate in precedenza di complessi pubblici, soprattutto quelli amministrativi), gli interventi furono sostanzialmente circoscritti a Siracusa (e probabilmente anche a Catania), le città che dovettero ricevere i gruppi più numerosi di coloni[19]; del secondo ci sfugge, invece, l'esatta portata, in quanto, anche se gruppi di ritratti della famiglia giulio-claudia sono stati rinvenuti in varie località, conosciamo un solo edificio di culto imperiale, quello degli *Augustales* di Centuripe, che, tra l'altro, a nostro parere, va datato in età adrianeo-antoniniana.

---

[2] Come Narbona e Aquae Sextiae in Gallia o la colonizzazione mariana in Africa. Per la Gallia Narbonense si veda P. Gros, in: Hellenismus in Mittelitalien, Göttingen 1976, in particolare pp. 300 – 303.

[3] Ward Perkins, art. cit., p. 5.

[4] Per i residenti italici in Sicilia, A. J. N. Wilson, Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome, Manchester – New York 1966, pp. 19 – 22; 55 – 64; A. Fraschetti, in: Società romana e produzione schiavistica I, Roma – Bari 1981, pp. 51 – 77.

[5] Case ad atrio ad Agrigento, E. De Miro, in: RendLinc (ser. 8) 1, 1957, p. 136; Id., in: Kokalos 12, 1966, p. 231 (larario ad Eraclea Minoa); B. Tsakirgis, The Domestic Architecture of Morgantina in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, Diss. Princeton Univ. 1984, p. 477 (per la chiusura dei portici dei peristili).

[6] L. Natoli, in: Odeon e altri 'monumenti' archeologici, Palermo 1971, pp. 108 – 109.

[7] G. Scibona, in: Kokalos 17, 1971, p. 4; L. Bernabò Brea, Kokalos, 18 – 19, 1972 – 1973, p. 176.

[8] O. Belvedere, in: Kokalos 28 – 29, 1982 – 1983, p. 74.

[9] G. Manganaro, in: Storia della Sicilia II, p. 447.

[10] Si vedano da ultimi, F. Coarelli, in: Società romana I, cit., pp. 1 – 18, in part. pp. 14 – 18; Coarelli, in: Storia della Sicilia II, pp. 373 – 375; G. Clemente, in: Kokalos 26 – 27, 1980 – 1981, pp. 192 – 210; M. Mazza, ibid., pp. 308 – 336, per le condizioni economiche; G. Bejor, in: Forme di contatto e processi di trasformazione nelle società antiche, Pisa – Roma 1983, pp. 345 – 374.

---

[11] Non vi era stata prima una vera politica colonizzatrice, Clemente, art. cit., pp. 200–201.

[12] Per cui cfr. Clemente, art. cit., pp. 210–211.

[13] Ad esempio Taormina subì confische, Clemente, art. cit., p. 211; per l'impatto della colonia romana sulla popolazione di Termini, Belvedere, art. cit., p. 79.

[14] Come vedremo, l'attività edilizia si concentra soprattutto nelle colonie: v. anche Coarelli, in: Storia della Sicilia II, p. 381.

[15] Coarelli, in: Storia della Sicilia II, p. 381.

[16] Lilibeo fu sempre sede amministrativa, la cui importanza aumenta a partire dal III secolo; per la vitalità del retroterra agricolo centuripino, Mazza, art. cit., p. 339.

[17] Per la politica edilizia augustea, Bodei Giglioni, pp. 137–151, in particolare pp. 145 ss. (ivi bibliografia); P. A. Brunt – J. M. Moore, Res Gestae Divi Augusti, The Achievements of the Divine Augustus, Oxford 1967, p. 61 ss.

[18] Si ricordi il noto discorso di Mecenate, riportato da Cassio Dione, Bodei Giglioni, pp. 147–148.

[19] Un consistente ripopolamento è attestato per Siracusa, Clemente, in: Storia della Sicilia II, p. 467, che rimase la principale sede amministrativa dell'isola.

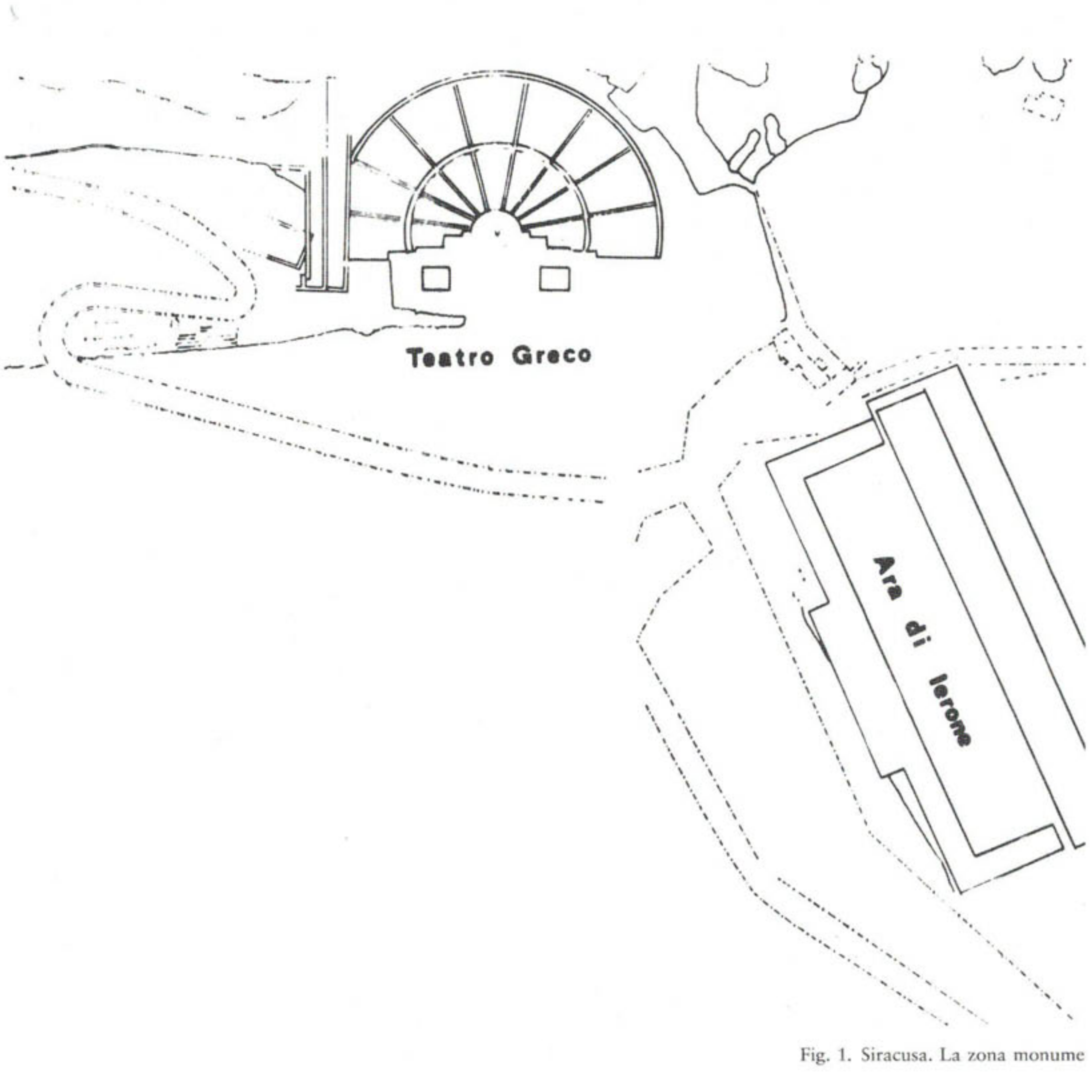
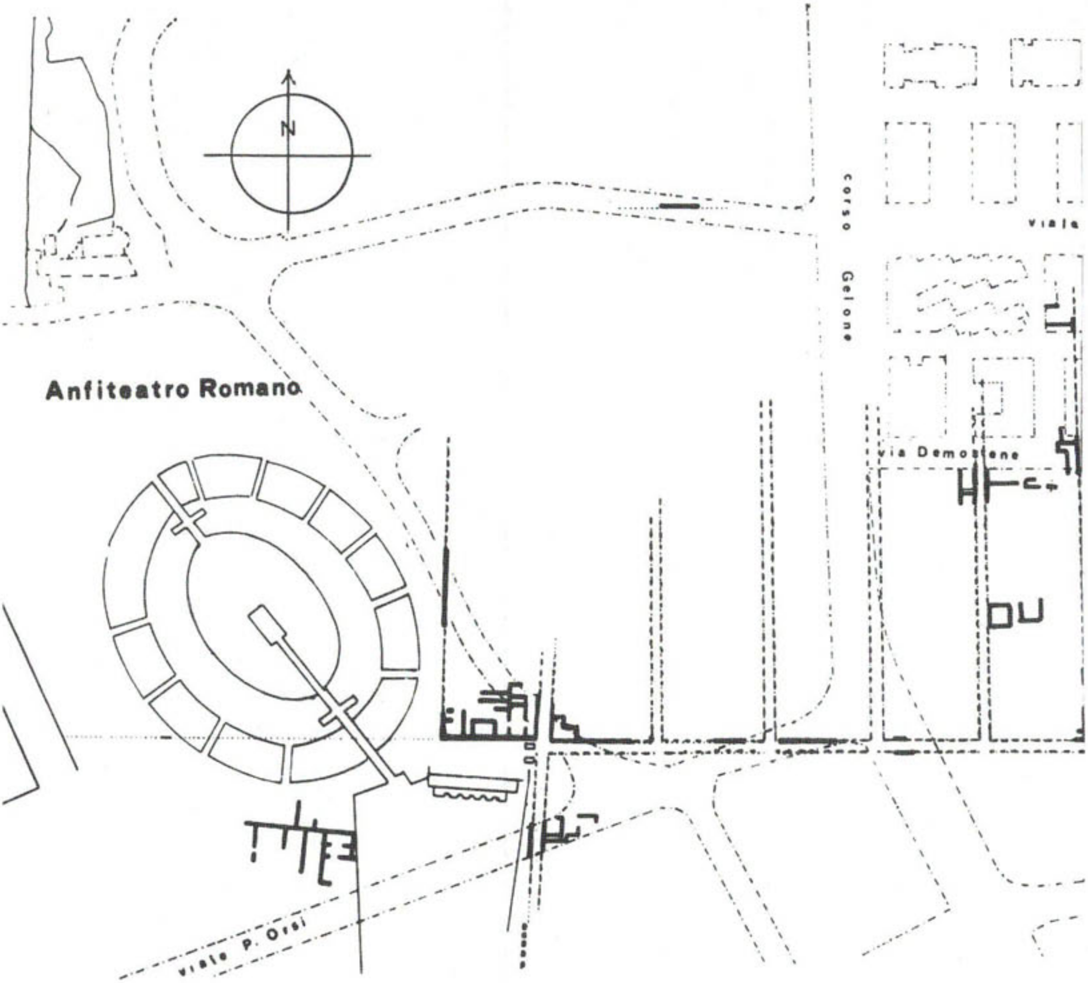

Teatro Greco
Ara di Ierone

Fig. 1. Siracusa. La zona monume


N
Anfiteatro Romano
corso Gelone
viale
via Demostene
viale P. Orsi

ntale della Neapolis in età romana

1. Siracusa. La nuova sistemazione monumentale della Neapolis

Un intervento edilizio di notevole importanza dobbiamo supporre a Catania, se i resti – a livello inferiore – delle grotte di S. Pantaleo, dell'inizio dell'età imperiale, come dimostra l'opera reticolata in essi impiegata, sono da riferire a una prima sistemazione del foro, con una serie di botteghe o uffici su un lato[20]. Di gran lunga più importanti, comunque, ci appaiono gli interventi edilizi di questo periodo a Siracusa, che portarono a una nuova sistemazione monumentale e urbanistica della Neapolis, della zona della città cioè destinata alle attrezzature per spettacoli, il cui fulcro fu costituito dall'anfiteatro. Da un punto di vista urbanistico (fig. 1), il monumento fu collocato all'interno di un complesso costituito da due vasti piazzali a diverso livello, quello inferiore, il c.d. 'ippocampo', progettato al fine evidente di valorizzare l'aspetto monumentale dell'edificio, posto sulla terrazza più alta[21], che venne esaltato anche mediante la sistemazione a ninfeo del muro di sostegno della terrazza e dalle gradinate che permettevano di raggiungere il piazzale superiore. Il complesso è, inoltre, inserito con abilità nel precedente tessuto urbano, ellenistico, della zona; esso si trova su una delle più importanti *plateiai*, che, proveniente dall'Acradina, attraversa in senso Est-Ovest la città[22] e il c.d. 'ippocampo' è perfettamente adattato al tessuto viario, essendo compreso tra due *stenopoi*[23]. L'anfiteatro non segue l'orientamento del piano urbanistico precedente, poiché il suo asse maggiore è dettato dalla conformazione del terreno, cioè della cava, le cui pareti furono sfruttate per sostenere il meniano inferiore; del resto ciò che importava all'architetto non era tanto il formale rispetto di un piano urbano, che si doveva manomettere comunque, interrompendo la continuità dell'asse viario Est-Ovest, quanto lo sfruttamento della situazione urbanistica esistente, per rispondere a una delle preoccupazioni fondamentali dei costruttori di edifici da spettacolo romani, quella del rapido accesso e deflusso della folla degli spettatori[24]. E' questa anche la seconda importante funzione dell' 'ippocampo'; offrire uno sfogo alla folla che andava ad assistere o ritornava dallo spettacolo, costituendo una sorta di polmone, che ne regolava il movimento. A questo scopo ci si servì anche della preesistente viabilità della zona: dal lato sud-ovest, l'anfiteatro poteva essere raggiunto tramite le due strade che costeggiavano l' 'ippocampo'; dal lato opposto (quello nord-est), un'altra strada Nord-Sud[25] serviva l'ingresso principale a Settentrione del monumento[26]. Si realizzò in tal modo un inserimento meditato e non casuale del complesso e una manomissione giustificata e tutto sommato valida del sistema viario cittadino.

---

[20] Holm – Libertini, pp. 48 – 49, fig. 13; Pace, ACSA 2, p. 356, fig. 291. Si può anche ricordare la sistemazione augustea del foro di Taormina, G. M. Bacci, in: Kokalos 26 – 27, 1980 – 1981, p. 738.

[21] Gentili, p. 27.

[22] Gentili, pp. 17, 21; G. Voza, in: Kokalos 22 – 23, 1976 – 1977, pp. 553 – 554.

[23] Gentili, p. 30.

[24] Mansuelli, Urbanistica, pp. 90 – 91; Id., Architettura, pp. 214 – 220.

[25] Forse uno *stenopos* che incrociava una *plateia* parallela alla fronte meridionale del teatro greco.

[26] Per le vie di accesso all'anfiteatro, Gentili, pp. 26 – 30.

Il valore del nuovo complesso venne sottolineato dalla costruzione di un arco, eretto molto probabilmente in onore di Augusto[27] (fig. 2). Da un punto di vista urbanistico[28] la sua funzione di passaggio o meglio di *propylon* monumentale, tipica della maggior parte degli archi urbani[29], è sottolineata dalla posizione del fornice all'incrocio con lo *stenopos* che costeggia a Ovest l' 'ippocampo'. Questa strada, che prosegue verso Nord, assume rispetto all'arco la funzione di margine[30], pur senza diminuirne il valore di sfondo monumentale, al termine della lunghissima *plateia*. Tale valore fu mantenuto e anche aumentato in seguito, quando in età antoniniana furono aggiunte al prospetto colonne su alti basamenti[31], e si venne a perdere in parte solo in età tardo-romana, con lo spostamento della sede stradale[32], anche se l'arco in sé continuò ad essere rispettato, come dimostra la sua ultima sistemazione nella seconda metà del VII sec. d. C.[33]. Non vi è dubbio, quindi, che il progetto della sistemazione di tutta la zona sia stato concepito unitariamente e anche l'arco, a nostro parere, fa parte integrante fin dalle origini di tale progetto.

Del monumento (Tav. II, 3–4) si conserva solo la base dei piloni del fornice, per cui è arduo restituirne l'elevato. Il Gentili ha messo in evidenza le analogie di dimensioni con l'arco di Susa e ha proposto una ricostruzione conseguente, che è da considerare valida, tanto più che, come a Susa, il rapporto tra vuoto e pieno è fissato rigorosamente a 2:2[34]; mentre l'allargarsi delle fondamenta sul prospetto esterno fa pensare alla presenza di colonne agli angoli. Il tipo architettonico infatti è quello con colonne angolari, poste, a differenza che a Susa e in analogia all'arco del Foro del 29 a. C.[35], solo sulla

---

[27] Gentili, pp. 21–22; Id., in: NSc 1951, pp. 266–277.

[28] Per il valore urbanistico degli archi onorari della prima età imperiale, D. Scagliarini Corlaita, Studi sull'arco, pp. 29–72.

[29] Scagliarini Corlaita, art. cit., p. 31; impiegati a livello di 'quartiere', ibid., pp. 38–39. L'impiego dell'arco, per introdurre a un complesso destinato a funzioni di spettacolo, invece che a uno spazio forense, non è testimoniato prima dell'età di Claudio anche fuori Roma e in provincia (ibid., pp. 32–33). Non daremmo, tuttavia, a questo fatto un valore cronologico assoluto, poiché il complesso dell'anfiteatro è la prima e più importante opera pubblica romana in Sicilia, per cui un arco onorario, posto al suo ingresso, trovava senz'altro collocazione opportuna. Il Gentili, p. 22 e in: NSc 1951, p. 277, data l'arco entro il primo decennio dell'E.V., sottolineandone gli stretti legami tipologici con l'arco di Susa.

[30] Nel senso illustrato da Scagliarini Corlaita, art. cit.,, p. 70, fig. 28 a; v. anche Mansuelli, Architettura, p. 212.

[31] Gentili, p. 22 e in: NSc 1951, p. 277.

[32] Voza, art. cit. n. 22, p. 555.

[33] V. nota 32.

[34] Cfr. S. De Maria, Studi sull'arco, p. 76. Sull'arco di Susa, da ultimo, J. Prieur, in: ANRW II, 12.1, 1982, pp. 451–459, con bibl.

[35] Per la ricostruzione B. Andreae, in: AA 72, 1957, cc. 147–148, fig. 15; F. S. Kleiner, The Arch of Nero in Rome, Roma 1985, pp. 25–27.

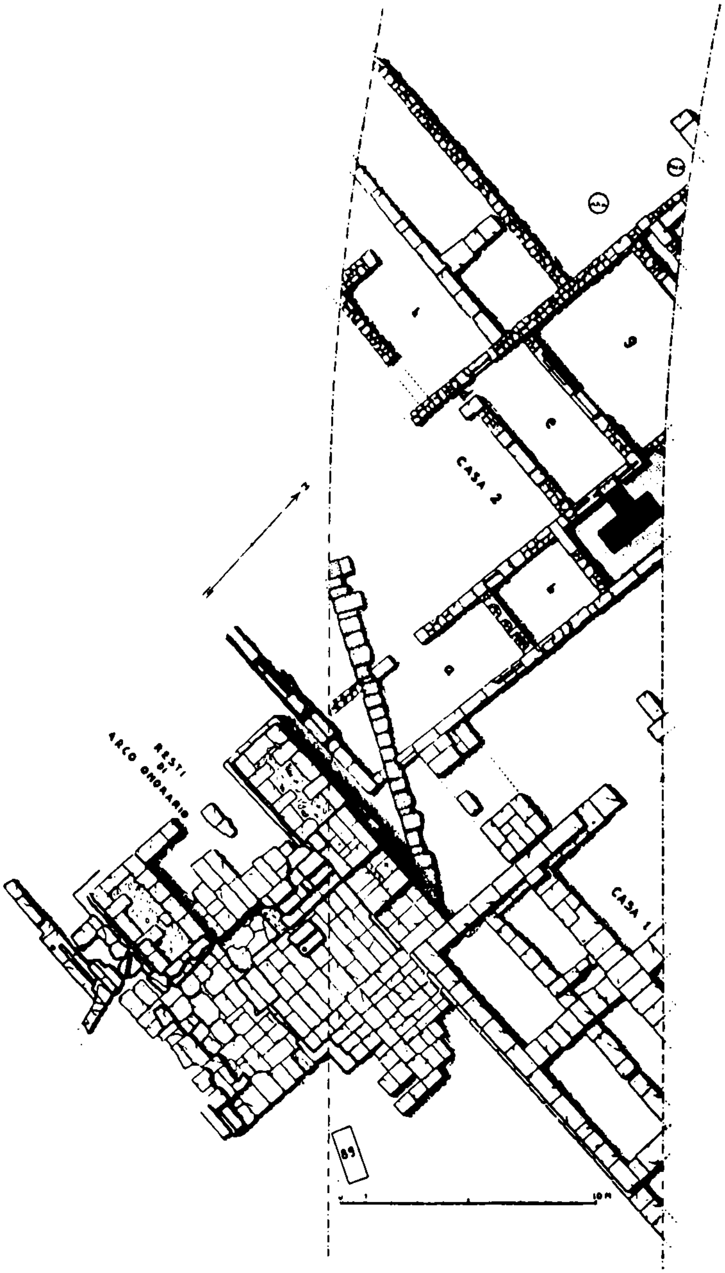

RESTI DI ARCO ONORARIO
CASA 2
CASA 1
89
10 m

Fig. 2. Siracusa. Planimetria dell'arco onorario augusteo

fronte[36]. Anche se nella coesistenza delle due soluzioni per la facciata si è visto nell'arco del Foro un compromesso tra la tendenza occidentale all'uso di colonne e quella greca e microasiatica che preferisce le paraste[37], non vi è dubbio che l'arco di Siracusa appaia ispirato ai contemporanei archi augustei dell'Italia, in particolare a quello di Susa, al quale è legato strettamente dal fregio figurato, la cui adozione negli archi onorari è, come è noto, un fatto eccezionale. E' logico, infatti, riferire al monumento[38] un frammento di rilievo con la parte inferiore di quattro figure togate, rinvenuto nel 1889 nei pressi dell'arco[39], anche perché le sue dimensioni (la parte superstite del fregio è alta m 0,35; l'intero fregio di Susa è alto m 0,52) non ostano a questo accostamento.

Il significato di un fregio del genere si basa evidentemente sulla facilità di lettura del soggetto rappresentato, per cui si potrebbe pensare a una scena di sacrificio o di processione o comunque a carattere sacro, legata alla deduzione della colonia romana. Una scena simile e la presenza stessa del fregio figurato in sé sottolineano il carattere sacro dell'arco[40], aumentandone il valore commemorativo e celebrativo[41]. L'arco di Siracusa, pertanto, ci appare un monumento tipicamente romano[42], voluto anche nella scelta delle forme dal centro del potere, ed estraneo alla cultura architettonica locale: tipica è la sua collocazione in luogo frequentatissimo[43]; romana è l'architettura e il contenuto del fregio; legato a concetti romani il suo significato celebrativo e commemorativo. In rapporto, quindi, ai provinciali, i Greci di Siracusa e dell'isola, l'arco era una chiara affermazione del nuovo stato giuridico di colonia romana della città (esplicitamente espresso nel fregio figurato, se la nostra ipotesi sul contenuto della scena è esatta). Per i provinciali l'opera, estranea alla loro cultura artistica, che non concede nulla alla tradizione architettonica ellenistica e pertanto esclude l'apporto locale, è un messaggio non dissimile da quello dell'arco eretto da Verre nella stessa città alcuni decenni prima, dall'alto del quale il governatore dominava „la provincia da lui spogliata“[44].

---

[36] Sul lato retrostante dobbiamo immaginare delle paraste poste angolarmente, come nell'arco di Filippi, anch'esso strutturalmente analogo a quello di Susa, De Maria, Studi sull'arco, p. 76 e pp. 84–85, fig. 29.

[37] De Maria, art. cit., p. 84.

[38] Cfr. Coarelli, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 381.

[39] P. Orsi, in: NSc 1899, p. 385.

[40] Cui rimandano quegli elementi (colonne, fregio, basamenti) propri dell'architettura templare, De Maria, Studi sull'arco, pp. 80, 88–90; Id., in: RivArch 1, 1977, p. 44.

[41] In quanto vincola il monumento a un preciso avvenimento (quello che il Mansuelli, in: Mélanges Piganiol I, Paris 1966, p. 563, ha definito „circostanziato attualismo"), per cui il fregio diventa il principale elemento dell'apparato scultoreo, cfr. G. Gualandi, Studi sull'arco, pp. 120–121.

[42] Sul valore commemorativo e celebrativo degli archi, Mansuelli, in: BollStArch 12, 1958, pp. 3–23 e in: Mélanges Piganiol I, cit., pp. 549–565; si vedano, inoltre, per la tipologia, la formazione e il significato dell'arco onorario, oltre il citato volume 'Studi sull'arco', soprattutto i lavori dello stesso Mansuelli, in: AEA 27, 1954, pp. 107–114; in: MonPiot 54, 1964, p. 25 ss.; in: Arte antica e moderna 8, 1955, pp. 364–368 e anche De Maria, in: Parametro 20, 1973, pp. 36–41. Per la terminologia, Mansuelli, Studi sull'arco, pp. 15–17.

[43] Il '*celeberrimus locus*' dell'arco di Pisa, Mansuelli, in: Mélanges Piganiol I, cit., p. 560.

L'anfiteatro (fig. 3) è certo uno dei più notevoli edifici del suo genere nella prima età imperiale[45]. Da un punto di vista tipologico[46] ciò che caratterizza l'opera non è tanto lo sfruttamento del terreno per sostenere la cavea – un espediente ben noto negli anfiteatri più antichi – ma lo sforzo per realizzare un sistema di accessi e di corridoi anulari di disimpegno articolato e funzionale (Tav. I, 1–2). A parte la *crypta* di servizio, scavata subito dietro il podio[47], vi sono, infatti, ben tre ambulacri interni (due scavati e coperti a volta, che girano interamente sotto la cavea[48] e un terzo, superiore, che permetteva di accedere alla galleria)[49], oltre a quello esterno[50], che il GENTILI ricostruisce a un ordine di arcate e attico[51].

Questo complesso sistema di distribuzione, cui sono raccordati gli accessi dall'esterno, è ciò che realmente differenzia l'edificio siracusano da quelli contemporanei, non solo da quelli in cui il sistema di circolazione è primitivo, come Merida[52] o anche Lucera e Sutri[53]; ma anche da quelli, in Italia, che

---

[44] Cic., Verr. II, 154; per l'arco di Verre e il suo significato, MANSUELLI, in: Mélanges Piganiol I, cit., p. 557; GUALANDI, Studi sull'arco, pp. 104–106. Nell'arco augusteo di Siracusa l'apertura, sia pure minima, al patrimonio culturale greco, che nell'arco di Verre è implicita nella nudità eroica della figura del figlio posta accanto alla statua del padre a cavallo, è significativamente scomparsa. Per il significato degli archi onorari nei confronti dei provinciali, v. in generale DE MARIA, Studi sull'arco, p. 91; A. VON GLADISS, in: RM 79, 1972, p. 87; DE MARIA, in: ANRW II, 12.4/5 (in preparazione).

[45] E' edito da GENTILI, pp. 3–80 (ivi bibliografia precedente). Lo studioso data l'edificio agli inizi del III sec. d. C. (in particolare, v. GENTILI, pp. 74–76), ma si veda R. J. A. WILSON, in: Miscellanea Manni, vol. 6, Roma 1980, pp. 2217–2230; cf. ID., Towns of Sicily during the Roman Empire, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), pp. 113–114.

[46] Naturalmente esula dal nostro lavoro una descrizione particolareggiata di questo, come degli altri edifici di cui tratteremo; nostro scopo è invece un loro più dettagliato inquadramento tipologico e storico. La tecnica edilizia dei principali monumenti siciliani è stata esaminata da LUGLI, Tecnica, passim e ID., Studi minori, pp. 203–222, le cui osservazioni ci guideranno in questo campo.

[47] GENTILI, p. 34 e pp. 48–50. Comunica con l'arena per mezzo di otto porte.

[48] GENTILI, p. 34 e pp. 55–56; 60–61.

[49] GENTILI, pp. 34, 60; LUGLI, Studi Minori, p. 214 sembrerebbe escludere la presenza della *porticus in summa cavea.*

[50] GENTILI, p. 34 e pp. 61–63.

[51] GENTILI, p. 63.

[52] Nell'anfiteatro di Merida, eretto nell'8 a. C., la circolazione è molto primitiva e non furono previsti ambulacri anulari sotterranei; gli accessi dall'esterno conducono alla *praecinctio*, che divide la media dall'ima cavea, o direttamente nella arena, da cui si risaliva ai vari ordini di posti, cfr. M. ALMAGRO, Mérida, Mérida 1957, pp. 71–72; R. ÉTIENNE, in: Mélanges Piganiol II, Paris 1966, pp. 993–994.

[53] A Lucera e a Sutri vi è un solo ambulacro, che gira sotto la cavea, cui si accedeva, come a Siracusa mediante scale, dai due corridoi assiali che portavano nell'arena; cfr. per Lucera, G. GIOVANNONI, in: Palladio 4, 1940, pp. 287–288 (pianta in: AC 9, 1957, p. 117); per Sutri P. C. SESTIERI, in: Palladio 3, 1939, pp. 241–248.

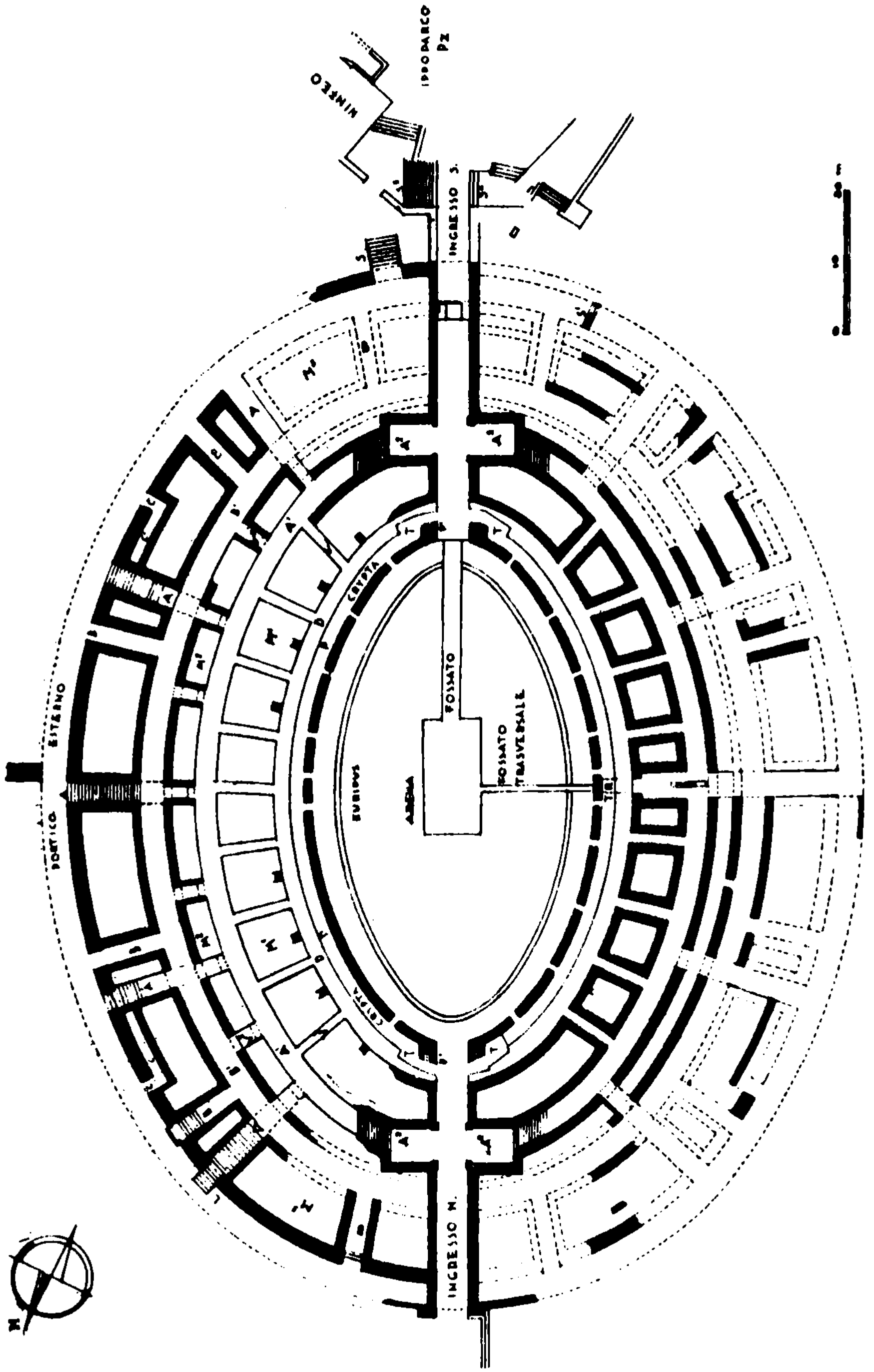

NINFEO
INGRESSO S.
INGRESSO N.
PORTICO ESTERNO
CRYPTA
PODIUS
ARENA
FOSSATO
FOSSATO TRASVERSALE

Fig. 3. Siracusa. Planimetria dell'anfiteatro

presentano maggiore articolazione interna, come gli anfiteatri di Cagliari[54] e soprattutto di Venosa[55], che con i suoi tre ambulacri anulari ci sembra, da questo punto di vista, il più simile a quello siracusano. Nessuno di questi edifici presenta, infatti, il doppio sistema indipendente di ingressi, che conducono ciascuno a un ambulacro ellittico e che, sebbene non siano integrati tra di loro, assicurano una circolazione spedita all'interno della struttura e un rapido raggiungimento di ogni ordine di posti.

Sulla pianta del GENTILI, l'anfiteatro siciliano misura m 145 × 115; le misure dell'arena sono date dallo stesso autore in m 69,80 × 39,70, corrispondenti esattamente a quelle calcolabili sulla pianta[56]. Ne consegue un rapporto tra gli assi di 1,26, piuttosto ridotto, specialmente in confronto a quello della arena (1,75)[57]. Vi è dunque una sproporzione tra arena e anello costruito, che risulta notevolmente ampio (m 37,60). L'architetto, pertanto, basò i suoi calcoli su un asse maggiore per l'arena lungo 235 piedi (o forse teoricamente 240) e un asse minore di 100 piedi più corto; la larghezza della cavea equivale a 127 piedi. A tali proporzioni fu probabilmente costretto dal desiderio di sfruttare il più possibile, per risparmiare lavoro, l'opportunità offerta dal sito e forse anche dalle condizioni in cui trovò la cava preesistente. Una simile sproporzione si trova anche nell'anfiteatro di Cartagine (rapporto tra gli assi 1,22 e 1,76 per l'arena)[58], che è contemporaneo al nostro[59], ma secondo il Lézine essa è da attribuire a un successivo allargamento della cavea[60].

Il GENTILI ritiene che l'impiego a Siracusa dell'opera reticolata, insieme all'opera quadrata (Tav. XVIII, 37–38; XIX, 39), per le parti costruite, sia da considerare un attardamento[61], ma l'assenza del reticolato nel teatro e nell'anfiteatro di Catania, di età adrianeo-antoniniana, periodo in cui nel Continente si ha una ripresa di questa tecnica, dimostra che in Sicilia il reticolato non fu più adoperato dopo l'epoca augustea e giulio-claudia, evidentemente perché non vi erano più maestranze capaci di realizzarlo, date le difficoltà che esso offre[62]. Quindi dobbiamo ammettere con il LUGLI, che l'opera sia stata introdotta in Sicilia dai coloni augustei[63] e la grossolanità che esso presenta in alcuni paramenti murari del nostro anfiteatro (Tav. XVIII, 37), insieme alle deficienze nella disposizione dei conci degli archi e delle ammorsature tra volte e archi (Tav. XVIII, 37, 38; XIX, 40), vanno spiegate con la modesta capacità delle maestranze[64]. Numerosi edifici augustei o della prima età imperiale presentano lo stesso accoppiamento di reticolato e di opera quadrata[65]; nel Lazio il teatro di Lanuvio e l'anfiteatro di Tusculo[66]; nell'Italia centrale i teatri di Gubbio e Amiterno e l'anfiteatro di Cassino (in questi ultimi l'*opus reticulatum* appare piuttosto trascurato[67], come a Siracusa); nell'Italia meridionale l'anfiteatro di Venosa e il teatro di Scolacium. In Africa l'uso contemporaneo delle due tecniche è documentato nell'anfiteatro di Cartagine[68].

---

[54] L'anfiteatro di Cagliari (D. LEVI, in: AJA 46, 1942, pp. 1–9; G. MAETZKE, in: Atti XIII Congresso di Storia dell'Architettura, Roma 1966, pp. 164–165; per la datazione, R. J. A. WILSON, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, p. 223, nota 8) ci sembra, per lo sfruttamento della roccia, la distribuzione degli ingressi, la sistemazione dei corridoi anulari, il portico di coronamento ad arcate, l'uso dell'opera quadrata (non è usato il reticolato, ma la sua assenza si spiega con la mancanza di maestranze capaci di realizzarlo), l'edificio più simile, dal punto di vista costruttivo, a quello di Siracusa.

[55] Per Venosa, G. PESCE, in: NSc 1936, pp. 450–456.

[56] GENTILI, p. 42.

[57] In genere, se l'arena ha un rapporto che si aggira intorno a questo valore, quello dell'ellisse esterna è superiore a 1,30; ad esempio a Lucera i valori sono rispettivamente 1,74 e 1,32.

[58] LÉZINE, pp. 60–64, in particolare p. 61.

[59] LÉZINE, p. 64.

[60] LÉZINE, pp. 61, 63, 64, ma non ci sembra che ci siano ancora prove decisive di ciò.

[61] GENTILI, p. 75; inoltre, in età severiana il reticolato è pressoché scomparso e non vi erano più, nemmeno a Roma, maestranze capaci, LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 508.

[62] In genere nelle province il reticolato non ha vita lunga, LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 508.

Se vogliamo tirare le somme di questo discorso, ci sembra che l'anfiteatro di Siracusa si inserisca in una linea tipologica coerente, che ha origine con gli edifici di Sutri e di Luni, che vengono ritenuti pre-augustei[69], e attraverso i monumenti di Merida e Lucera, giunge agli esiti più complessi di Siracusa, Cagliari e Venosa[70]. L'anfiteatro siciliano appare, quindi, un'opera di tradizione architettonica romana, come era da aspettarsi, data la estraneità alla tradizione locale della tipologia anfiteatrale, realizzata da un architetto di formazione italica, non alieno da innovazioni sperimentali nella ricerca di una migliore soluzione del problema degli accessi e della circolazione all'interno della struttura. In questo senso la vicenda dell'anfiteatro siracusano ci sembra parallela a quella di altri edifici provinciali, di quelli africani, cioè, di Cartagine e Leptis[71], che ci sembrano frutto di identici presupposti e uguali tentativi di ricerca[72]. Sebbene non siano sufficientemente noti, si può dire che soprattutto il secondo presenti forti analogie con il nostro: anch'esso utilizza una cava preesistente, per sistemarvi l'arena e alloggiare le gradinate, e si avvicina a Siracusa per il sistema di accessi e ambulacri molto simile e più sviluppato che negli edifici italiani che abbiamo portato a confronto, oltre che per il complesso dei *vomitoria* che conducono dagli ambulacri interni, scavati, alle gradinate. Siracusa e Leptis rappresentano, quindi, le migliori risposte possibili al problema della circolazione interna, pur mantenendo la parte inferiore della cavea appoggiata al terreno; un decisivo passo avanti si sarebbe avuto solo elevando su sostruzioni artificiali l'intera cavea: lo dimostrano tra l'altro i successivi epigoni africani del tipo appoggiato, gli anfiteatri di Sabratha[73] e Tebessa[74], che non costituiscono un superamento della soluzione adottata a Siracusa.

---

[63] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 508.

[64] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 347.

[65] BLAKE I, pp. 238–240.

[66] M. BORDA, Tusculo, Roma 1958, pp. 18–19, lo data nel II secolo.

[67] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 502.

[68] LÉZINE, p. 62; ROMANELLI, p. 55. Per Scolacium, E. A. ARSLAN, in: Atti Cesdir II, 1969–1970, pp. 58–59.

[69] Un tentativo di delineare lo sviluppo della tipologia anfiteatrale si deve a LUGLI, in: RIASA N.S. 13–14, 1964–1965, pp. 146–150.

[70] Cagliari è generalmente datato nel II secolo, ma si vedano le osservazioni di WILSON, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, cit. n. 54, p. 223, nota 8.

[71] M. L. SQUARCIAPINO, Leptis Magna, Basel 1966, pp. 129–131; A. DI VITA, Libya Antiqua, Suppl. II, Roma 1966, pp. 85–91. E' di età neroniana, DI VITA, ibid., p. 85. Si veda, inoltre, O. MAHGIUB–A. CHIGHINE–R. MADARO, in: Libya Antiqua 13–14, 1976–1977, pp. 21–36.

[72] Significativa, ad esempio, a Cartagine l'innovazione dell'ambulacro inferiore posto immediatamente alle spalle della *crypta*, LÉZINE, pp. 61–62.

Il ninfeo (Tav. XXII, 45; fig. 3) che decora il lato della terrazza dell'anfiteatro, che domina l' 'ippocampo', completa la sistemazione monumentale e scenografica della zona[75]. Si tratta di una di quelle fontane monumentali denominate 'ninfei a facciata' (tipo D1 di AUPERT)[76], in una espressione di gusto abbastanza lineare e contenuto, che non meraviglia nella prima età imperiale[77]. A confronto si potrebbero citare una simile fontana di Ostia[78] o, piuttosto, i ninfei di Frascati e di Lanuvio[79]; quest'ultimo, databile nel I sec. d. C., presenta identica sistemazione, a nicchie rettangolari, della parete di fondo e bacino di raccolta delle acque antistante, come nel nostro monumento. Nella fronte, movimentata da rientranze semicircolari, della vasca di quest'ultimo si deve vedere una influenza della decorazione parietale di quarto stile[80]; la fontana va ritenuta quindi l'ultima opera realizzata nell'area e con essa si chiuse la sistemazione monumentale della zona della Neapolis riservata agli edifici da spettacolo.

Che la deduzione della colonia romana abbia significato per la città aretusea un nuovo fervore di attività edilizia pubblica (e certamente anche privata) lo dimostra anche la sistemazione a porticato della piazza antistante l'ara di Gerone[81] e di quella ricadente nell'area dell'attuale piazza Adda[82]. Senz'altro notevole interesse presenta l'intervento nella zona antistante l'ara, che completava il riassetto urbanistico dell'intero complesso monumentale della Neapolis (fig. 1). Il portico delimitò l'area su tre lati (il quarto era chiuso dallo stesso monumento ieroniano); in tal modo fu creata una piazza chiusa, cui si accedeva da un *propylon* posto sul lato lungo, e, sui due brevi, da varchi aperti tra le estremità del portico e l'ara, che non si potevano certamente saldare. Si ottenne, pertanto, una struttura urbana chiusa, secondo il gusto delle piazze porticate tardo-ellenistiche, gusto che in questo periodo si andava diffondendo anche a Roma e in Occidente[83]. Ci sembrano evidenti, infatti, le analogie con l'agorà sud di Mileto[84] e soprattutto con la contemporanea sistemazione del Caesareum di Cirene, sia nei rapporti planimetrici tra portici, piazza e monumento sul lato nord (che a Cirene è rappresentato dalla basilica)[85], sia nei rapporti di volume (tenuto conto delle grandi dimensioni dell'ara) tra questi stessi elementi, nonostante la diversa natura della struttura architettonica, che dominava, nell'uno e nell'altro caso, il lato opposto all'ingresso.

---

[73] R. BARTOCCINI, Guida di Sabratha, Roma – Milano 1927, pp. 75 – 77; D. E. L. HAYNES, The Antiquities of Tripolitania, London 1955, pp. 128 – 129.

[74] R. LAQUEMENT, in: BullArchAlg 2, 1966 – 1967, pp. 107 – 122.

[75] GENTILI, pp. 27 – 29. Per la decorazione a nicchie del bacino, v. NEUERBURG, p. 100.

[76] AUPERT, p. 80 ss.

[77] Anfiteatro e ninfeo sono, infatti, contemporanei, GENTILI, p. 28. Nell'ottica dell'A. ciò significa che il ninfeo va datato anch'esso agli inizi del III secolo; secondo noi che esso va datato nel I sec. d. C.; v. anche WILSON, in: Miscellanea Manni 6, cit. (n. 45), p. 2324.

[78] NEUERBURG, p. 75 e p. 187, n. 123, fig. 148.

[79] NEUERBURG, p. 77 e p. 153, n. 69; p. 163, n. 83.

[80] GINOUVÈS, p. 143; in generale, inoltre, il ninfeo a facciata con scopo decorativo monumentale è testimoniato dalla metà del I d. C., NEUERBURG, p. 102; per la fronte del bacino a nicchie, cfr. un ninfeo di Pompei, di età neroniana, NEUERBURG, p. 131, n. 35, fig. 45.

[81] GENTILI, in: NSc 1954, pp. 333 – 353.

[82] GENTILI, in: BdA 51, 1966, pp. 112 – 113 (I fase, inizi della età imperiale).

2. Edifici celebrativi e commemorativi: il tempietto di Capo Molini

Il secondo aspetto della politica augustea, quello celebrativo e commemorativo, è rappresentato in primo luogo dall'arco di Siracusa e, insieme ad esso, dal tempio di Capo Molini, presso Acireale[86] (fig. 4). Il tempio fu eretto probabilmente per commemorare la conclusione della guerra contro Sesto Pompeo e forse anche, in particolare, la miracolosa fuga di Ottaviano, sconfitto in una battaglia navale nelle acque antistanti[87]. L'episodio, dopo il quale ebbe inizio l'ultima fase della guerra[88], fu un avvenimento importantissimo nella storia del *charisma* di Ottaviano, poiché in tale circostanza egli attribuì la propria salvezza all'intervento di Apollo, divinità che dal 36 a. C. in poi sarà assunta a protettrice e ispiratrice ufficiale della politica dell'Augusto[89]. Se

---

[83] Come ad esempio i *Saepta Iulia* e le *porticus Octaviae* e *Liviae*. Esce dal nostro ambito valutare l'apporto delle piazze tardo-ellenistiche nella formazione dei fori imperiali, per cui v. da ultimo R. MARTIN, in: MEFRA 84, 1972, pp. 912–923 (con tutta la principale bibliografia anteriore); P. ZANKER, Forum Augustum, Tübingen s.d. (ca. 1968), pp. 6–7; WARD PERKINS, in: JRS 1970, cit. (n. 1), pp. 5–11 in particolare; H. KYRIELEIS, in: Hellenismus in Mittelitalien, cit., pp. 431–438.

[84] MARTIN, L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique, Paris 1956, pp. 274–275, figg. 57–58; ID., Recherches sur l'agora grecque, Paris 1951, pp. 398–401, figg. 51–52. Da notare che nella prima sistemazione non è ancora realizzata la saldatura tra le ali laterali e la stoà di fondo.

[85] E. SJÖQVIST, in: OpRom 1, 1954, pp. 98–104; STUCCHI, pp. 204–208.

[86] G. LIBERTINI, in: NSc 1952, pp. 341–347. Un secondo sacello è stato recentemente messo in luce ad Acireale, U. SPIGO, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, pp. 787–788.

[87] COARELLI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 382; per l'episodio MANGANARO, ibid., p. 449.

[88] MANGANARO, Storia della Sicilia II, pp. 449–450.

[89] Per l'ideologia augustea, v. G. CH. PICARD, Les trophées romains, Paris 1957, pp. 232ss., in particolare p. 285 ss.; per i riflessi nel campo edilizio GROS, pp. 15–52 e per l'episodio, GROS, p. 38. Per il ruolo di Apollo nella politica di Augusto, J. GAGÉ, Apollon Romain, Paris 1955, p. 491 (cf. ID., in: ANRW II, 17.2, 1981, pp. 561–630); F. TAEGER, Charisma 2, 1960, p. 99ss.

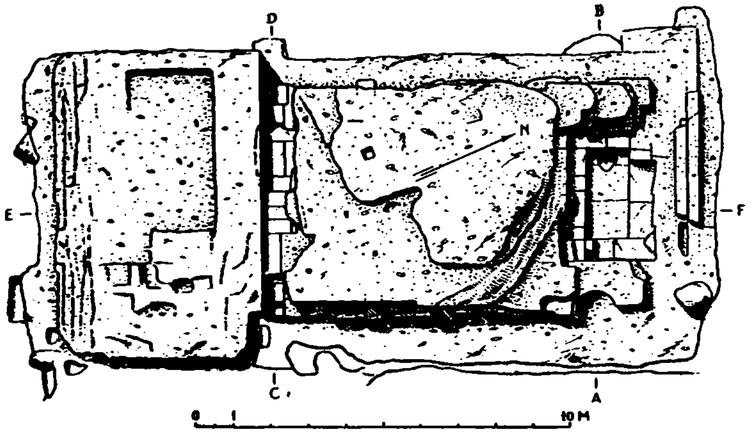


Fig. 4. Acireale. Pianta del tempietto di Capo Molini

l'occasione per la dedica del tempio fu veramente questa, e anche a noi sembra che l'ipotesi sia molto probabile[90], non vi è dubbio che l'iniziativa sia stata presa ad alto livello e realizzata direttamente da Augusto stesso, oppure tramite uno dei suoi collaboratori[91].

Non meraviglia, quindi, che il monumento realizzato sia, per quello che si può giudicare dagli scarsi resti, un edificio di tradizione romana, un tempio su alto podio e con favissa. Ne rimane il solo basamento, diviso in due parti, corrispondenti l'una alla gradinata e al pronao, l'altra alla cella. Il podio, molto alto (m 2,40)[92], elemento che concorda con l'ipotesi di datazione in età augustea[93], era rivestito di blocchi squadrati di pietra lavica; le misure dell'edificio si possono ricostruire in m 14,50 × 8,00 circa, con un rapporto di 1,8 tra lunghezza e larghezza, che rientra nella media di questo periodo[94] e si ripete ad esempio anche nel tempio G di Corinto, la cui concezione mostra forti legami con l'architettura urbana[95], e che anche nelle dimensioni, nella planimetria[96] e nel rapporto dimensionale tra pronao e cella presenta significative analogie con l'edificio sacro siciliano[97]. Si può pensare, pertanto, a un progetto redatto da un architetto metropolitano[98], tenuto conto che i committenti (romani in ogni caso, nell'ipotesi dell'edificio commemorativo) affidavano in generale le opere ad architetti clienti[99], anche se è possibile che la sua esecuzione sia stata affidata a maestranze locali, sebbene non lo si possa provare con certezza, poiché manca qualsiasi elemento di giudizio sull'elevato e soprattutto sulla decorazione architettonica del tempio.

---

[90] Anche il rinvenimento di un ritratto di Cesare nel tempio rafforza l'ipotesi, Coarelli, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 382. L'associazione tra dedica di un tempio e vittoria navale è esplicita nelle monete emesse per celebrare la vittoria di Azio.

[91] Forse L. Cornificio, che nella stessa occasione riuscì con abilità a salvare le sue legioni e al quale fu affidata la costruzione del tempio di Diana nel 35 a. C. Per l'episodio, Gros, p. 38, con bibliografia, e in genere per il ruolo dei *viri triumphales*, ibid., pp. 37–38.

[92] Cfr. ad esempio la Maison Carrée di Nîmes, il cui podio è alto m 2,82, Boëthius – Ward Perkins, p. 132; il podio del Tychaion di Corinto è alto m 2,30, Gros, p. 131.

[93] Boëthius – Ward Perkins, p. 132 e pp. 196–197.

[94] Vi è la tendenza a ridurre la lunghezza, Boëthius – Ward Perkins, p. 196.

[95] R. Scranton, Corinth I,3, Princeton 1951, p. 52 e p. 68 ss.

[96] Libertini, art. cit., p. 346. E' prostilo tetrastilo, come si ricostruisce il tempio di Capo Molini.

Centri di propaganda dinastica erano anche gli edifici pubblici in cui erano esposte le statue degli esponenti della famiglia imperiale[100]. Il maggior numero di ritratti della famiglia giulio-claudia proviene dalle colonie[101], ma a Centuripe è stato rinvenuto uno dei gruppi più notevoli e l'attestazione di seviri augustali e di *Augustales* anche in cittadine, come Halesa, Haluntium e Cephaledium, dimostra la diffusione di questo potente mezzo propagandistico, sebbene il numero di iscrizioni pertinenti ai seviri non sia in Sicilia grandissimo[102].

In alcune località i ritratti furono esposti in edifici costruiti appositamente a questo scopo, come la sede degli *Augustales* di Centuripe, sebbene per la tecnica costruttiva in *opus vittatum* con ricorsi laterizi, l'edificio a noi noto difficilmente si possa datarlo prima dell'età adrianea[103]. La costruzione (Tav. XX, 41) sembra costituita essenzialmente da un lungo portico con vani retrostanti, uno dei quali adibito al culto della famiglia imperiale, le cui statue erano poste lungo le pareti rivestite di marmo. Ritratti della famiglia imperiale erano conservati anche nella c.d. 'casa di Stenio' di Termini Imerese, certamente di età giulio-claudia[104], forse una grande basilica, che dava sul foro[105].

Da un portico simile a quello di Centuripe, in cui alcuni vani erano adibiti a sacelli[106], provengono, inoltre, le dediche dei *seviri augustales* di Halesa; non si sono però rinvenuti, almeno per quanto è a nostra conoscenza, ritratti imperiali, per cui non è sicuro che anche questo edificio sia stato adibito al culto degli imperatori.

---

[97] La profondità del pronao è superiore a un terzo della lunghezza dell'edificio, come nel tempio G.

[98] Con questo termine intendiamo un architetto che si sia formato a Roma, a prescindere dalle sue origini.

[99] Gros, pp. 58–59. In generale, sullo status sociale degli architetti in età augustea, Id., in: Architecture et Societé, Paris–Rome 1983, pp. 425–450.

[100] Per il significato propagandistico e ideologico di questi complessi iconografici, C. Saletti, Il ciclo statuario della basilica di Velleia, Milano 1968, pp. 127–130; H. G. Niemeyer, Studien zur statuarischen Darstellung der römischen Kaiser, Berlin 1968, pp. 14–27; M. Clavel–P. Lévêque, in: MEFRA 94, 1982, pp. 678–680.

[101] Coarelli, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 382.

[102] Sulla distribuzione degli *Augustales*, R. Duthoy, in: Epigraphische Studien 11, Köln 1976, p. 74; in generale Id., in: ANRW II, 16.2, 1978, pp. 1265–1277 e in: Epigraphica 36, 1974, pp. 134–154.

[103] Libertini, Centuripe, pp. 40–46; Id., in: NSc 1953, pp. 353–358.

[104] Belvedere, art. cit. (n. 8), pp. 74–75.

[105] Cfr. Niemeyer, op. cit., pp. 32–33, per l'esposizione di ritratti imperiali nelle basiliche.

[106] Scibona, in: Kokalos 17, 1971, p. 4, nota 4.

II. La ripresa flavio-traianea: l'anfiteatro di Termini Imerese

L'indirizzo politico augusteo, volto ad incoraggiare la costruzione di opere pubbliche, sia pure utilizzando le risorse locali e senza impegnare eccessivamente il patrimonio imperiale, non trovò adeguato sviluppo e sostegno da parte dei suoi successori. La politica di Tiberio verso le province, sostanzialmente continuata dagli altri imperatori giulio-claudi[107], fu caratterizzata dalla sospensione degli aiuti finanziari alle città fuori dell'Italia[108], con gravi conseguenze, soprattutto nei territori meno evoluti[109]. Solamente con la dinastia flavia avvenne un mutamento radicale della politica edilizia imperiale, volta adesso alla promozione e al finanziamento di opere pubbliche non solo a Roma, ma anche nelle province, politica che venne sviluppata soprattutto durante il regno di Domiziano, anche se questo imperatore non fece altro che attuare un indirizzo già intrapreso da Vespasiano[110], ma non attuato a fondo[111]. Con Traiano, infine, si realizzò per la prima volta una organica politica di sviluppo edilizio nelle province, pur senza perdere di vista la preoccupazione di contenere gli sprechi e di evitare sforzi superiori alle possibilità, soprattutto da parte delle città fuori d'Italia, come si deduce dal carteggio tra Plinio il Giovane e l'imperatore[112].

All'intervento personale di Domiziano si deve la costruzione a Lilibeo di un acquedotto, peraltro noto solo epigraficamente[113]; ma l'opera più importante, che si possa attribuire a questo periodo è senza dubbio l'anfiteatro di

---

[107] G. Alföldy, in: Latomus 24, 1965, pp. 824–844, in particolare pp. 830–831 e pp. 834–835; sulla politica edilizia degli imperatori giulio-claudi, v. anche F. C. Bourne, The Public Works of the Julio-Claudians and the Flavians, Princeton 1946.

[108] Alföldy, art. cit., pp. 830–831.

[109] Alföldy, art. cit., pp. 836–837. In Sicilia sono noti alcuni interventi imperiali, esclusivamente volti però a restauri, come quello dei templi e delle mura di Siracusa, voluto da Caligola (Suet., Calig. 21,3) o quello del santuario di Venere Ericina, intrapreso da Tiberio e completato da Claudio (Clemente, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 467). Purtroppo gli scavi hanno solo individuato il basamento del tempio (G. Cultrera, in: NSc 1935, pp. 294–328, in particolare, pp. 312–314; 327–328), che già nel denario di C. Considio Noniano del 63–62 a. C. (H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum I, London 1910, p. 473, nn. 3830–3832) appare come un edificio prostilo-tetrastilo, di tipo romano. Sulla base di quanto osservato per il tempietto di Capo Molini, si può pensare anche per questa iniziativa, voluta dal potere imperiale, all'intervento di un architetto di formazione metropolitana.

[110] Bodei Giglioni, pp. 196–198. Sull'attività di Domiziano e dei Flavi, oltre all'opera di Bourne, cit. a nota 107, Garzetti, p. 254 ss.

[111] Essendo prioritaria la ricostruzione di Roma e la riparazione dei danni subiti da alcune città dell'Italia settentrionale nel corso della breve guerra civile, Bodei Giglioni, pp. 175–179.

[112] Bodei Giglioni, pp. 199–204, in particolare p. 204; G. Tosi, in: RivArch 1, 1977, pp. 53–54; Mansuelli, in: Miscellanea Manni 4, Roma 1980, pp. 1378, 1383.

[113] CIL X, 2, 7227.

Termini Imerese, un edificio probabilmente dovuto a un architetto che si ispirò ai modelli urbani[114], che seppe adattare con praticità alle esigenze di una città modesta quale era Thermae. L'opera, come altre di città di simili dimensioni e pari importanza[115], è, infatti, una felice combinazione delle due tipologie dell'anfiteatro, quella canonica e quella 'provinciale'[116]. Dalla prima derivano alcuni caratteri, come la sequenza esterna delle arcate, il doppio ambulacro periferico, le dimensioni equilibrate tra arena e anello costruito; mentre altre caratteristiche, come l'arena scavata nel terreno e la cavea in parte sostenuta e in parte in elevato sono tipiche del secondo tipo. L'intervento di un architetto metropolitano ci sembra si evinca con molta probabilità non solo dalla puntuale aderenza ai canoni architettonici ed estetici del tempo (le arcate esterne, inquadrate da pilastri, indicano l'apprezzamento per le masse murarie articolate e chiaroscurali proprio di questo periodo)[117]; ma anche dalla precisione con cui venne predisposto ed eseguito il progetto teorico, che si basava su un asse maggiore per l'arena lungo 180 piedi e una ampiezza dell'anello costruito di 75 piedi, misure fondamentali che permisero la costruzione di una ellissi esterna di 330 × 250 piedi con un rapporto di 1,31 e di una interna di 180 × 100 piedi. L'attuazione del progetto risultò abbastanza accurata, per quel che si può giudicare dai resti attuali: i pilastri superstiti si allineano esattamente sulla curva teorica dell'ellissi, anche se l'ingresso principale appare leggermente deviato dall'asse maggiore del monumento.

L'esecuzione dell'edificio si deve con sicurezza a maestranze locali, come dimostra la tecnica dell'*opus vittatum*, che trovava nel duro calcare della zona la materia prima più adatta al suo impiego. La messa in opera dei paramenti è sufficientemente curata, il taglio dei blocchetti e dei blocchi dell'*opus quadratum* delle basi dei piloni appare realizzato con buona perizia, anche se non è perfetto; il materiale è tutto di prima scelta. Anche l'*opus caementicium*, in cui sono utilizzate le scaglie di lavorazione dei blocchi, è legato con malta abbondante, un po' granulosa, ma di discreta qualità, per cui, nell'insieme, la capacità delle maestranze si può giudicare buona.

La scelta dell'*opus vittatum*, invece che dell'*opus mixtum* o dell'opera laterizia, che sono i modi di costruire correnti in Italia in questo periodo e che pure sono impiegati in anfiteatri di piccole città (Teramo, Spoleto, Arezzo, Urbisaglia), dimostra con evidenza da un lato la mancanza *in loco* delle fabbriche di laterizi e di maestranze capaci di lavorare con queste tecniche, nonostante che il reticolato non fosse ignoto a Termini[118], e dall'altro che ci si rivolgeva ad architetti qualificati[119], mentre le maestranze erano per lo più reclutate sul posto.

---

[114] BELVEDERE, in: Studi Arias, Pisa 1982, pp. 647–660. Cfr. WILSON, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), p. 149.

[115] Ad esempio gli anfiteatri di Rimini e di Lecce, BELVEDERE, art. cit., pp. 659–660.

[116] Per la tipologia definita dal Mansuelli „provinciale", v. MANSUELLI, Urbanistica, pp. 145–146.

[117] Come nell'anfiteatro di Pozzuoli e in quelli di Arles e Nîmes, strettamente legati all'architettura urbana, BELVEDERE, art. cit., p. 660.

[118] V. ultra, pp. 383–384.

III. Il periodo adrianeo e la sua appendice antoniniana

Adriano visitò la Sicilia nel 127, dopo un soggiorno di due anni in Grecia, e venne gratificato del titolo di *'restitutor'*, certamente in seguito alla formulazione di un programma di restauri e nuove costruzioni[120] e soprattutto in ringraziamento delle somme che dovette fornire a questo scopo alle non floridissime città siciliane.

A giudicare dalle opere che ci sono rimaste, gli effetti del suo programma interessarono soprattutto le città orientali della Sicilia, sia le principali come Catania e Taormina, sia alcune minori, come Centuripe; nella parte occidentale dell'isola solo Termini sembra aver beneficiato degli aiuti imperiali (o comunque appare in condizioni economiche buone), mentre Lilibeo sembra ancora preda di quella crisi, da cui uscirà solamente a partire dagli inizi del III secolo con i Severi[121]. Naturalmente non è detto che tutto il programma sia stato realizzato entro l'ultimo decennio del regno di Adriano, ma la politica adrianea fu confermata senza dubbio anche dai suoi successori, che ne proseguirono e portarono a termine gli interventi, almeno fino alla fine del secolo.

Uno degli aspetti principali del programma edilizio imperiale concerneva senza dubbio il rinnovamento dei teatri siciliani, strutture indispensabili per uno spettacolo, di cui Adriano fu istancabile promotore[122]; molti dei quali furono rimaneggiati e altri ricostruiti in pratica *ex novo*. Nell'uno e nell'altro caso si pervenne a risultati che modificarono a fondo l'aspetto che tali strutture, di cui le città siciliane si erano dotate in età ellenistica, avevano mantenuto fino allora e per la prima volta fece la sua apparizione nell'isola l'edificio teatrale propriamente romano.

Sostanzialmente ricostruiti, anche se, come sembra sicuro, già esistevano[123], furono i teatri di Taormina e Catania, tanto che si possono considerare edifici del tutto nuovi. Certo si mantenne la posizione della cavea, appoggiata a Taormina, parzialmente sostenuta a Catania; ma anche molti altri teatri romani sfruttano in tutto o in parte il terreno, mentre i valori architettonici e spaziali mutarono in maniera così radicale, da potere considerare i due edifici espressioni tipiche in Sicilia dell'architettura teatrale romana.

---

[119] Per la possibilità di architetti itineranti, L. Beschi, in: Verona e il suo territorio, vol. I, Verona 1960, pp. 474–475.

[120] Pace, ACSA 1, p. 302; Clemente, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 469.

[121] C. A. Di Stefano, in: SicArch 13, 43, 1980, p. 14; Wataghin Cantino, p. 644.

[122] Dio Cass. LXIX, 10; Crema, p. 416.

[123] Per Taormina, Santangelo, pp. 38–39; per Catania, Bernabò Brea, in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, p. 168. In generale per il carattere radicale degli interventi romani sui teatri greci, Mansuelli, Architettura, p. 210.

1. Il teatro e l'odeon di Taormina

Il teatro di Taormina[124] (fig. 5) è dal punto di vista della tecnica edilizia quello che si avvicina maggiormente alle grandi costruzioni di questa età nella penisola. La cavea, anche se con molta probabilità fu allargata[125], mantenne la forma a ferro di cavallo (Tav. III, 5–6); in alto fu aggiunto un portico di coronamento con ambulacro retrostante (Tav. V, 9), che all'esterno si apriva con arcate inquadrate da pilastri. L'accesso dal basso avveniva mediante due grandi *versurae* che fiancheggiano l'edificio scenico (Tav. IV, 8), dietro al quale, come di consueto, fu collocata la *porticus post scaenam*. Tutte queste parti furono costruite con aggregato cementizio di buona qualità (*caementa* costituiti da spezzoni di pietra calcarea, a margini taglienti, di media grandezza, commisti a frammenti di laterizi in diversa proporzione, a seconda delle strutture in cui il cementizio è impiegato) (Tav. VI, 12; IX, 18), rivestito da paramenti di mattoni di tre diversi spessori, nonostante la gran varietà di dimensioni. Quest'opera laterizia è stata descritta accuratamente dal LUGLI e ciò ci esime dal riportare le misure dei vari tipi[126].

Nel complesso la tecnica è eccellente e la messa in opera dei paramenti molto buona; essi hanno resistito quasi ovunque e non si è dovuto lamentare alcun distacco tra nucleo interno e paramento esterno, come talvolta avveniva se le maestranze non erano esperte[127]; per cui, se non fosse per il notevole spessore di alcuni tipi di mattoni, il teatro – e anche gli altri edifici di Taormina – non si distinguerebbero da quelli contemporanei di Lazio e Campania. Va sottolineata, infine, la precisione della messa in opera delle ghiere degli archi e l'impiego dell'arco di scarico, non dissimile a quelli ben noti nell'architettura romana di questo periodo[128] (Tav. VII, 13); nonché la padronanza nella gettata delle volte e nella disposizione a strati orizzontali dell'opera cementizia nelle botti (Tav. VII, 14; VI, 11): gli edifici di Taormina sono gli unici in Sicilia, in cui è documentato tale sistema.

Dal punto di vista planimetrico, il teatro di Taormina presenta cavea a ferro di cavallo, edificio scenico rettilineo, meno lungo del diametro dell'orchestra, fiancheggiato da *versurae* profonde quanto il pulpito, la scena e il portico retrostante. Ma ciò che caratterizza realmente il nostro teatro sono l'abolizione delle *confornicationes*, compensata dallo sviluppo delle *versurae*, con la conseguente sistemazione degli accessi attraverso queste ultime, e la duplice struttura

---

[124] LIBERTINI, in: Dioniso 2, 1930, pp. 1–11; SANTANGELO, pp. 35–57; LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 203–207; LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 628–630; BIEBER, pp. 183–184; BLAKE I, p. 283; BLAKE–BISHOP, p. 263; H. BULLE, Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern, München 1928, pp. 206–208; NEPPI MODONA, p. 98.

[125] SANTANGELO, p. 38.

[126] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205; ID., Tecnica, pp. 628–629; v. anche BLAKE–BISHOP, p. 263.

[127] MANSUELLI, Miscellanea Manni 4, cit., p. 1382–1383.

[128] Per l'arco di scarico, v. LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 663.

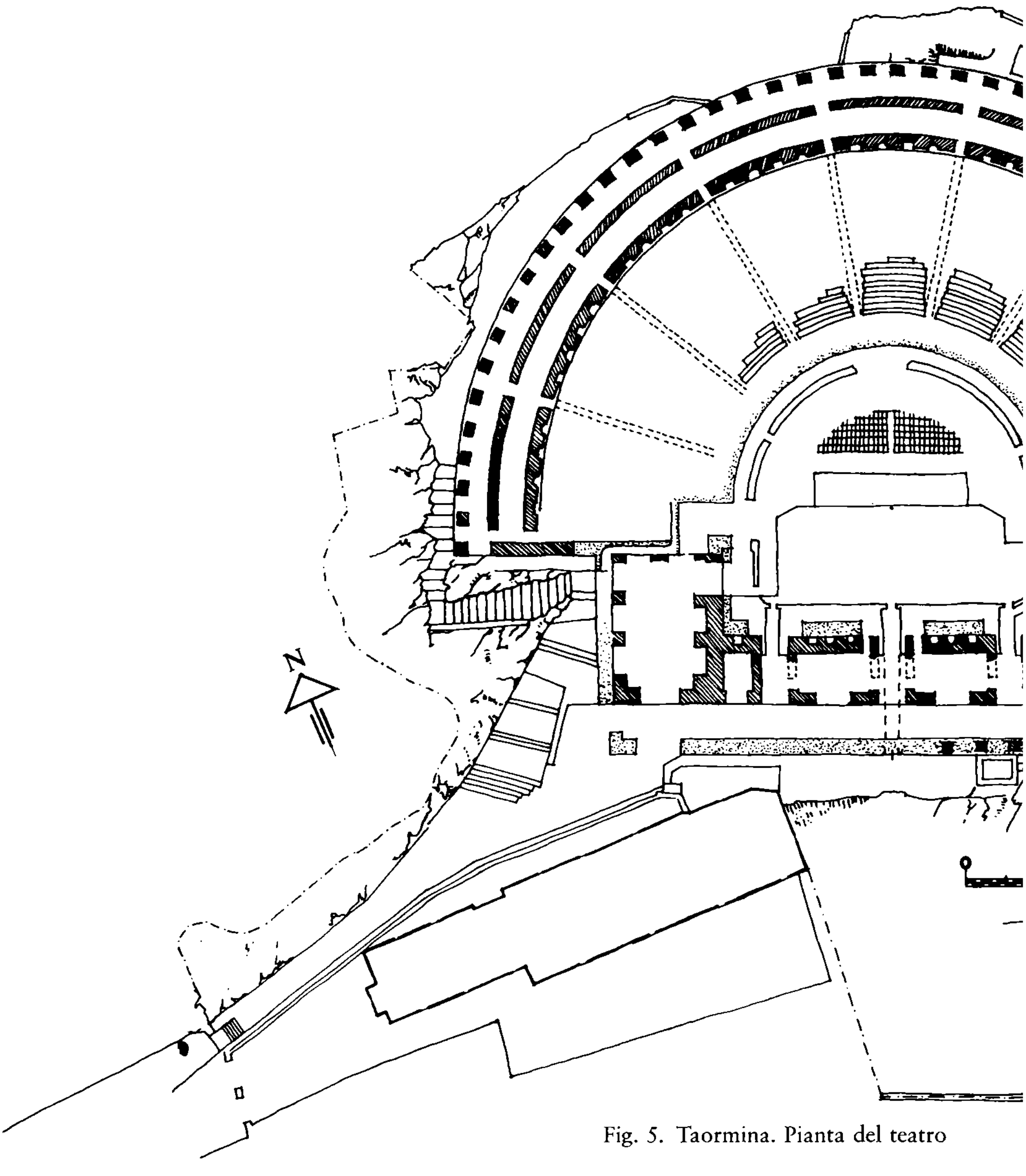
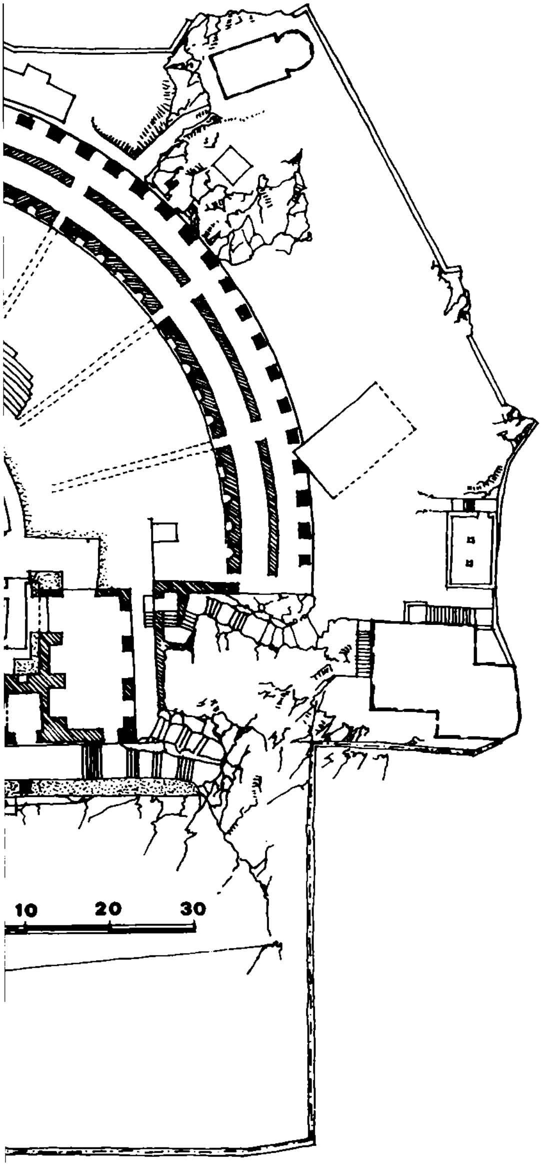


Fig. 5. Taormina. Pianta del teatro



abbinata di portico e ambulacro *in summa cavea*, il cui significato statico è stato sottolineato dal LUGLI[129].

Lo sviluppo delle *versurae*, che fiancheggiano l'intero edificio scenico, compreso il portico retrostante, che pertanto assume anche la funzione di collegare le due sale laterali, è una caratteristica dei teatri africani[130], ma la chiusura delle *confornicationes* verso l'esterno si trova in Africa solo a Dougga[131], mentre è una caratteristica più frequente nei teatri siriani, come Bosra, Filippopoli, Gerasa e Petra[132] e ritorna nel teatro di Erode Attico ad Atene e nell'Odeon II di Argo[133]. E' vero che ad Atene, come a Taormina, essa è determinata dalla configurazione del terreno, ma è frutto di scelta deliberata negli altri esempi che abbiamo portato a confronto, per cui è chiaro che se il terreno condizionò la scelta, essa non fu affatto casuale[134]. Pertanto, senza voler dare un significato eccessivo alla chiusura in facciata delle *confornicationes*, una soluzione in Occidente piuttosto rara, ma non ignota[135], ci sembra tuttavia che il teatro di Erode Attico costituisca il parallelo più vicino a quello di Taormina, anche per lo sviluppo rettilineo della *scaenae frons*, con le tre porte ad arco, inquadrate da colonne su alti basamenti e nicchie nella parete di fondo; anche se a Taormina tutto l'insieme è condotto con maggiore monumentalità e ariosità, soprattutto grazie all'ampiezza inusitata delle porte, che aprono lo sfondo scenico al paesaggio retrostante[136].

Anche la duplice struttura abbinata *in summa cavea* trova preciso confronto in un teatro della parte orientale dell'impero, quello di Cesarea di Palestina[137], non solo nella disposizione con fronte porticata interna e sequenza di arcate esterna, ma anche nelle coperture (botte e crociera), la cui importanza si è già ricordata[138].

---

[129] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 206. Si tratta di volte autocontraffortantisi, il portico è coperto da piccole crociere di cui sono visibili le tracce dell'imposta sul muro di fondo (Tav. V, 10), l'ambulacro da una botte anulare (Tav. VII, 13), un sistema che ricorre anche nelle grandi ville di questo periodo, la Villa Adriana e quella dei Sette Bassi, BLAKE–BISHOP, p. 302. Riteniamo utili alcune osservazioni sulla tecnica costruttiva delle volte: nelle crociere l'impasto cementizio è ricco di frammenti di terracotta e di pietra lavica, allo scopo di alleggerire il peso della struttura; nelle reni della botte anulare sono adoperati esclusivamente spezzoni di pietra calcarea, mentre nel cervello sono presenti in grandissima proporzione frammenti di mattoni. Non sono impiegati, invece, anelli laterizi, che compaiono a Catania e a Termini, e chiaramente visibili sono le impronte della centina lignea (Tav. VII, 13). Anche nella volta del corridoio *post scaenam* è impiegato in abbondanza il mattone frantumato, che si distingue per il colore rosso-scuro (Tav. VI, 12).

[130] BIEBER, p. 208; CAPUTO, p. 58.

[131] BIEBER, p. 205, fig. 689; CAPUTO, pp. 53–55 (con bibliografia).

[132] COUPEL–FRÉZOULS, pp. 114–119; C. C. MCCOWN, in: C. H. KRAELING, Gerasa, City of the Decapolis. New Haven 1938, pp. 162–163; I. BROWNING, Petra, Park Ridge 1973, pp. 130–132.

[133] GINOUVÈS, Argo, pp. 151–156; BIEBER, pp. 211–212, fig. 712.

[134] COUPEL–FRÉZOULS, p. 115.

[135] E' presente a Lione (P. WUILLEUMIER, Fouilles de Fourvière à Lyon, Paris 1951, pp. 38–39) e a Vienne (J. FORMIGÉ, Le théâtre romain de Vienne, Vienne 1949, p. 13).

[136] LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 203–204.

[137] A. FROVA, Scavi di Cesarea Marittima, Roma 1966, pp. 57–190.

Il teatro di Taormina, pertanto, trova confronto più nei teatri della *pars orientis* dell'impero, che in quelli dell'Africa o dell'Occidente europeo. Se la sua costruzione, come ci sembra probabile, si deve al programma imperiale, ciò non sembrerà strano, dopo un soggiorno di due anni di Adriano in Grecia, regione aperta ai contatti con l'Asia Minore e la Siria, dove simili tipologie dovevano essere già in corso di elaborazione, come dimostra il teatro di Erode Attico, di pochi anni più tardo del nostro. E poiché sappiamo che l'imperatore viaggiava accompagnato da architetti, non sarà azzardato attribuire all'ambiente dei tecnici della corte imperiale la stesura del progetto, né meraviglierà, infine, che un confronto puntuale per il nostro monumento sia costituito anche dal teatro 'greco' della Villa Adriana[139].

In periodo antoniniano, per le ragioni che esporremo più avanti, ci sembra possibile collocare un'altra opera di una certa importanza, l'Odeon (fig. 6),

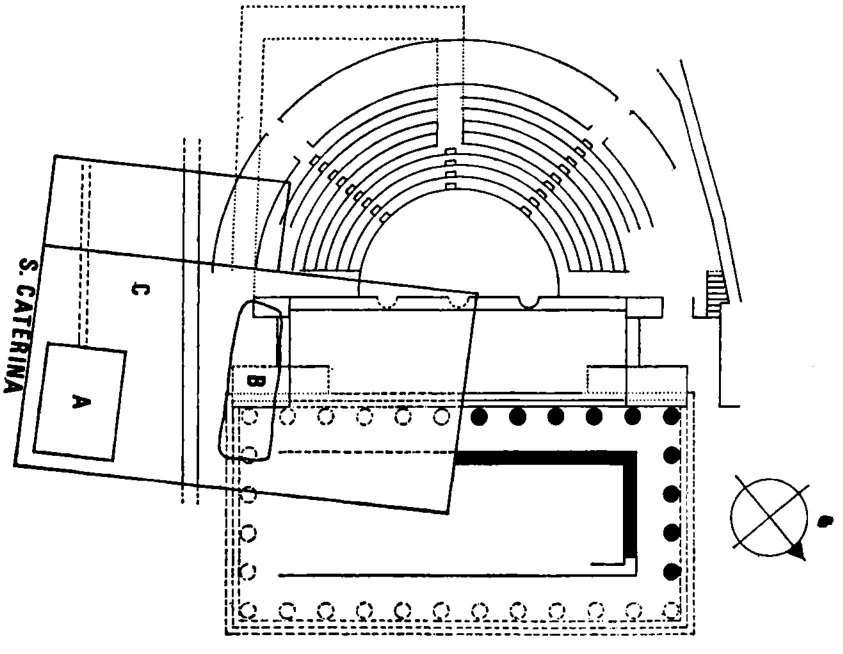


Fig. 6. Taormina. Planimetria dell'odeon

che con il teatro e le terme completa la trilogia dei monumenti taorminesi in tecnica laterizia[140]. Si tratta di un edificio con un diametro di cento piedi esatti (m 30), probabilmente coperto, come confermano l'assenza di sistemi di scolo delle acque e le dimensioni non grandi[141], la cui cavea era servita da un ambulacro periferico, da cui, mediante *vomitoria*, si accedeva alla parte alta della gradinata (Tav. VIII, 15–16). Nonostante le piccole dimensioni (il diametro dell'orchestra è di appena m 11), anche nel nostro monumento si ritrovano tutti gli elementi caratteristici degli *odea* più grandi, come quelli di Corinto, Patrasso, o l'Odeon II di Argo (analoga sistemazione della gradinata[142], fronte del pulpito arretrata per lasciare spazio alle *confornicationes*, accessi tramite le *versurae*).

---

[138] Con l'inversione delle coperture, crociere esterne e botte interna, FROVA, op. cit., p. 177. Nel teatro di Vienne si ha *in summa cavea* un ambulacro coperto con un portico retrostante, ma poiché quest'ultimo non è coperto a volta, viene a mancare l'elemento statico, caratteristico di Taormina e Cesarea, cfr. FORMIGÉ, op. cit., p. 11.

[139] In cui si ripete l'abolizione delle *parodoi*, l'accesso attraverso le *versurae*, la *scaenae frons* rettilinea, la cavea prolungata oltre il semicerchio.

L'opera cementizia è caratterizzata dall'uso di grossi ciottoli impiegati allo stato naturale e legati da una malta piuttosto granulosa, la cui grossolanità contrasta con la buona capacità dimostrata dalle maestranze nella messa in opera dei paramenti laterizi[143] e nella gettata delle volte[144]. Ciò indusse il LUGLI a ipotizzare inizialmente una diversità cronologica tra cavea e pulpito e a datare l'edificio in età augustea[145]; mentre il WILSON, facendo notare l'identità dell'opera laterizia, ritiene che teatro ed odeon siano contemporanei[146]. A noi non sembra di potere separare cronologicamente pulpito e cavea, visto l'impiego degli stessi laterizi nei paramenti delle due parti e l'uso di ciottoli, come *caementa*, anche nelle *versurae* e nelle *confornicationes*; i paramenti laterizi simili inducono, inoltre, a non distaccare di molto la cronologia dell'odeon da quella del teatro. In rapporto a quest'ultimo monumento va valutato, tuttavia, il significato della netta differenza nell'opera cementizia e del diverso spessore dei mattoni, per cui o si deve pensare a due maestranze contemporanee che lavoravano con differenti tradizioni, oppure ad un evolversi, in un lasso di tempo certamente non lungo, delle capacità e del grado di specializzazione delle maestranze, nonché di alcune caratteristiche del prodotto delle fabbriche di mattoni, che sono da ritenere locali, come dimostrano le unità di misura adoperate[147].

---

[140] SANTANGELO, pp. 57–59; LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 207–210; ID, Tecnica, pp. 622, 630; P. PELAGATTI, in: Kokalos 22–23, 1976–1977, pp. 545–548; cf. WILSON, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), p. 105.

[141] Manca l'euripo e qualsiasi altra canalizzazione dell'orchestra. All'ipotesi di copertura non ostano i gradini ammattonati (cfr. GINOUVÈS, Argo, pp. 123–124 e nota 1 a p. 125); non essendovi però traccia del tetto ci esimiamo dalla discussione teorica di questa struttura, discussione che del resto è stata recentemente affrontata ibid., pp. 198–200; 211–214.

[142] La scaletta centrale è in asse con la cavea: per altri confronti, v. GINOUVÈS, Argo, p. 125, note 4–5. Per Corinto v. BIEBER, p. 222; O. BRONEER, Corinth 10, Princeton 1932; per Patrasso, A. ORLANDOS, in: Praktika 1961, pp. 226–227; per Argo, GINOUVÈS, Argo, p. 105 ss., in particolare pp. 164–169.

[143] Il rivestimento è di laterizi, uguali a quelli messi in opera nel teatro (cfr. le osservazioni di WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 15, che abbiamo potuto verificare e completare sul posto), ma di minore spessore medio. Lo spessore medio è infatti cm 4,5–5,5; mattoni di notevole spessore sono usati nelle parti alte delle *versurae* e delle *confornicationes* (cm 9). LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 630, riporta solo le dimensioni del mattone di medio spessore.

[144] Nelle volte il cementizio, mescolato a frammenti di pietra lavica e di mattoni, fu gettato a strati orizzontali su centine lignee; anche le ghiere degli archi sono di laterizi.

[145] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 210.

[146] WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 15.

Ci sembra da escludere, pertanto, una datazione in età augustea[148]; la struttura interna a ciottoli, a nostro parere, è dovuta alla disponibilità del materiale e del resto essa, con rivestimento laterizio, come nel nostro odeon, si trova impiegata in Italia, ancora in età adrianea, nel teatro di Benevento[149]. Tuttavia, ritenendo improbabile che a Taormina nello stesso periodo potessero coesistere maestranze con tradizioni lavorative e abilità tecnica così differente, pensiamo che alcuni decenni debbano separare i due edifici e che, in tal caso, debba essere sottolineata la diminuizione di spessore dei mattoni, che anche in provincia è costante nel tempo, e va considerata un indubbio indizio di seriorità dell'odeon.

2. I grandi edifici di Catania

Un complesso unitario costituiscono il teatro e l'odeon di Catania (fig. 7). Mettendoli in diretta relazione tra loro, sul fianco della collina su cui si estendeva la parte settentrionale della città antica, l'architetto ne ha evidenziato la funzione complementare, all'interno di quello spazio attrezzato per scopi culturali, che costituisce uno dei caratteri urbanistici più incisivi della città romana[150]. Ben tre ambulacri, collegati tra di loro per mezzo di scale, corrono al di sotto della cavea del teatro[151]; i due inferiori danno accesso alle gradinate, il terzo si apriva all'esterno con un ordine di arcate (Tav. X, 20), mentre verso l'interno la *porticus in summa cavea* coronava l'edificio (Tav. X, 19). Ma tale facilità di accesso e di distribuzione degli spettatori, che non trova molti confronti nell'architettura teatrale romana[152] e che denota uno studio accurato del progetto, contrasta con la tecnica edilizia, in *opus vittatum* e *vittatum* con ricorsi di mattoni, dei muri interni, in cui i blocchetti presentano una grande varietà di dimensioni e soprattutto un taglio spesso non molto accurato (Tav. XI, 21; XII, 23). Tale trascuratezza si può giustificare certo con la volontà di non esagerare nelle spese e di accelerare la costruzione dell'opera; ma non del

---

[147] Per le unità di misura dei mattoni di Taormina, v. ultra, pp. 386–387 e, inoltre, LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205 e ID., Tecnica, pp. 628–629.

[148] Anche sulla base dei saggi effettuati nel 1976, PELAGATTI, art. cit., pp. 546–548.

[149] Cementizio di ciottoli con paramenti laterizi, R. PANE, in: NSc 1924, p. 518.

[150] MANSUELLI, Architettura, p. 222.

[151] HOLM–LIBERTINI, pp. 42–45; LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 215–217; ID., Tecnica, pp. 353, 480, 483, 622, 635, 641, 643, 680; NEPPI MODONA, pp. 98–99; BERNABÒ BREA, in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, p. 168.

[152] Un esempio contemporaneo è il teatro di Benevento, che abbiamo citato, v. anche FRÉZOULS, in: Dioniso 43, 1969, pp. 139–156, che però ha due soli ambulacri; con tre ambulacri il teatro di Marcello a Roma e quello di Vienne, GRENIER III,2, p. 774. Per il problema FRÉZOULS, in: ANRW II, 12.1, 1982, pp. 378–380.

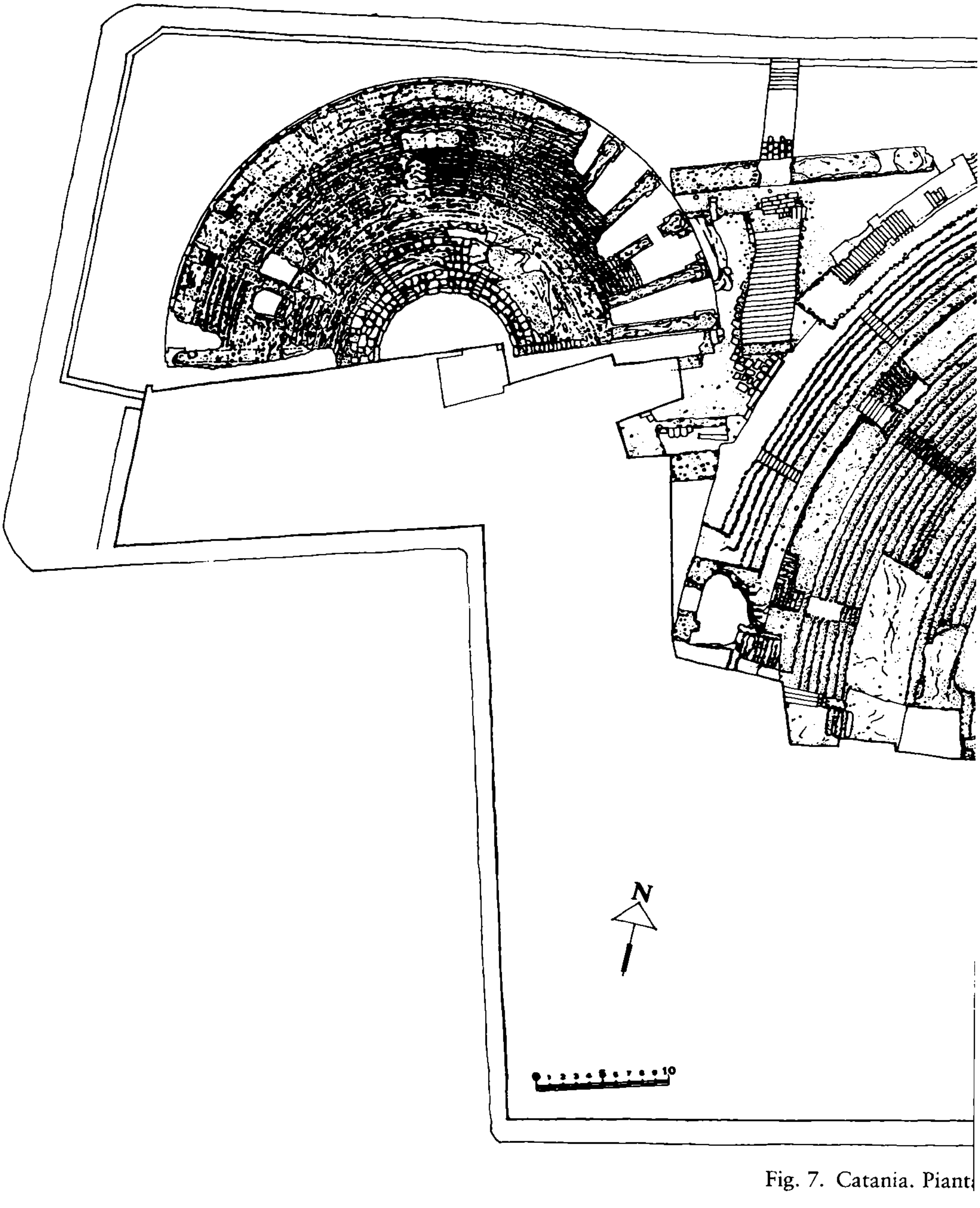
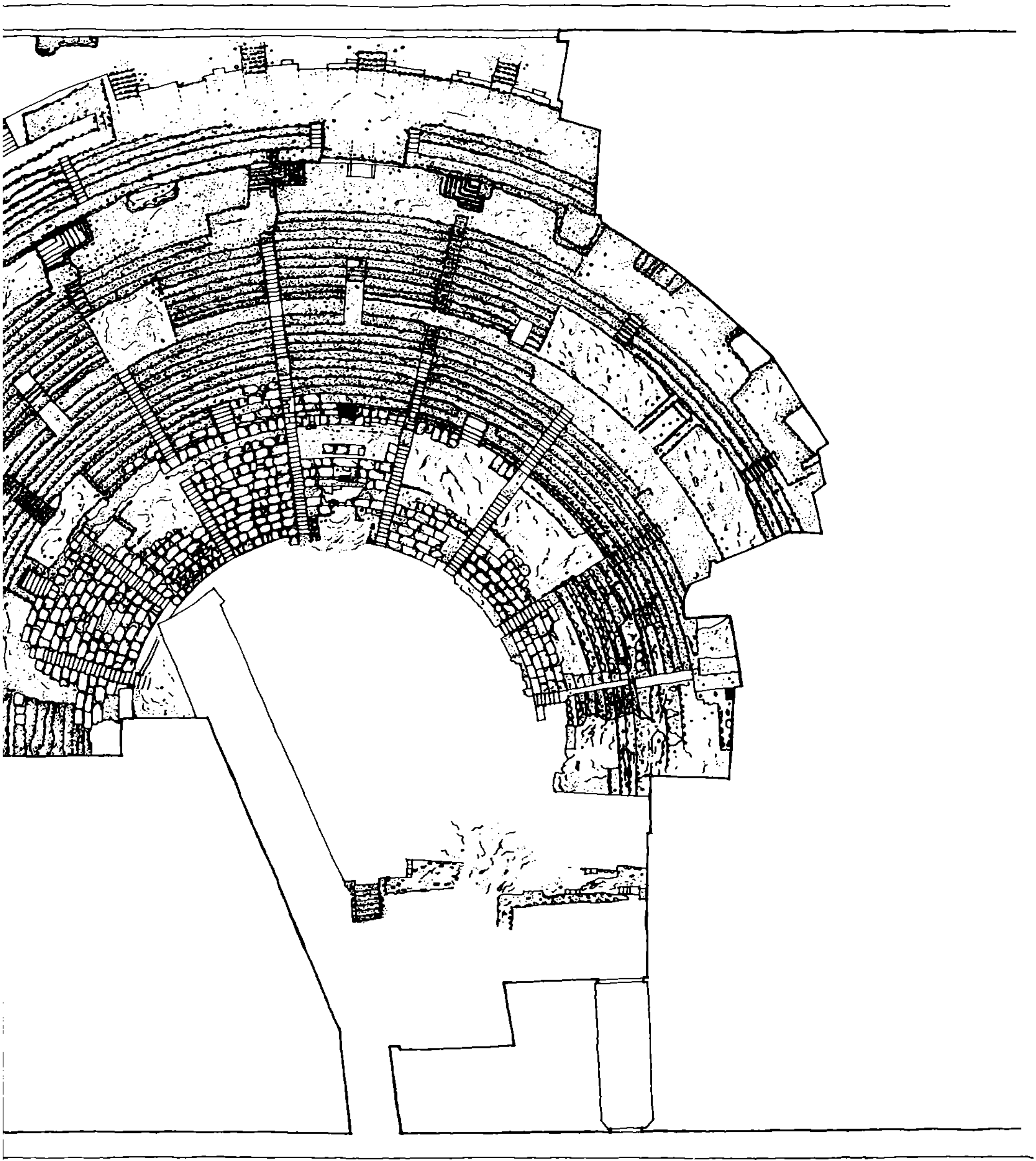


Fig. 7. Catania. Piant



a del teatro e dell'odeon

tutto, perché un altro indizio di non sufficiente abilità delle maestranze è dato dalle volte ammorsate ad anelli laterizi (Tav. XI, 21; XII, 24), che presentano scaglie radiali nelle reni e orizzontali nel cervello (Tav. XI, 22), un sistema che in questa età è segno di arretratezza tecnica, oppure è confinato nelle parti più recondite degli edifici[153]. Tale osservazione negativa non ci sembra possa essere bilanciata dall'uso di un materiale leggero, la pietra lavica, per alleggerirne il peso; esso rappresenta un accorgimento importante[154], ma data l'abbondanza di tale pietra *in loco*, il suo impiego non rappresenta una novità ed era da tempo entrato nell'uso e infatti lo si ritrova nell'anfiteatro di Siracusa, come si è detto.

Scavi recenti hanno ottenuto il risultato di farci conoscere meglio l'edificio scenico, che era la parte meno nota, dopo il ricoprimento della maggior parte dell'area esplorata dal BISCARI[155]. Si è scoperta la fronte del pulpito a nicchie poco profonde ed è ora più chiaro il rapporto tra scena e *confornicationes*, che comunicano con le ampie *versurae* laterali e davano sul *pulpitum*. Addossati alla *scaenae frons* vi sono dei basamenti rivestiti in facciata di mattoni, che probabilmente sostenevano delle colonne; la scena sembra rettilinea, ma non è facile distinguere l'aspetto originario dai restauri più tardi[156]. Nel complesso, comunque, ci sembra che il teatro di Catania rientri pienamente, a differenza di quello di Taormina, nel gruppo dei teatri occidentali e il confronto contemporaneo più vicino, per le dimensioni[157], l'edificio scenico, le *versurae* e le *confornicationes*, per la facciata esterna in opera quadrata, e la ricchezza delle possibilità di accesso ci sembra il teatro di Benevento, che abbiamo già citato.

L'odeon[158] è un edificio di dimensioni abbastanza grandi (diam. m 42 = 140 piedi; larghezza della cavea m 16 = 55 piedi), sistemato in maniera tradizionale con *parodoi* aperte in facciata. L'ordine inferiore della cavea è appoggiato; la parte superiore è sostenuta da muri radiali terminanti in arcate inquadrate da pilastri, come quelle del teatro, e divise da piattabande[159] (Tav. XIII, 26). La tecnica costruttiva (*vittatum* con ricorsi laterizi nelle pareti interne, opera quadrata all'esterno), volte ammorsate ad anelli laterizi (Tav. XIII, 27–28), è la stessa di quella dell'edificio maggiore, per cui non vi è dubbio che essi siano contemporanei; l'inquadramento delle arcate con pilastri piuttosto sporgenti in tutti e due gli edifici denota il persistere di una tendenza ad effetti chiaroscurali, che in Sicilia è documentata dall'anfiteatro di Termini e che nelle province continua a manifestarsi per tutto il secondo secolo[160] e anche dopo[161], e su cui torneremo in dettaglio a proposito dell'anfiteatro di Catania stessa.

---

[153] V. gli esempi illustrati da LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 680. Le volte ammorsate ad anelli laterizi compaiono anche nelle terme di Termini, HOUEL I, p. 86, tav. XLVII.

[154] LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 216–217.

[155] HOLM–LIBERTINI, p. 43. Per i nuovi scavi, G. RIZZA, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, pp. 769–770.

[156] V. ultra, p. 408.

[157] Le dimensioni del teatro di Catania sono: diametro intorno ai m 90; larghezza della cavea m 34 = 115 piedi.

[158] ORSI, in: NSc 1918, pp. 70–71; S. MIRONE, in: RA 11–12, 1920, pp. 271–289; HOLM–LIBERTINI, pp. 45–48; NEPPI MODONA, p. 210. Secondo MIRONE, art.cit., p. 273, il diametro è m 43,08.

[159] LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 353–354, per l'uso delle piattabande.

Il teatro e l'odeon catanesi si possono ascrivere anch'essi al programma edilizio che le città realizzarono con l'aiuto imperiale[162], perché si tratta di due edifici importanti e come si è visto per il primo, ben studiati, con novità di un certo interesse. Ma le capacità tecniche delle maestranze catanesi non erano paragonabili a quelle di Taormina e, inoltre, è probabile si mirasse a contenere le spese, utilizzando il materiale più facilmente reperibile, senza andar troppo per il sottile, tanto più che le pareti dovevano essere intonacate. E' questo forse un segno di quella incombente crisi finanziaria che colpì la città in età antoniniana.

Altri complessi teatrali, anche se non furono ricostruiti del tutto, come quelli di Taormina e Catania, subirono in questo stesso periodo radicali restauri e trasformazioni; innanzi tutto i teatri di Siracusa e di Tindari[163]. Quest'ultimo, in un periodo che sembra si possa datare tra la fine del I e l'inizio del II sec. d. C.[164] fu adattato a doppio uso, di teatro e anfiteatro, realizzando un podio, un corridoio di servizio e trasformando l'orchestra in arena. Si ottenne, così, una struttura dalla duplice funzione[165], come si hanno spesso nelle province galliche e germaniche[166]. E' questo uno dei pochissimi esempi di simile trasformazione noto nelle regioni mediterranee occidentali[167] e ciò sottolinea il carattere provinciale della città e la limitatezza delle sue risorse, oltre che la volontà di introdurre uno spettacolo alla moda[168].

---

[160] Cfr. ad esempio, il teatro di Drevant, GRENIER III,2, p. 930 o quello di Perge, DE BERNARDI FERRERO III, p. 152, fig. 162.

[161] Nel teatro di Tipasa, per cui v. ultra, n. 176 e nel teatro 3 di Cirene, STUCCHI, pp. 291–293 (III secolo).

[162] Forse in età antoniniana, almeno a giudicare dallo stile dei capitelli del teatro di Catania, non anteriori alla seconda metà del II secolo (dobbiamo l'informazione alla cortesia del prof. P. PENSABENE).

[163] Per Siracusa, L. POLACCO – C. ANTI, Il teatro antico di Siracusa, Rimini 1981, pp. 206–208; BERNABÒ BREA, in: Palladio N.S. 17, 1967, pp. 133–152; per Tindari, BERNABÒ BREA, in: RIASA N.S. 13–14, 1963–1964, pp. 137–142.

[164] BERNABÒ BREA, in: RIASA 1963–1964, cit., p. 141.

[165] Si continuò, infatti, a usarla come teatro, BERNABÒ BREA, art. cit., p. 139.

[166] In generale, GRENIER III,2, pp. 880–885; ma si veda anche F. DUMASY, in: Latomus 34, 1975, pp. 1010–1019.

[167] Si può citare in Africa il teatro di Cherchell (J. C. GOLVIN – PH. LEVEAU, in: MEFRA 91, 1979, pp. 832–838); quello di Coroglio, anche se non adibito esclusivamente a spettacoli teatrali, non è un teatro-anfiteatro, NEPPI MODONA, p. 217, nota 1.

[168] Si veda a questo proposito, GOLVIN – LEVEAU, art. cit., pp. 836–838. Il teatro di Drevant (GRENIER III,2, pp. 992–936) presenta vari elementi simili a quello di Tindari: i *carceres* aperti sul corridoio dietro il podio, la posizione delle entrate, il portico *in summa cavea*. Per la posizione dei *carceres* v. pure, ad esempio, il teatro di Locri anch'esso trasformato in anfiteatro, D. MERTENS, in: Atti XVI Convegno di Studi Magna Grecia, Napoli 1977, p. 456 o quello di Cherchell, GOLVIN – LEVEAU, art. cit., p. 834.

Di segno ben diverso la costruzione di un nuovo edificio scenico nel teatro di Siracusa, che ha piuttosto il significato di una rivitalizzazione dell'antico teatro. Si tratta di una fronte scena ad absidi (tre o cinque), secondo il POLACCO[169]; rettilinea con estremità curve, secondo il BERNABÒ BREA[170], ornata riccamente da colonne, che era fiancheggiata da *versurae* profonde quanto l'edificio scenico. La nuova scena occupò anche le antiche *parodoi*, per cui nuove *confornicationes* ad andamento spezzato vennero scavate nella roccia. A parte altre modifiche nella cavea a nell'orchestra[171], ci sembra che due elementi caratterizzino il teatro romano di Siracusa: la mancanza di *confornicationes* aperte in facciata e la fronte scena absidata, nella ricostruzione del POLACCO. Entrambe ci danno la misura della trasformazione subita dall'antico teatro greco.

Pochi decenni dopo il teatro e l'odeon, Catania fu dotata di un altro grande edificio per spettacoli, l'anfiteatro[172] (fig. 8). Di dimensioni notevoli (m 136 × 114,50; arena m 76,70 × 55), ma con un rapporto di 1,18 solamente tra i grandi assi esterni, il monumento presenta, pertanto, una ellissi tendente al cerchio. E' questa una caratteristica di alcuni anfiteatri del II secolo, soprattutto nella Gallia, che ci documentano valori inferiori a 1,20[173], ed in linea generale si può affermare che l'ellissi degli anfiteatri di questo periodo è meno schiacciata[174], rispetto a quella degli edifici del I sec. d. C.

L'arena (Tav. XIV, 29–30) è costruita, al solito, secondo una curva policentrica; il progetto si basa su una lunghezza di 260 piedi per l'asse maggiore e una larghezza di 95 piedi (o forse 100 in cifra tonda?) per l'anello costruito. A livello del primo ordine, oltre all'ambulacro di servizio che corre attorno all'arena, ve ne è un altro solo, periferico; il fatto sorprende un poco in un edificio di così ragguardevoli proporzioni, ma è possibile che un terzo ambulacro corresse più in alto, tra il primo e il secondo meniano, facilitando in tal modo la circolazione degli spettatori.

La tecnica edilizia è simile a quella del teatro e dell'odeon, cioè opera vittata per le parti interne e quadrata per l'esterno; ma la trascuratezza dei paramenti che abbiamo notato a proposito degli altri due edifici è qui accen-

---

[169] POLACCO – ANTI, op. cit., pp. 206–207.

[170] BERNABÒ BREA, in: Palladio 1967, cit., p. 136.

[171] POLACCO – ANTI, op. cit., pp. 208–210. Per il significato di tali trasformazioni, L. POLACCO, in: Théâtre et spectacles dans l'antiquité, Leiden 1983, pp. 12–15, in particolare pp. 12–13.

[172] HOLM – LIBERTINI, pp. 37–42; F. FICHERA, in: ASSO I, 1904, pp. 119–121 e ibid. II, 1905, pp. 66–72; LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 217–220; ID., Tecnica, pp. 480, 483, 622, 635–636, 643, 650–651, 680; NEPPI MODONA, pp. 263–264; S. PUGLISI MARINO, Appunti sull'anfiteatro romano di Piazza Stesicoro, Catania 1923; cfr. WILSON, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), pp. 127–128.

[173] Cfr. Windisch (1,14); Limoges e Tours (1,18); Metz (1,19); Lione (1,20); GRENIER, III,2, pp. 583–585; 675–676; 685–688, tutti di età traianea o adrianea (Lione, ricostruito); inoltre anche Thysdrus (1,21) e Italica (1,17).

[174] Rapporto fra gli assi inferiore a 1,30, cfr. Tarragona (1,27); Xanten (1,25) e così via.

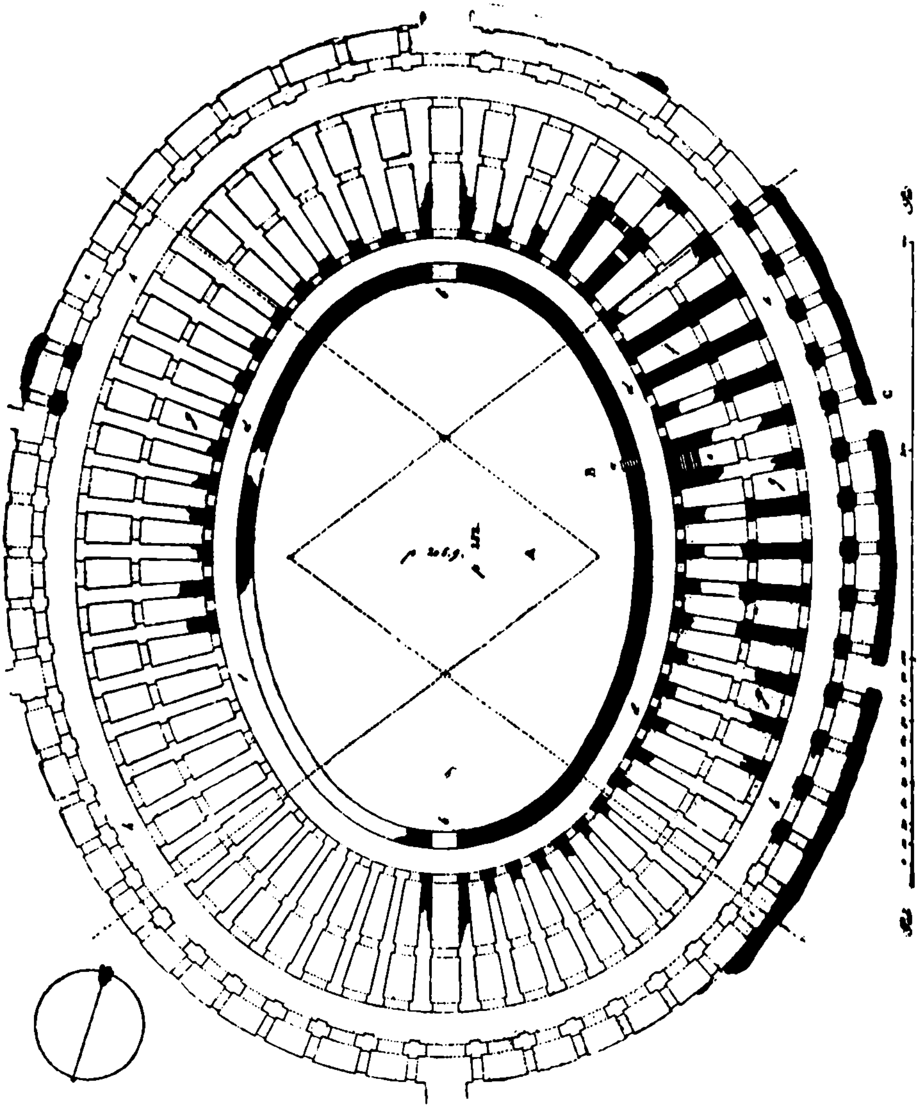


Fig. 8. Catania. Pianta dell'anfiteatro

tuata; in alcune parti essi appaiono quasi raffazzonati e il materiale, come ha notato il LUGLI[175], è in gran parte di riporto. Nelle volte si ripete il sistema ormai superato a scaglie radiali nelle reni, che è tipico delle maestranze catanesi in questo periodo. Una maggiore accuratezza si riscontra solo nella facciata, in cui le arcate sono inquadrate da pilastri, che per effetto delle maggiori dimensioni dei blocchi, appaiono ancora più massicci e sporgenti di quelli del teatro e dell'odeon (Tav. XV,32). Le ghiere degli archi, di mattoni spessi, poggiano su cornici modanate della stessa pietra, piuttosto marcate, che aumentano l'effetto di vigore della liscia facciata a blocchi (Tav. XV,31 – 32). Si ottenne, in tal modo, una forte valorizzazione della massa muraria, che, anche se si inserisce, come si è detto, in un filone di gusto tradizionale, appare qui particolarmente accentuata, nella linea della ripresa del gusto coloristico della tarda età antoniniana e della prima età severiana, e trova confronto diretto nelle arcate del teatro di Tipasa[176], un edificio che anche per altri versi (opera vittata con ricorsi di mattoni, volte poggiate su anelli laterizi) ricorda quelli di Catania[177].

La costruzione, infine, denota certamente un accentuarsi delle esigenze di rapidità e di risparmio di lavoro, che abbiamo già notato. E' a questo fatto, più che alla incapacità delle maestranze (ché non si può credere che pochi anni dopo non si riuscisse a raggiungere i modesti livelli dell'*opus vittatum* del teatro e dell'odeon), che dobbiamo attribuire la trascuratezza dei paramenti, tanto più che in alcuni particolari, come ad esempio le ghiere degli archi, il lavoro appare accurato, con spessori di malta contenuti tra un mattone e l'altro. In effetti tale sistema struttivo, che è una degenerazione dell'opera vittata e che, a nostro parere, va distinto sia dagli esempi di età imperiale di ripresa dell'opera incerta, sia dal cosidetto 'cementizio in facciata' del LUGLI[178], si rinviene abbastanza di frequente nelle minori città d'Italia e delle province. Ma in genere esso è un espediente, volto ad accelerare la costruzione dell'opera, che è confinato nelle parti meno visibili o meno importanti (come si è detto già per le volte a reni radiali)[179]. Ne consegue, pertanto, con molta probabilità, che anche l'anfiteatro va considerato prova di quella crisi finanziaria, che colpì la città negli anni intorno alla sua costruzione e che ci è documentata dall'epistola di Julius Paternus (cf. p. 390, n. 304).

3. Edifici termali, acquedotti, ninfei

Con l'età adrianea compaiono per la prima volta in Sicilia i grandi edifici termali. Il più notevole è certamente quello scoperto una ventina di anni fa a

---

[175] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 217; Tecnica, p. 651.

[176] FRÉZOULS, in: MEFRA 64, 1952, pp. 111 – 177; in particolare, pp. 124 – 125.

[177] FRÉZOULS, art. cit., pp. 120 – 121.

[178] LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 439, 480.

[179] Ad esempio, Milano, Arezzo, Ancona, Brescia, LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 481; lo stesso avviene in Gallia, GRENIER III,1, p. 68.

Taormina[180] (fig. 9), il quale, se tutta l'area dei ruderi va riferita allo stesso complesso, come sembra probabile, è, almeno finora, l'edificio termale maggiore della Sicilia, con uno sviluppo frontale di circa m 45. E' stata anche adombrata l'ipotesi che si possa trattare di terme a simmetria bilaterale[181], sul modello delle grandi terme urbane, ma la pianta è troppo incompleta per poterne essere sicuri; non è da escludere che si tratti di un complesso a percorso circolare sinistrorso, con pianta dissimmetrica[182].

Il principale settore scavato è costituito dai *praefurnia* e da tre vani contigui, riscaldati da ipocausto ed esposti a Mezzogiorno, da interpretare forse come la successione di *destrictarium, laconicum* e *calidarium*; con disposizione, quindi, Est-Ovest dei vani termali, sul lato settentrionale dei quali si

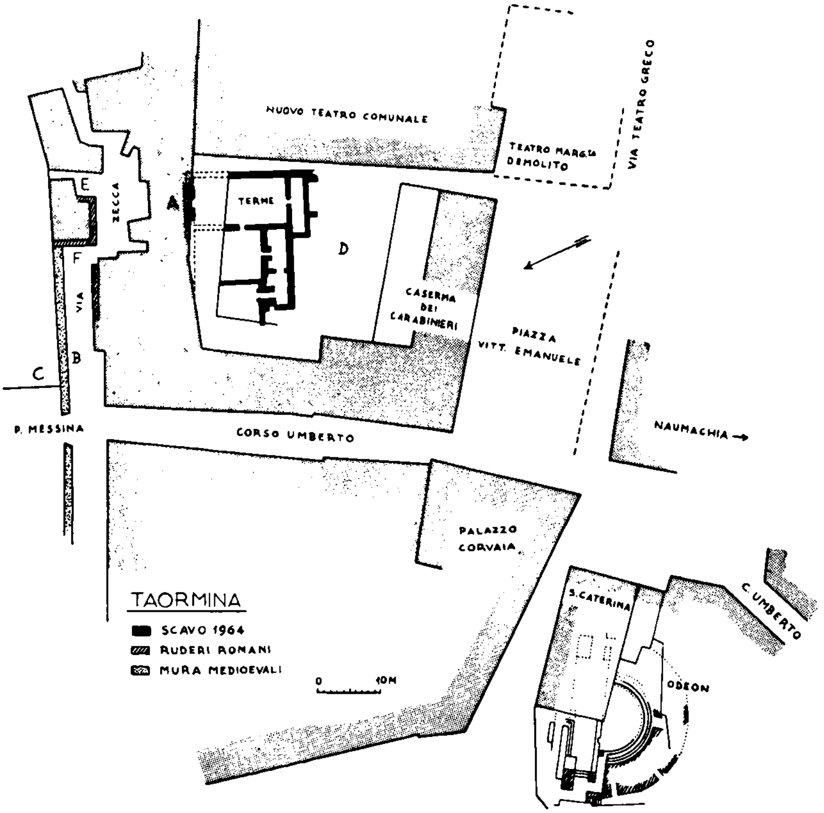

NUOVO TEATRO COMUNALE
TEATRO MARG.ta DEMOLITO
VIA TEATRO GRECO
TERME
A
D
E
F
B
C
ZECCA
VIA
CASERMA DEI CARABINIERI
PIAZZA VITT. EMANUELE
NAUMACHIA →
P. MESSINA
CORSO UMBERTO
PALAZZO CORVAIA
TAORMINA
■ SCAVO 1964
▨ RUDERI ROMANI
▩ MURA MEDIOEVALI
0 10M
S. CATERINA
C. UMBERTO
ODEON

Fig. 9. Taormina. Planimetria del centro urbano con le terme e l'odeon

può supporre fossero collocati gli altri ambienti sussidiari che permettevano il percorso balneare circolare. L'incompletezza della pianta impedisce, comunque, ulteriori osservazioni, soprattutto di comprendere fino a qual punto il modello urbano abbia influito su di essa e come sia stato adattato alle necessità, certamente molto diverse, della città siciliana.

---

[180] Pelagatti, in: CrASA 3, 1964, p. 25–37; Ead., F.A. 12, 1967, n. 2968; cfr. Wilson, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), p. 107.

[181] Wilson, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, p. 225, nota 18.

[182] Lézine, pp. 16–22; Stucchi, in: Atti V Congr. Naz. di Storia dell'Architettura, Firenze 1957, pp. 178–179.

La struttura cementizia con paramento di mattoni (Tav. IX, 17) è molto simile a quella del teatro, i laterizi impiegati sono quelli di spessore medio, tra i tre fondamentali tipi noti a Taormina (cm 39 – 40 × 33 – 35 × 5,5 – 6,5). L'*opus caementicium* è costituito da un impasto di scaglie di calcare e malta biancastra, un po' granulosa, ricca di pietrisco, che ci sembra di composizione simile a quella del teatro; lo stesso può dirsi dei *caementa*, anche se le loro dimensioni medie sono forse un po' maggiori di quelle riscontrate nell'altro monumento. Gli archi hanno ghiere laterizie non sagomate e, come nel teatro, è documentato l'uso dell'arco di scarico. Si può perciò dedurre con sicurezza che le due opere sono contemporanee e dovute alle stesse maestranze.

La scoperta di altri due complessi termali, a Centuripe e a Lipari, dimostra che nel corso del II sec. d. C. tali edifici cominciano a diffondersi nelle città minori, preludendo alla grande diffusione che le terme avranno anche in Sicilia a partire dal secolo seguente. A Lipari sono stati messi in luce[183] due vani con ipocausto, per dimensioni e disposizione paragonabili a quelli di Taormina, i cui pavimenti forniscono un prezioso e sicuro indizio cronologico[184]. Un altro complesso in *opus latericium* è, invece, quello detto dall'Acqua Amara a Centuripe[185]. Purtroppo, nemmeno in questo caso è possibile riconoscere in maniera coerente la pianta; poiché l'edificio fu costruito su una terrazza, che si estendeva per circa trenta metri[186], sulla quale sono stati individuati cinque vani, di cui almeno tre riscaldati da un *praefurnium*, si può ipotizzare una disposizione degli ambienti termali lungo la parete a monte[187] e lo spogliatoio, e forse la '*palaestra*', sul lato della terrazza che guardava a valle. Si avrebbe così un tipo assiale semplice, con circolazione a senso unico.

L'*opus testaceum* è adottato a Centuripe anche nel grande ninfeo di Vallone Bagni e la sua diffusione, il rinvenimento della testa-ritratto di una statua colossale di Adriano[188], l'iscrizione che menziona uno sferisterio[189], fanno pensare che la città sia stata tra quelle incluse nei benefici del programma imperiale di restituzione[190]. I benefici effetti di quest'ultimo si fecero sentire per un certo periodo, se Catania potè costruire verso la fine del secolo l'anfiteatro e se Centuripe si potè permettere, con ogni probabilità in età antoniniana, se non in quella severiana, il lusso di un monumentale ninfeo a facciata, che dominava scenograficamente il Vallone Bagni[191].

---

[183] Bernabò Brea, in: ASSO L, 1954, pp. 48 – 49.

[184] Mosaico a quadri bianchi e neri e pavimento di cocciopesto con disegno di lastrine bianche e nere, databili nel II secolo.

[185] Libertini, Centuripe, pp. 46 – 49; G. Rizza, in: NSc 1949, pp. 190 – 193. Nei paramenti laterizi sono utilizzati per lo più mattoni lunghi cm 30 – 40, corrispondenti al tipo più comune a Taormina.

[186] Libertini, Centuripe, p. 47.

[187] La serie sembra chiusa a Nord da un grande vano, in cui forse si potrebbe vedere il frigidario (con la piscina contigua, Libertini, Centuripe, p. 48), tanto più che su questo lato si trovava la sorgente che alimentava i bagni.

[188] Libertini, Centuripe, pp. 80 – 82; N. Bonacasa, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia, Palermo 1964, p. 82, n. 103, tav. XLVII, 1 – 2.

[189] L. Bivona, Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo, Palermo 1970, pp. 21 – 23.

Il Libertini seguendo la tradizione locale (i 'bagni'), ha interpretato il rudere come quello di un edificio termale[192]; il Pace lo ha ritenuto un ninfeo e recentemente anche il Wilson ha appoggiato tale interpretazione[193], che in origine si deve all'Houel[194], e che noi seguiamo, essendo suggerita anche dalla morfologia dei luoghi: poiché non vi è spazio, sull'aspro versante del vallone, per sistemare le sale e il resto dell'edificio termale, che si sarebbe dovuto estendere verso valle su terrazzamenti poderosi, che non ci sembra possibile siano totalmente scomparsi.

La struttura si estende su una fronte di m 36 con cinque nicchie semicircolari affiancate[195] e una più piccola, ricavata nel muro tra la terza e la quarta (Tav. XX, 42; fig. 10); le prime tre, larghe all'interno poco più di m 4, sono presso a poco uguali tra di loro; le altre due, più alte, misurano rispettivamente m 5,30 e 6,20; in quella maggiore (Tav. XXI, 44) si conserva una base, probabilmente per una statua. Si tratta chiaramente di un grandioso ninfeo a facciata, del tipo detto anche a fondo piatto (tipo D di Aupert)[196]. Purtroppo non sappiamo nulla di una eventuale decorazione a colonne[197], né della disposizione dei bacini di raccolta; comunque, seguendo la classificazione di Aupert, si

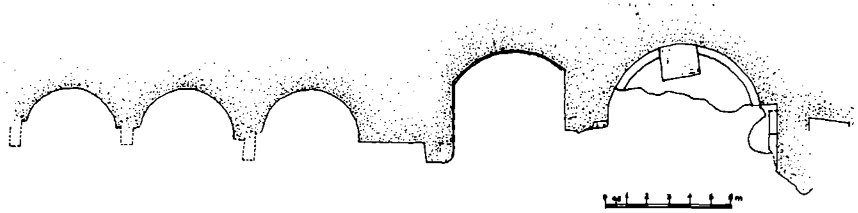


Fig. 10. Centuripe. Planimetria del ninfeo di Vallone Bagni

potrebbe codificarlo così: D 3/?/6/?. In tutta Italia, nello stesso periodo, non vi è, a nostra conoscenza, una struttura paragonabile, si possono forse richiamare solo i ninfei sul fianco di una cisterna, presso il Casino Fede di Villa Adriana[198], a tre nicchie (due semicircolari a lato di una rettangolare), oppure di via degli Arcioni a Palestrina[199]; ma si tratta senz'altro di complessi meno grandiosi e articolati. Tali caratteri rimandano piuttosto ai grandi ninfei a facciata dell'Asia Minore, soprattutto a quello di Perge[200], che in comune con il nostro ha la sequenza delle profonde nicchie di diversa ampiezza (disposte però simmetricamente ai lati della centrale) e il particolare della nicchia più piccola ricavata nel muro tra due maggiori. Il confronto ci sembra così puntuale, da farci ritenere possibile una diretta influenza delle soluzioni elaborate in Asia Minore per questo tipo di monumenti; ipotesi che non ci sembra strana per una città della Sicilia orientale, la zona dell'isola, che, anche in età imperiale, continuò a mantenere stretti contatti con la Grecia e l'Oriente mediterraneo[201]. Non è comunque nostra intenzione, né questa sarebbe la sede adatta, di riprendere il controverso problema del rapporto di tali ninfei a facciata con la *scaenae frons* a nicchie o dell'origine della tipologia del ninfeo a facciata[202]; né ci sfugge l'esistenza di una tradizione, anche in ambiente italiano, della parete articolata a nicchie, che si esprime in forme monumentali (i nicchioni di Todi ne sono l'esempio più noto)[203], e dello stesso ninfeo a facciata, quest'ultimo documentato in forme grandiose dalla struttura addossata al tempio del Divo Claudio a Roma[204]. Non intendiamo, quindi, schierarci aprioristicamente per il modello asiatico, abbiamo voluto solamente osservare le precise corrispondenze tra i ninfei di Centuripe e di Perge, che inducono a non escludere un rapporto tra questi due monumenti contemporanei.

---

[190] Secondo Libertini, Centuripe, p. 82, l'imperatore avrebbe visitato la città nel corso della sua ascensione all'Etna.

[191] Libertini, Centuripe, pp. 68 – 73; per la collocazione scenografica dei ninfei, Neuerburg, pp. 86 – 87.

[192] Libertini, Centuripe, pp. 71 – 72.

[193] Wilson, in: Miscellanea Manni 6, cit. (n. 45), pp. 2223.

[194] Houel III, p. 34.

[195] La dissimmetria della struttura potrebbe fare pensare a una seconda serie simmetrica di nicchie a lato di quella centrale. Tuttavia, non vi è traccia di queste nicchie e si dovrebbe supporre una struttura lunga oltre m 70, che ci sembra eccessivamente grandiosa e poco probabile.

[196] Neuerburg, pp. 73 – 80, in particolare p. 76 ss.; Ginouvès, pp. 156 – 161; Aupert, pp. 81 – 82, 90 e fig. a p. 84; Hornbostel – Hüttner, pp. 79 – 85.

[197] Per la decorazione dei ninfei, Neuerburg, pp. 91 – 97.

L'argomento ci porta ad accennare adesso anche alla Naumachia di Taormina, anche se è probabile che la sua cronologia sia più tarda rispetto al periodo qui considerato[205]. Si tratti di un ninfeo o meno[206], è chiaro che il problema non cambia: siamo in presenza di una parete articolata a nicchie, espressione di un gusto e di una concezione che non muta, qualunque sia la funzione del monumento[207], in cui tale soluzione scenografica è applicata.

---

[198] NEUERBURG, pp. 74, 75; p. 223, n. 190, fig. 151.

[199] NEUERBURG, pp. 74, pp. 169 – 170, n. 94, fig. 150; cfr. anche ibid., pp. 148 – 149, n. 61.

[200] LANCKOROŃSKI, Villes I, p. 50, fig. 37, tav. XIV; DE BERNARDI FERRERO III, pp. 153, 155, figg. 168, 171, tav. XXVIII. Anche se non si trattasse di un ninfeo, il confronto sarebbe ugualmente valido, poiché la facciata a nicchie è una formula decorativa che si presta ad essere usata per varie strutture architettoniche, v. GINOUVÈS, p. 164, G. CH. PICARD, in: MonPiot 1962, pp. 91 – 92.

[201] CRACCO RUGGINI, in: Storia della Sicilia II, p. 484.

[202] MANSUELLI, Architettura, pp. 270 – 273; il problema del rapporto con la frontescena del teatro è stato affrontato da NEUERBURG, pp. 76 – 77; GINOUVÈS, pp. 161 – 166; A. BALLAND, in: Bolsena 2, Roma 1971, pp. 237 – 238; PICARD, art. cit., pp. 90 – 92.

[203] LUGLI, Tecnica, tav. LX, 2; MANSUELLI, Architettura, pp. 270 – 271.

[204] CREMA, pp. 314 – 315, fig. 355 (con bibliografia).

[205] SANTANGELO, pp. 78 – 79; PACE, in: BdA 10, 1930, pp. 376 – 380; ID., in: ACSA 2, pp. 287, 441; LUGLI, Studi minori, pp. 210 – 212; ID., Tecnica, p. 630; NEUERBURG, p. 109; cfr. WILSON, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), pp. 108 – 109. Databile con ogni probabilità all'inizio del III secolo.

[206] Come pensa il PACE; di diversa opinione WILSON, in: Miscellanea Manni 6, cit. (n. 45), p. 2223 e nota 17.

Terme e ninfei necessitano di acqua in abbondanza, ed anche il semplice approvvigionamento idrico per i comuni bisogni e il decoro della città è una esigenza sempre più fortemente sentita, a partire dal I sec. d. C.

Oltre le opere di Siracusa, che rappresentano almeno in parte un rifacimento di precedenti sistemi ellenistici[208] e che andrebbero controllate tratto per tratto, i principali acquedotti romani in Sicilia sono quelli di Catania, Taormina e Termini Imerese[209]. Il primo[210] aveva origine presso S. Maria di Licodia, a poco meno di trenta chilometri dalla città, ed era certamente il più lungo e imponente dei tre, poiché correva per lunghi tratti su arcate e valicava alcune valli su alti ponti a doppio ordine (il principale doveva essere quello di contrada Scalilli)[211]. Le arcate superstiti e quelle che conosciamo da vedute settecentesche si alzavano su piloni in opera quadrata, su cui si impostavano archi con ghiere di mattoni molto spessi (cm 35 × 20 × 10)[212]. La cronologia proposta è il I sec. d. C.[213]; ma l'uso abbinato di opera quadrata e archi in laterizio richiama senz'altro le facciate dei monumenti catanesi di cui abbiamo parlato; pertanto, non ci sembra opportuno separare di molto cronologicamente da questi edifici l'acquedotto, che difficilmente ci sembra anteriore all'inizio del II secolo[214].

Gli altri due di Termini[215] e Taormina[216] sono di gran lunga più brevi, ma sono accomunati dall'impiego del sifone per l'attraversamento di valli larghe e profonde. L'Aqua Cornelia di Termini utilizza il sistema ben due volte, nei sette chilometri del suo percorso; il secondo sifone (in contrada Barratina) (Tav. XVII, 36) costituisce certamente uno degli esempi più interessanti, che si conoscano nel mondo romano, di questo sistema idraulico, paragonabile a quelli di Craponne e Gier a Lione o a quello di Aspendos[217], almeno come progetto, anche se vanno controllate, con uno studio tecnico accurato, le sue capacità di funzionamento e di durata, soprattutto in rapporto all'esistenza di un'altra linea di approvvigionamento, quella di Figurella, che attraversa lo stesso vallone più a monte, con un ponte a doppio ordine[218] (Tav. XVII,35). La tecnica edilizia di entrambe le opere è l'*opus vittatum*, la tecnica di uso comune a Termini per tutto il periodo imperiale; nel ponte di contrada Figurella, le ghiere degli archi presentano un'alternanza di blocchetti e mattoni[219].

---

[207] V. nota 200.

[208] La migliore descrizione è quella di C. CAVALLARI, in: F. S. CAVALLARI – A. HOLM, Topografia archeologica di Siracusa, Palermo 1883, pp. 119 – 133; v. anche, PACE, ACSA 2, pp. 427 – 430.

[209] Un altro acquedotto è noto ad Haluntum, PACE, in: ACSA 2, p. 422 e un quinto è quello della Pirrera.

[210] S. LAGONA, in: CrASA 3, 1964, pp. 69 – 86 (con bibliografia anteriore).

[211] LAGONA, art. cit., p. 49.

[212] Più spessi della maggior parte dei mattoni di Taormina, anche se le dimensioni sono uguali a quelle del tipo taorminese n. 7 di LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205.

[213] LAGONA, art. cit., p. 86.

[214] Non riteniamo che la rovinata e incompleta iscrizione di Q. Maculnius possa essere utile per datare con sicurezza l'acquedotto; per questa iscrizione, v. LAGONA, art. cit., pp. 84 – 86.

[215] B. ROMANO, Antichità termitane, Palermo 1838, pp. 47 – 64; PACE, ACSA 2, pp. 442 – 443; LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 220; ID., Tecnica, pp. 651 – 652; V. TUSA, in: BdA 1953, p. 270 ss.; O. BELVEDERE, L'acquedotto Cornelio di Termini Imerese, Roma 1986.

[216] P. RIZZO, Tauromenion, Riposto 1927, pp. 347 – 348; PACE, ACSA 2, p. 441.

Tale caratteristica, che è propria di questa sola opera, insieme all'uso di file di mattoni posti per taglio, al fine di ripartire trasversalmente la massa cementizia dell'arco e che sono ben visibili nell'intradosso, inducono ad assegnare il ponte ad età adrianeo-antoniniana, grazie ai numerosi confronti che è possibile istituire con i restauri negli acquedotti romani che la VAN DEMAN assegna a questa età[220]; inoltre, il rapporto tra pieni e vuoti e le proporzioni avvicinano il nostro ponte a quello di S. Gregorio nell'Anio Vetus[221], anch'esso ricostruito in età adrianea. Nei ponti della linea principale (quella cui andrebbe riservata strettamente la denominazione di Aqua Cornelia, attestataci dall'iscrizione, in origine posta sulla torre di partenza del sifone di Barratina) compare uguale ripartizione, mediante file di laterizi, dell'intradosso delle arcate; ma gli archi frontali sono esclusivamente di mattoni (cm 41 – 44 × 33 – 35 × 6,5 – 7,5), un tipo, di spessore abbastanza notevole, documentato in Sicilia a Catania (teatro) e a Taormina[222]. La somiglianza della tecnica edilizia induce a non separare di molto le due opere, come ha ben visto il LUGLI[223], ma la differenza nella cura del taglio dei blocchetti e nell'*opus caementicium* (molto più ricco di frammenti laterizi nel ponte di Figurella) e nella fattura e dimensioni dei mattoni denotano certo due diverse maestranze e un intervallo temporale di alcuni decenni[224].

Molto meno noto è il sistema di approvvigionamento di Taormina, costituito, secondo il RIZZO, da tre linee indipendenti, una delle quali utilizzava il sistema del sifone per portare l'acqua alla città arroccata sul monte. Una ricognizione completa del tracciato è ancora da fare; le tre sorgenti captate sono quelle del Letoianni e il sifone era impiegato per superare gli aspri e dirupati valloni che circondano la città. Uno dei tratti su arcate, attribuito ad età romana dalla Santangelo[225], è costruito in *vittatum*, piuttosto raffazzonato e con blocchetti di diverse dimensioni e di taglio rozzo, e forse rappresenta una ricostruzione dell'opera originaria. Si conosce bene, inoltre, uno dei *castella aquae* terminali (la cosidetta 'piscina mirabile')[226], un vasto serbatoio costruito in opera laterizia, diviso in due navate da pilastri ad arcate, secondo uno schema ben noto per simili opere e che in Sicilia ritorna anche nel cisternone di S. Nicola a Siracusa[227].

---

[217] C. G. MONTAUZAN, Les aqueducs antiques de Lyon, Paris 1908, pp. 72 – 79; 90 – 93; 102 – 105; 118 – 122; 125 – 133; 176 – 220; WARD PERKINS, in: BSR 23, 1955, pp. 115 – 123.

[218] Per il problema BELVEDERE, op. cit., pp. 175 – 177.

[219] Di due tipi, i primi *pedales* (di cm 28 × 28 × 4); i secondi rettangolari (cm 34 × 26 × 6) simili a un tipo di medio spessore documentato a Taormina, per cui v. LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205, n. 7.

[220] VAN DEMAN, pp. 49, 64, 203; in generale BLAKE – BISHOP, p. 277.

[221] VAN DEMAN, pp. 46 – 47, 64.

[222] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 641 e pp. 629 – 630; ID., Studi minori, p. 205, n. 2.

[223] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 651.

[224] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 651, propone venti-trenta anni.

Un giudizio sugli acquedotti romani in Sicilia ci sembra che debba sottolineare l'uniformità nei sistemi costruttivi (cunicolo in trincea, con muri laterali su sottofondazione cementizia e rivestimento interno di signino, spesso cm 2–3; volta a scaglie radiali di pietra su centina lignea) e nella tecnica idraulica (valori di pendenza, uso del sifone) con le altre opere simili diffuse in tutto l'impero; la tecnica edilizia dei ponti e dei grandi serbatoi rimanda, come era da aspettarsi, agli esempi italiani e della Gallia meridionale, quelli cioè più legati all'architettura urbana. Tenendo conto anche della relativa diffusione dell'impegnativo sistema del sifone e della necessità di personale specializzato (i *libratores*) per la definizione del tracciato e la progettazione delle opere idrauliche – tecnici, soprattutto i primi, che sembra fossero disponibili solo presso le unità militari, che, come è noto, in Sicilia non erano stanziate – dobbiamo pensare che anche queste iniziative si siano attuate con il consenso del governo centrale (anche se su proposta e finanziamenti almeno in parte privati, come la denominazione di Aqua Cornelia per Termini ci fa supporre) e con l'aiuto di esperti da esso inviati espressamente a tale scopo[228].

4. Il c.d. Ginnasio di Siracusa

Il complesso noto come Ginnasio, che recentemente si è voluto identificare con un *Asklepieion*, è costituito da un ampio piazzale circondato da vasti portici (Tav. XVI, 33), al cui centro si trovavano un tempio su alto podio (Tav. XVI, 34) e una cavea teatrale[229]. Sebbene sia generalmente attribuito a questo periodo, sarebbe tuttavia necessario, per precisarne la cronologia, un accurato studio della decorazione architettonica (che non possiamo affrontare in questa sede), anche per capire l'esatto rapporto tra i ruderi della fase edilizia attualmente visibile e le statue rinvenute, per alcune delle quali si è proposta una datazione nel corso del I sec. d. C.[230] (fig. 11).

---

[225] Santangelo, p. 74, fig. 72.

[226] Santangelo, p. 74.

[227] Gentili, pp. 71–73.

[228] Plinio, da governatore della Bitinia, richiede l'invio di vari tecnici (un *aquilex* e un *architectus* e anche un *librator*, che deve essere fatto venire dalla Mesia Inferiore); cfr. Tosi, in: RivArch 1977, cit., p. 56; Mansuelli, in: Miscellanea Manni 4, cit. (n. 112), pp. 1378–1379 e 1379–1380.

[229] C. Cavallari, in: Cavallari–Holm, op. cit., pp. 394–408; Pace, ACSA 2, pp. 350–351; Bernabò Brea, in: NSc 1947, pp. 197–198; Hanson, p. 97. Per l'identificazione con l'Asklepieion, Coarelli, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 381; già Cavallari, in: Cavallari–Holm, op. cit., p. 407, riteneva probabile il carattere sacro del complesso. Cfr. anche Wilson, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), pp. 116–119.

Una volta a botte in opera cementizia e materiale leggero (pomice) sosteneva il podio del tempio e permetteva l'accesso a un pozzo di acqua salmastra; tuttavia, la presenza di tubi fittili, del tipo usato per la centinatura delle volte, rinvenuti in gran quantità durante lo scavo[231] – tecnica che si cominciò a impiegare largamente in Sicilia non prima della seconda metà del III secolo – fa pensare a una successiva ricostruzione delle coperture, in un periodo non meglio precisabile.

La fronte del tempio, preceduta da un pulpito con decorazione a nicchie, fungeva da scena per la cavea retrostante. Tra cavea e pulpito si aprivano le *parodoi*, ma le gradinate, come ha fatto notare lo HANSON[232], erano condotte ai lati del pulpito, con abolizione dei *tribunalia*, giustificata certo dalla particolare

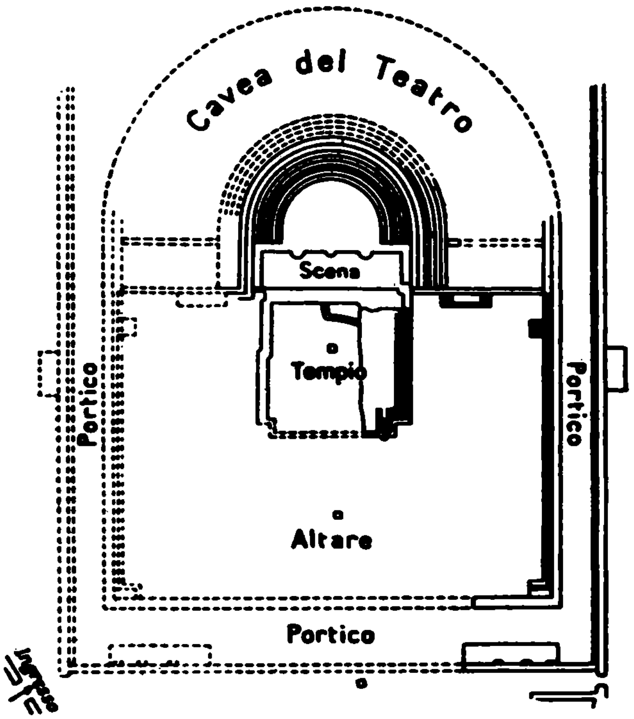


Fig. 11. Siracusa. Planimetria del c.d. Ginnasio

funzione della struttura, ma che riteniamo di dovere segnalare, perché si tratta di una soluzione piuttosto rara, che nei teatri è documentata solo in Grecia e nell'Oriente, a Atene (teatro di Erode Attico) e Philippopolis[233].

---

[230] Per la datazione nel II secolo, COARELLI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 381; per la cronologia delle statue, BONACASA, Ritratti, cit. (n. 188), pp. 141–144, nn. 194–195; 197–199 e p. 148, n. 208.

[231] CAVALLARI, in: CAVALLARI – HOLM, op. cit., pp. 394–395, nota 1.

[232] HANSON, p. 97.

Ma ciò che più colpisce è l'associazione cavea-tempio, la cui genesi concettuale e architettonica, nonostante il lavoro dello HANSON, non è affatto chiara[234]. Non è nostro compito, tuttavia, tornare su questo problema, ci limitiamo a constatare, da uno stretto punto di vista architettonico, che le soluzioni più vicine a quella del complesso siracusano sembrano occidentali e africane, anche se nessuna mostra un così stretto legame tra cavea e tempio; si potrebbe ricordare in primo luogo l'Asklepieion di Beida, di età adrianea[235]; ma soprattutto si devono citare il complesso teatro-tempio di Augusto di Leptis e quello analogo di Ostia[236], che, pur nella diversità delle funzioni e delle dimensioni, ci sembrano, per la posizione frontale della cavea rispetto all'edificio sacro, presentare analogie più strette di quelle dei santuari in cui la cavea dà le spalle alla terrazza dell'edificio sacro, come a Beida o a Cagliari e negli altri santuari italici[237]. Tutto sommato, a Beida come a Siracusa, si era davanti alla necessità di associare per ragioni funzionali tre elementi, la cavea, i portici e il tempio; ci sembra logico, quindi, che ci si sia rifatti a quegli schemi architettonici che già collegavano nel modo migliore un edificio sacro, circondato da portici, a una struttura teatrale, come Ostia e Leptis; anche se poi i particolari della realizzazione furono determinati da fattori locali, come la disponibilità di terreno, o da soluzioni ben note, come l'odeon di Taormina, agli architetti che redassero il progetto.

IV. Tecniche edilizie del I – II sec. d.C.

Fu la colonizzazione dell'età augustea a far conoscere in Sicilia le tecniche edilizie romane, che prima di allora non erano mai state impiegate, almeno per quanto a nostra conoscenza, e, comunque, mai su larga scala. Da parte dei coloni augustei è naturale ci sia stata la volontà di adeguarsi il più possibile ai sistemi costruttivi e ai caratteri decorativi propri del centro urbano e di seguirne, per quanto possibile, l'evoluzione; per le opere di interesse pubblico, promosse per lo più dal potere centrale, tale volontà appare ancora più ovvia, dato il fine celebrativo, oltre che utilitario, che tutte hanno, anche le più funzionali. Nel periodo augusteo, inoltre, vi è un tentativo, anche se non pienamente riuscito[238], di rivitalizzare le città siciliane, attuando una politica di urbanizzazione, ma in senso romano, cercando cioè di fare assumere alle città, almeno a quelle divenute colonie, una fisionomia non dissimile da quella delle città dell'Italia centrale e della Campania. Ciò spiega la scelta degli edifici e dei complessi da edificare in primo luogo (anfiteatri, fori ed edifici pubblici nell'area del foro) e l'introduzione della tecnica reticolata, che diviene simbolo di un ben determinato status sociale per il privato[239] e nell'edificio pubblico ulteriore, ribadita, attestazione della presenza del potere centrale (di cui l'edificio in sé è già la prova). Naturalmente, la difficoltà intrinseca della tecnica e il suo costo ne limitarono la diffusione in Sicilia, come nelle altre province[240], e la relativa rarità accresceva il valore simbolico insito in essa. Il reticolato, quindi, non è molto frequente nell'isola, però, nonostante ciò, esso si ritrova non solo nelle colonie romane, come è logico aspettarsi[241], ma anche in località di minore importanza, come Halesa, Favignana e le isole Eolie[242], che tuttavia, per la loro posizione geografica, potevano avere frequenti contatti con l'Italia peninsulare.

---

[233] COUPEL – FRÉZOULS, pp. 114 – 115; mancano anche nel teatro sud di Villa Adriana, dove però sono sostituiti dalla tribuna imperiale al centro della cavea.

[234] Cfr. MANSUELLI, Architettura, p. 223.

[235] STUCCHI, p. 259 ss.

[236] HANSON, p. 95; l'unità è data dalla costruzione del tempio sull'asse del teatro.

[237] HANSON, p. 29 ss.

Il reticolato siciliano non raggiunge mai alti livelli di perfezione tecnica, nemmeno nel più importante monumento in cui fu usato e cioè l'anfiteatro di Siracusa (Tav. XVIII, 37). Le dimensioni abbastanza grandi delle piramidi (cm 8 – 11 di lato a Siracusa; cm 10 a Termini)[243] dimostrano che l'introduzione del sistema non è anteriore al periodo augusteo[244]; la disposizione dei *cubilia* è in genere un po' irregolare, con interstizi piuttosto evidenti. Paramenti simili sono tipici delle città minori dell'Italia e delle province[245]; ci limitiamo a citare, ad esempio, Minturno[246], Carsulae[247], Assisi[248], Bulla Regia[249], Cartagine[250].

---

[238] Clemente, Storia della Sicilia II, pp. 467 – 468.

[239] M. Torelli, in: Tecnologia, economia, società nel mondo romano, Como 1980, p. 158.

[240] Lugli, Tecnica, pp. 514, 633; per la Grecia Ginouvès, Argo, p. 222; per la Gallia, Grenier III,1, p. 68; per il reticolato in Africa F. Rakob, 25 RMErgHefte, Mainz 1982, p. 111; in Oriente F. W. Deichmann, in: RM 86, 1979, pp. 473 – 478.

[241] E' documentato oltre che a Siracusa e Catania, anche a Termini Imerese (Belvedere, in: Kokalos 28 – 29, 1982 – 1983, p. 76). In quest'ultima città, l'impiego della tecnica anche in monumenti funerari (come ad Halesa, v. nota 242) sembrerebbe testimoniare una maggiore penetrazione dell'*opus reticulatum*, sia pur sempre in forma limitata.

[242] Scibona, in: Kokalos 17, 1971, p. 4; A. Salinas, in: NSc 1899, pp. 500 – 502; per Favignana A. M . Bisi, in: F.A. 22, 1967, n. 2842; per le Eolie, Bernabò Brea, in: NSc 1947, p. 238 (Basiluzzo) e A. M. Lopes, in: SicArch 14, 46 – 47, 1981, p. 100 (da Houel), per Salina.

[243] Per la tipologia, Lugli, Tecnica, pp. 500 – 501.

[244] Per il significato cronologico delle dimensioni, Lugli, Tecnica, p. 494.

[245] Lugli, Tecnica, p. 502.

[246] Lugli, Tecnica, tav. CXXXII, 2.

[247] Lugli, Tecnica, p. 503, tav. CXXXVII, 3.

[248] Blake I, p. 240, tav. 52,4.

[249] Romanelli, p. 55, tav. 29 a; A. Beschaouch – R. Hanoune – Y. Thébert, Les ruines de Bulla Regia, Paris – Rome 1977, p. 18 ss., figg. 9 – 11.

[250] Romanelli, p. 55.

L'anfiteatro di Siracusa e il foro di Catania sono gli unici complessi pubblici siciliani in cui ne è documentato l'uso, ma forse ciò è dovuto solo alla nostra scarsa conoscenza di altri edifici pubblici di età augustea o giulio-claudia; tuttavia l'impiego parsimonioso che se ne fa a Siracusa stessa[251] dimostra che la disponibilità di maestanze capaci era limitata, mentre l'aspetto non dissimile dal reticolato siracusano che ha il muro, verosimilmente di una abitazione privata, di Termini è prova che nell'edificio pubblico non si fece ricorso a maestranze particolarmente esperte o di più alto livello. E' evidente, quindi, che l'uso dell'opera reticolata in Sicilia è un fatto episodico, che non andò oltre la primissima età imperiale: quando la muratura non fu più in voga a Roma, non vi fu alcuna ragione per continuare ad adoperarla ulteriormente e la tradizione tecnica si perse del tutto, tanto che, quando il reticolato con corsi di mattoni cominciò a diffondersi, in epoca flavio-traianea e poi nell'età di Adriano e degli Antonini[252], esso non venne ripreso in Sicilia, a differenza che in altre province[253], evidentemente perché non vi erano maestranze capaci di realizzarlo, e si ripiegò pertanto sul *vittatum* con ricorsi laterizi.

L'opera vittata è infatti il naturale sostituto del reticolato nelle province[254], per la maggior facilità della messa in opera dei paramenti e la solidità della costruzione; ma è chiaro che la sua diffusione è legata alla disponibilità della pietra e che, pertanto, dovette essere adottata nelle città siciliane per un lungo periodo di tempo, prima con paramenti di filari di blocchetti a taglio più o meno regolare, legati da giunti di malta non più alti di cm 1–2,5 o 3 e poi, a partire dalla metà del II sec. d. C., ad assise di blocchetti a taglio irregolare e giunti spessi non meno di cm 3. Nella prima e media età imperiale fu questa la maniera più comune di costruire attestata in varie località, Segesta, Centuripe, Taormina, Termini Imerese, Catania, Siracusa, ma che dobbiamo ritenere diffusa in tutta la Sicilia senza eccezioni. Le testimonianze più importanti le abbiamo a Termini Imerese, nell'anfiteatro, nell'acquedotto e in un altro edificio, di incerta destinazione, noto come la 'curia'; ancora verso la fine del II secolo l'*opus vittatum* semplice fu preferito per l'anfiteatro di Catania[255], anche se proprio a Catania si era affermato già il vittato con ricorsi laterizi.

Tuttavia, l'edificio degli *Augustales* di Centuripe fa sorgere il problema della cronologia iniziale del vittato misto, poiché il maggior numero di ritratti e alcune iscrizioni in esso rinvenuti si debbono datare entro il I sec. d. C.[256]. Sebbene il LUGLI elenchi vari esempi di vittato misto, sia in Italia settentrionale, sia a Pompei e in Campania, databili entro il I secolo[257], l'impiego di questa tecnica appare ancora limitato, quasi esclusivamente, a livellare i muri costruiti con assise irregolari di ciottoli (ad esempio a Torino), per cui in Sicilia ci sembra difficile che il suo uso sia anteriore all'inizio del II secolo, quando la tecnica si diffonde nelle province[258] e non ci pare possibile separare cronologicamente l'edificio centuripino dal teatro a dall'odeon di Catania, che sono i principali edifici siciliani in cui essa è usata. Si potrebbe mettere in relazione, pertanto, la nuova sede degli *Augustales* con la riorganizzazione del culto e la sua regolamentazione voluta da Antonino Pio, che portò, come ad Ostia, alla costruzione di nuovi edifici per il culto imperiale[259].

---

[251] Per il foro di Catania non sappiamo esattamente in che misura fosse usato il *reticulatum*.

[252] LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 516–518.

[253] Per la Gallia, GRENIER III, 1, pp. 72–73. Non sembra usato, invece, in Africa.

[254] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 636.

[255] E anche nell'edificio illustrato da LIBERTINI, in: NSc 1924, pp. 106–109.

[256] BONACASA, Ritratti, cit. (n. 188), p. 35, n. 37; pp. 41–43, nn. 46–48.

[257] LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 654–655.

Negli edifici catanesi, come a Centuripe, sia in quello degli *Augustales*, che nei ruderi della Chiesa del Crocifisso[260] o in quelli presso la Maddalena[261] e nella cisterna Testai[262], i corsi laterizi risultano composti da tre file di mattoni, per un'altezza complessiva di cm 20–24 (Tav. XX, 41; XXI, 43). Quando è inserita più di una fascia di mattoni, le assise distano o circa un metro (distanza che probabilmente corrisponde ai tre piedi o ai tre piedi e mezzo delle murature romane del II secolo)[263], oppure un metro e mezzo (cinque piedi?, edificio degli *Augustales*).

Nell'insieme l'aspetto della muratura, come anche le dimensioni e il taglio dei blocchetti, non è molto differente nei monumenti catanesi e centuripini, per cui tenderemmo a non distanziare cronologicamente questi da quelli. Tenuto conto, pertanto, che nell'edificio degli *Augustales* sono state trovate due statue femminili del II secolo, si potrebbe pensare alla costruzione di una nuova sede in conseguenza della riorganizzazione del culto voluta da Antonino Pio, come si è detto, e di conseguenza trovare in ciò conferma della contemporaneità dell'opera vittata mista di Centuripe e di Catania, da cui la prima a nostro parere dipende, data la limitatezza della sua diffusione in Sicilia[264].

E' già stato osservato l'eco piuttosto fievole che la grande architettura romana in opera laterizia ebbe nelle città siciliane[265]. In centri importanti come Termini Imerese e Lilibeo è scarsamente attestata o addirittura ignorata, mentre nella Sicilia orientale solo Taormina e in parte Centuripe ne fecero uso più largo. Ci sembra significativo che in una città geograficamente vicina a Taormina, come Catania, e in un periodo cronologico non diverso, essa non sia stata adoperata per nessuno dei grandi edifici, tanto più che il mattone era un materiale a basso costo, che permetteva la realizzazione di paramenti altrettanto solidi di quelli in opera vittata dell'interno dei due monumenti, o di quelli in opera quadrata dell'esterno. Il fatto ha, a nostro parere, un duplice ordine di spiegazione: da un punto di vista estetico si preferì, ritenendola forse più nobile, la facciata a blocchi squadrati; da un punto di vista tecnico, probabilmente le maestranze non erano abituate a innalzare i paramenti in laterizio; abbiamo già notato la volontà di affrettare l'esecuzione delle opere e lo scadente *opus vittatum* delle parti interne non richiedeva particolare impegno, tanto più che si poteva rimediare ricoprendolo con l'intonaco. Costruire paramenti laterizi, invece, poteva rappresentare per maestranze non specializzate in questo lavoro, un problema di una certa difficoltà, come si può dedurre da un passo della corrispondenza tra Plinio e Traiano[266], con conseguente forte rallentamento dei lavori. Da ciò deriva un'altra considerazione: come nelle province orientali dell'impero[267], l'*opus testaceum* è una tecnica estranea alla tradizione edilizia siciliana, il cui impiego si deve verosimilmente ai programmi imperiali, attuati sotto la direzione di tecnici e funzionari preposti, proprio come ci è sembrato, per altre vie, di potere ipotizzare per il teatro di Taormina. In seguito maestranze che avevano acquisito una certa esperienza poterono operare anche altrove, in altre opere di prestigio come le terme e il ninfeo di Centuripe, ma è significativo che in quest'ultima città si ripiegasse sul *vittatum* con ricorsi laterizi, come a Catania, per imprese di minore importanza.

---

[258] Gallia; GRENIER III, 1, pp. 72–73 (età adrianea); ROMANELLI, p. 55 (età antoniniana e severiana).

[259] G. BECATTI, Scavi di Ostia I, Roma 1953/54, p. 143.

[260] LIBERTINI, Centuripe, p. 39.

[261] LIBERTINI, Centuripe, p. 51.

[262] LIBERTINI, Centuripe, p. 67.

[263] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 517.

[264] E' documentata sporadicamente a Taormina in alcune tombe, WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 18, nota 37.

[265] WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 15.

Le osservazioni del LUGLI sui mattoni regionali[268] e un recente articolo sui laterizi siciliani[269] ci esimono dal riportare dettagliati elenchi topografici e di misure di mattoni. Sostanzialmente nel teatro di Taormina sono usati mattoni di tre diversi spessori: uno sottile, rarissimo, che sembra usato largamente solo in questo edificio[270], di cm 3 – 4 (lungh. cm 12 – 20); uno di medio spessore (cm 5,5 – 6,5; con max. 8; dimensioni cm 39 – 41 × 33 – 35; oppure 33 – 34 × 20 – 22) e uno di cm 9 – 10 (dimensioni cm 48 – 49 × 34 – 35). Gli stessi mattoni di medio spessore sono impiegati nelle terme; mentre nell'odeon compare anche il tipo più spesso, utilizzato nelle parti alte delle *versurae*. Come abbiamo fatto già rilevare, in quest'ultimo edificio lo spessore medio di questi due tipi è minore (cm 4,5 – 5 per i primi; cm 9 max. per i secondi), fatto che si può interpretare in senso cronologico.

Come dimostrano i mattoni conservati interi nei gradini dell'odeon, il laterizio di medio spessore è rettangolare; misurava intero cm 39 – 41 × 33 – 35 e poteva essere spezzato in due o quattro triangoli (nel primo caso mantiene le misure dei lati ed era impiegato nelle testate dei muri; nel secondo si ottenevano mattoni misuranti in facciata cm 39 – 41 o 33 – 35, impiegati nei paramenti); oppure in due rettangoli, ottenendo laterizi di cm 33 – 35 × 19 – 20 o di 40 – 41 × 17 – 18, questi ultimi documentati nell'odeon per le testate di alcuni muri. Il mattone di grande spessore era probabilmente rettangolare, di cm 48 – 51 × 34 – 35; le misure documentate in facciata (cm 27 – 31) fanno pensare che fosse spezzato in otto triangoli. Un mattone con le stesse dimensioni è noto anche a Centuripe, dove è impiegato intero nelle testate e probabilmente diviso in due rettangoli nei paramenti[271]. Dei laterizi romani tipici sono documentati a Taormina i bessali (teatro), forse anche tagliati (odeon), e raramente i bipedali (odeon).

---

[266] MANSUELLI, Miscellanea Manni 4, cit. (n. 122), pp. 1382 – 1383.

[267] Si vedano le osservazioni di MANSUELLI, in: Miscellanea Manni 4, cit., pp. 1379 – 1380 a proposito dell'acquedotto di Nicomedia.

[268] LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 621 – 630; si veda pure BLAKE I, pp. 283 – 291.

[269] WILSON, Brick and Tile, pp. 11 – 32, più volte citato; per gli edifici siciliani v. anche LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 628 – 630 e Studi minori, passim.

[270] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205, forse ricavato da tegole.

Mattoni simili a quelli medi di Taormina sono adoperati anche a Centuripe (cm 35 – 40 o 32 – 35 in facciata e spessore di cm 7 – 8)[272]; mentre diversi sembrano quelli di Catania, dove sono più comuni mattoni di grandissime dimensioni, bipedali o di due piedi e mezzo (cm 76 × 76 × 8), tagliati in due rettangoli o in quattro o otto triangoli. Ancora altri tipi sono testimoniati dai laterizi adoperati per gli archi frontali sia a Catania (nell'odeon e nel teatro un tipo rettangolare di un piede e mezzo [cm 42 – 45 × 33 – 35 × 6 – 7]; nell'acquedotto un altro di cm 35 × 20 × 10, simile per dimensioni a uno di Taormina, ma ancora più spesso[273]; anche nell'anfiteatro lo spessore dei mattoni si aggira intorno ai cm 10, per quel che si può valutare a distanza), sia a Termini Imerese (*pedales* di cm 28 × 28 × 4 e un altro tipo di cm 34 × 26 × 6, non molto diverso da quello taorminese appena citato). Da questa varietà evidentemente non può non dedursi che i mattoni siciliani, tranne eccezioni[274], sono di fabbrica locale[275] e che ogni fabbrica lavorava esemplari di diverse misure e spessori, tradizionalmente usati nell'isola; una pratica che la Sicilia ha in comune con altre province e anche con alcune regioni d'Italia[276]. Va notato, comunque, che lo spessore medio dei mattoni siciliani è maggiore di quello documentato non solo a Roma e nel suburbio, come varie volte è stato rilevato dagli studiosi[277], ma anche in una provincia come la Gallia, dove spessori di cm 6 – 7 o superiori, comuni in Sicilia, sono eccezionali[278]. Spessori di cm 5 – 7 (con punte massime di cm 8 – 9) sono, invece, ben documentati nella Italia settentrionale, tanto che si è avanzata l'ipotesi che i laterizi di questa regione derivino da quelli siciliani[279], forse tramite la Magna Grecia[280], dove pure sono comuni mattoni alti cm 5 – 6.

Per quanto riguarda le altre dimensioni, non sempre è facile identificare l'unità di misura[281]. Il piede romano è alla base dei *pedales* di Termini Imerese e dei bessali e bipedali di Taormina, oltre che dei grandi mattoni quadrati (cm 76 = 2p 1/2) o rettangolari (cm 45 × 30 = 1p1/2 × 1p, nell'odeon) di Catania. L'unità di misura alla base del mattone medio di Taormina si potrebbe forse identificare con il piede dorico (1p1/4 × 1p?), che appare ancora in uso in età romana per i laterizi anche in Grecia[282] e in Africa[283]; mentre il mattone di maggiore spessore, almeno teoricamente, dovrebbe in tale ipotesi corrispondere a 1p1/2 × 1p. Se ciò è vero, le dimensioni in piedi dei laterizi corrisponderebbero a quelle comunemente usate in varie città dell'Italia settentrionale (Urbisaglia, Rimini, Brescia, Verona, Torino)[284], alla cui base sta però il piede romano, il cui uso per mattoni rettangolari di questo tipo è documentato in Sicilia solo a Catania. Anche l'altro mattone catanese (di cm 76 di lato) trova confronto fuori della Sicilia (a Fréjus)[285], come i *pedales*, che nell'isola sono rari (solo nell'acquedotto di Termini), ma che furono largamente adoperati ad Argo e in Grecia[286] e sono testimoniati pure ad Antiochia[287], in Africa[288] e in Spagna[289].

---

[271] Misura cm 51 – 52 × 34 – 35 × 8 – 9 ed è impiegato nell'edificio degli *Augustales* e nei ruderi presso la Chiesa del Crocifisso. E' ricordato anche da BLAKE I, pp. 283 – 284.

[272] Misure e spessori sono abbastanza simili.

[273] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205, n. 7.

[274] Per mattoni importati, WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 18.

[275] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 628; WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 18.

[276] LUGLI, Tecnica, p. 621; per la Gallia, GRENIER III,1, p. 75.

[277] WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 15.

[278] GRENIER III, 1, p. 75.

[279] BLAKE I, p. 291, riporta l'opinione della VAN DEMAN.

[280] BLAKE I, p. 287.

[281] LUGLI, Studi minori, p. 205.

Un sito provinciale in cui sono abbastanza frequenti gli edifici di mattoni e che anche è ben studiato, è quello di Argo[290]. Tra l'altro, siamo in una regione in cui l'*opus testaceum* è altrettanto estraneo alla tradizione costruttiva locale quanto in Sicilia, per cui un esame comparativo tra Argo e le località siciliane può suggerirci qualche considerazione di un certo interesse. Anzitutto va segnalato che tutti i laterizi usati ad Argo, anche se prevalgono, come si è detto, i *pedales*, ignoti a Roma, sono tagliati secondo il piede romano. In Sicilia la situazione è diversa, a Taormina e Centuripe prevalgono quelli di taglio non romano, mentre a Catania è l'inverso. Ma ciò che distingue nettamente gli edifici argivi da quelli siciliani è lo spessore dei laterizi e la loro messa in opera, cioè lo spessore dei giunti. Ad Argo nel II secolo, a parte l'impiego di bipedali di cm 5,5–7, tutti i laterizi sono alti cm 3–4, un valore comparabile a quello romano[291], con giunti orizzontali larghi in media cm 2–2,5 (e un po' più in epoca antoniniana, cm 2,5–2,9)[292], valore quest' ultimo nettamente superiore, invece, a quello romano[293]. In Sicilia non solo il tipo di mattoni è sempre nettamente provinciale, ma lo spessore dei giunti, anche nel teatro di Taormina, che a nostro parere è un edificio sicuramente databile nella prima metà del secolo, è maggiore (cm 2,5 – 3, come nelle contemporanee terme) e aumenta ancora nell'odeon (cm 3 – 3,5, cui si accompagna una diminuizione di spessore dei mattoni), valore che ad Argo si raggiunge solo in pieno terzo secolo. Se esaminiamo più da vicino gli edifici argivi, la cui costruzione va attribuita all'iniziativa adrianea, cioè il ninfeo e l'acquedotto[294], ovvero la biblioteca di questo imperatore ad Atene[295], è facile rilevare che la media dello spessore dei giunti (rispettivamente cm 2,1; 1,7) si situa al livello più basso della media degli stessi spessori calcolata prendendo in considerazione tutti gli edifici dello stesso periodo ad Argo. Ciò significa che la costruzione di tali opere fu affidata a maestranze scelte, di abilità non molto inferiore a quella delle maestranze romane e sostanzialmente pari a quelle che lavoravano ad Ostia[296]. Anche il teatro di Taormina è probabilmente, come si è detto prima, una iniziativa imperiale, ma le maestranze che vi lavorarono non erano evidentemente così esperte – né avevano a disposizione il materiale – da avvicinarsi agli standard romani. Che tutto dipenda dalle maestranze e dal materiale lo dimostrano le osservazioni fatte dal Ginouvès a proposito di Olimpia[297], dove nel ninfeo di Erode Attico, le terme del Cladeo e nell'ottagono, si rilevano spessori di mattoni e di giunti molto differenti[298].

---

[282] GINOUVÈS, Argo, p. 226, riporta al piede romano mattoni di Eleusi di dimensioni simili, ma più probabilmente essi sono tagliati sulla base del piede greco.

[283] Per i mattoni africani, ROMANELLI, pp. 52–53.

[284] Dati desunti da LUGLI, Tecnica, passim e BLAKE I, passim.

[285] BLAKE I, p. 291.

[286] GINOUVÈS, Argo, p. 223.

[287] J. N. WILBER, in: Antioch on the Orontes II, Princeton 1938, p. 54.

[288] Nell'acquedotto di Cherchell, PH. LEVEAU – J. L. PAILLET, L'alimentation en eau de Cesarea de Mauritanie et l'aqueduc de Cherchell, Paris 1976, p. 75; v. anche PH. LEVEAU, in: ANRW II, 10.2, 1982, pp. 716–717.

[289] A. SANTANDER, in: Bol. Sem. Est. de Arte y Arq. 36, 1970, p. 468.

[290] GINOUVÈS, Argo, pp. 232–245.

[291] LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 600, 604, 608.

[292] GINOUVÈS, Argo, pp. 242–243.

[293] GINOUVÈS, Argo, p. 245; LUGLI, Tecnica, pp. 600, 604, 608.

Se vogliamo tirare le somme di questo nostro ormai lungo discorso, non possiamo che ribadire l'aspetto provinciale delle tecniche edilizie romane in Sicilia. Ciò contrasta con l'alto livello qualitativo che, invece, mostrano i progetti, che pertanto si debbono alla iniziativa imperiale o furono da essi appoggiati, con il concorso di architetti di buona formazione. Ma è altrettanto evidente che l'esecuzione fu in genere affidata ai magistrati cittadini, che si servirono dei materiali e delle maestranze locali, senza andare molto per il sottile, anche se vi fu uno sforzo, almeno in alcune località, per uniformarsi alle tecniche più in voga al momento. E' interessante il riflesso di tale politica nelle città minori, come Centuripe, in cui l'accoglimento dell'opera laterizia, come dimostrano le dimensioni dei mattoni e il sistema di messa in opera, dipende dall'esempio taorminese, una conferma cioè dell'importanza delle iniziative imperiali per la diffusione di tale tecnica in provincia[299]. Ma la maniera corrente di costruire a Centuripe era quella dell'*opus vittatum* misto, di tipo catanese, che rimanda alle grandi opere di quest'altra città; Centuripe, quindi, come ci si poteva aspettare, è un centro ricettivo, i cui modelli vanno cercati nelle grandi città della costa.

---

[294] Ginouvès, Argo, pp. 234 – 236; per l'acquedotto v. anche W. R. Biers, in: Hesperia 47, 1978, pp. 171 – 184.

[295] Per i paramenti, Ginouvès, Argo, p. 235, nota 3.

[296] Cfr. i valori di Lugli, Tecnica, pp. 604 – 606, per i diversi edifici.

[297] Ginouvès, Argo, pp. 220 – 222.

[298] E anche all'interno dello stesso ninfeo di Erode Attico.

[299] Mansuelli, Miscellanea Manni 4, cit., pp. 1379 – 1380.

V. *La politica imperiale e la crisi finanziaria del II secolo*

All'iniziativa imperiale, diretta o mediata, o comunque all'appoggio del governo, come si è visto, riteniamo si debba attribuire la costruzione dei principali edifici pubblici siciliani, soprattutto nei due periodi di maggiore attività edilizia, quello augusteo e quello adrianeo-antoniniano. E' chiaro, comunque, che a parte le decisioni operative che possono essere state prese durante i viaggi di Augusto e Adriano in Sicilia, i programmi edilizi si svolsero in un certo lasso di tempo e sotto la sorveglianza dei funzionari governativi residenti nella provincia, i quali, come appare evidente dal carteggio Plinio-Traiano, recentemente riesaminato sotto questo aspetto[300], curavano che la politica cittadina fosse in armonia con le direttive imperiali; sorvegliavano l'impiego delle somme, non solo dei contributi, ma anche delle risorse locali, essendo la lotta allo spreco e alle spese eccessive delle comunità un motivo tradizionale e ricorrente della politica del governo, che risalta non solo dal carteggio Plinio-Traiano[301], ma che appare già fra gli indirizzi programmatici augustei[302] e che anche gli Antonini, con leggi e rescritti, tentarono di imporre[303].

Per la Sicilia, purtroppo, non possediamo un vasto e importante documento quale il carteggio citato, che ci illumini concretamente su questi problemi, ma un frammento di qualcosa di simile ci è rimasto, grazie alla nota epigrafe catanese che conserva parte del testo di una lettera che il *curator rei publicae* ovvero *operis publici,* Julius Paternus, inviò a due imperatori, probabilmente M. Aurelio e L. Vero[304]. Anche se viene trattato un problema strettamente politico-finanziario, alcuni punti della lettera di Paternus permettono un illuminante confronto con il carteggio di Plinio e Traiano, anzitutto nel tono dell'epistola, il cui linguaggio è stato paragonato a quello delle lettere di Frontone[305], ma che richiama senz'altro anche l'epistolario pliniano. Le due costanti della politica imperiale, che le città debbono assumersi anch'esse gli oneri e che le spese vanno controllate, risultano chiare dal contenuto della lettera. La prima considerazione da fare, pertanto, è che, pur in un periodo di difficoltà economiche per Catania, che hanno appunto richiesto la nomina di un *curator,* le spese per la ricostruzione di un portico (l'edificio, di cui probabilmente si tratta) solo in parte sono a carico del tesoro imperiale, ma per il resto debbono essere pagate dalla città.

---

[300] Mansuelli, Miscellanea Manni 4, cit., pp. 1377–1385; Tosi, in: RivArch 1977, cit., pp. 53–63; Magie, pp. 596–597.

[301] Mansuelli, in: Miscellanea Manni 4, cit., pp. 1382–1383 in particolare; Tosi, art. cit., pp. 53–55.

[302] Nel già citato discorso di Mecenate, Bodei Giglioni, p. 147.

[303] Jones, Greek City, pp. 135–136; Magie, p. 657.

[304] Manganaro, in: Kokalos 5, 1959, pp. 145–158; Id., in: Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, vol. II, Roma 1982, pp. 377–378. Sui *curatores rei publicae,* R. Duthoy, in: Ancient Society 10, 1979, pp. 171–238 (non inserisce Paternus nella sua lista); G. Camodeca, in: ANRW II, 13, 1980, 453–534.

[305] Manganaro, art. cit., p. 149.

L'invito ad operare soprattutto con le proprie risorse è ricorrente, fin dall'epoca augustea[306], nella politica edilizia imperiale e appare con chiarezza anche nelle risposte di Traiano a Plinio, riservandosi il potere centrale il controllo dell'amministrazione, comprese le fonti locali di finanziamento[307]. Ed è proprio questo il nocciolo della questione esposta da Paternus, che si oppone alla vendita dell'*ager vectigalis*, che i decurioni vorrebbero alienare per pagare il debito; si tratta cioè, come ha messo in luce il MANGANARO, di un conflitto tra il funzionario imperiale che vuole far uso delle proprie prerogative e i *curiales* di Catania, cui preme preservare l'autonomia amministrativa della città[308]. Paternus si preoccupa fondamentalmente della conservazione delle risorse finanziarie cittadine[309], essendo l'affitto delle terre una delle principali fonti di entrata[310], ed evidentemente vuole scaricare il debito sul patrimonio personale dei decurioni, i quali invece dichiarano la loro impossibilità a pagare. Né ai decurioni è gradita la proposta del procuratore imperiale di Sicilia, che vorrebbe incamerare l'*ager* a garanzia del debito[311], in quanto l'affitto delle terre civiche era anche uno dei profitti maggiori per i *curiales*[312]. Oggi naturalmente, sulla base di un solo documento, è difficile giudicare se questa tenace difesa che i decurioni di Catania tentano del proprio patrimonio e dei propri profitti sia solo la prova dell'egoismo dell'ordine curiale di questa città o invece la prova della debolezza finanziaria dei suoi membri. Ancora recentemente, tuttavia, si è insistito con argomenti fondati sulla tenuità del ceto medio delle città siciliane[313] o addirittura sulla sua assenza[314], e il comportamento dei decurioni catanesi sembrerebbe confermare l'ipotesi, tanto più che il peso degli oneri municipali si era fatto già nel II secolo gravoso[315], e le classi municipali appaiono in difficoltà nello stesso periodo non solo a Catania, ma anche a Tindari, crisi che si deve essere protratta a lungo, se nel III secolo è documentato, sempre a Catania, un altro *curator*[316].

---

[306] BODEI GIGLIONI, pp. 149–151.

[307] TOSI, art. cit., p. 54. La tendenza al controllo e alla centralizzazione inizia già con i Flavi, MAGIE, p. 568 ss. e p. 530.

[308] MANGANARO, art. cit., pp. 153–154, 156. Il controllo sulle finanze provinciali è riaffermato anche da Antonino Pio, in un rescritto che precisa anche i poteri del *curator*, MAGIE, pp. 633–634.

[309] Il risanamento delle finanze è anche una delle preoccupazioni principali di Traiano, TOSI, art. cit., p. 53; MAGIE, p. 596.

[310] JONES, Tardo impero, p. 980. Sulle terre pubbliche delle città, ID., Greek City, pp. 245–246.

[311] MANGANARO art. cit., pp. 151–152.

[312] JONES, Tardo impero, pp. 982–983.

[313] CRACCO RUGGINI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 487.

[314] COARELLI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 383.

[315] P. GARNSEY, in: ANRW II, 1, 1974, pp. 229–252, in particolare pp. 230–241.

[316] MANGANARO, art. cit., p. 150, nota 13 per Tindari; ibid. p. 155, per Catania; DUTHOY, art. cit., p. 194.

D'altra parte, tuttavia, è impensabile che tutte le opere pubbliche costruite in Sicilia nel I e nel II secolo siano da considerare doni imperiali e che alle città, cioè alle classi medie e alte della popolazione urbana, non sia stato richiesto alcun contributo. La denominazione di Aqua Cornelia dell'acquedotto di Termini prova proprio il contrario, poiché, anche nelle province, si dava il nome dell'imperatore alle realizzazioni non solo promosse, ma pagate da lui, si ricordino ad esempio le Aquae Alexandrinae di Lambesi. Ciò che abbiamo sostenuto altrove per Termini[317], ci sembra valido in linea generale per le principali città siciliane: si deve ammettere cioè la presenza di un ceto medio-alto, capace di assumersi l'onere finanziario delle imprese edilizie e di convogliare a tale scopo i finanziamenti imperiali, proprio come testimoniato dal portico di Paternus, il cui onere è in parte pagato dall'imperatore e in parte grava sui decurioni cittadini. Non è certo nostra intenzione negare la sostanziale crisi della vita cittadina in Sicilia nei primi due secoli dell'impero[318], né la debolezza dell'ordine municipale che abbiamo appena ricordato, ed abbiamo sottolineato anche la probabile partecipazione imperiale a tutte o quasi le grandi opere pubbliche siciliane, sia in termini di progetti, che di fornitura di tecnici, i quali difficilmente si trovavano in provincia, sia a maggior regione di contributi finanziari; il titolo di '*restitutor*' di cui fu onorato Adriano è eloquente a questo proposito. Ma il numero e la qualità delle opere costruite, soprattutto a Catania, ma anche a Siracusa, Taormina, Termini e Centuripe, fanno ritenere probabile una certa vitalità di questo ceto medio-alto siciliano, nonostante i suoi limiti obiettivi, e del resto la presenza di famiglie locali di rango senatorio è anche attestata epigraficamente[319], come epigraficamente è attestato l'evergetismo di vari personaggi[320]. Naturalmente non si può generalizzare e parlare genericamente di ceto medio-alto siciliano è forse errato; l'attività edilizia si concentra in alcune città[321] e perciò è forse più esatto parlare della presenza in Catania, Termini e così via di esponenti di famiglie gentilizie capaci di assumersi almeno in parte le spese necessarie per dotare la propria città di quei servizi che erano diventati il simbolo stesso della civiltà urbana dell'impero; non si dimentichi, tuttavia, che anche centri di minore importanza come Lipari (terme e forse un piccolo anfiteatro)[322] parteciparono, sia pure in misura più modesta, ai programmi edilizi pubblici.

---

[317] Kokalos 28–29, 1982–1983, pp. 84–85.

[318] Clemente, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 467; Cracco Ruggini, ibid., p. 484.

[319] Ad esempio i Maesii Titiani, su cui v. Bivona, in: Miscellanea Manni I, Roma 1980, pp. 233–242.

[320] Cracco Ruggini, Storia della Sicilia II, pp. 485, 486 e nota 20, 490; Clemente, ibid., p. 473.

[321] Coarelli, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 381.

[322] Per l'anfiteatro di Lipari, Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, Il Castello di Lipari e il Museo Archeologico Eoliano, Palermo 1977, p. 20; Wilson, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), p. 171 e nota 301.

VI. Il momento severiano e il periodo tardo-antico: il settizodio di Lilibeo, edifici termali cittadini; la ripresa delle campagne e gli edifici termali rurali

Settimio Severo fu governatore della Sicilia nel 189–190, suo fratello Settimio Geta lo era stato nel 183–184. E' naturale che le città, quando l'ex-governatore raggiunse la dignità imperiale, abbiano cercato di riallacciare e rinsaldare i rapporti con lui e la sua famiglia, nella speranza di riceverne qualche beneficio[323], ed è anche probabile che abbiano ottenuto qualche risultato, soprattutto le città della Sicilia nord-occidentale, dove si concentrano le iscrizioni in onore dei Severi. Si possono avanzare per questo fatto due spiegazioni. La prima è che le città orientali avevano ricevuto nell'età precedente un aiuto consistente da parte degli imperatori, di cui sono prova gli edifici pubblici, di cui si dotarono; la seconda è che la Sicilia nord-occidentale e soprattutto Lilibeo costituivano il ponte naturale tra Roma e l'Africa e la politica africana di Severo non poteva non auspicare un rafforzamento di questa funzione[324]. Purtroppo, non abbiamo nessuna diretta prova, né notizie, di reali interventi dell'imperatore a favore delle città siciliane; ma non possiamo fare a meno di legare il nome dei Severi al settizodio menzionato in una iscrizione lilibetana, posta dal questore Q. Fabius Titianus, databile nella prima metà del III sec. d. C.[325]. Due elementi confermano l'ipotesi: il primo è che la pavimentazione della piazza del quartiere del Settizodio, realizzata da Titianus, sembra la ripresa di un'opera interrotta, come ha fatto notare il Barbieri[326], per cui possiamo pensare che il questore abbia completato, pavimentando la piazza, la sistemazione della zona nei pressi dell'edificio; il secondo, che i settizodi che conosciamo (quelli indicati con il nome o con la variante africana settizonio), da quelli di Roma a quelli africani, si collocano cronologicamente in età severiana. Non intendiamo, non disponendo di nessun elemento nuovo, entrare nel merito della funzione dell'edificio (se si sia trattato di un monumentale ninfeo a facciata o meno); del resto il problema è stato recentemente dibattuto da molti studiosi, con differenti opinioni[327]. E' indubbio, comunque, che anche il nostro settizodio doveva presentare quelle caratteristiche, la monumentalità della facciata e la divisione in sette 'zone', che sono tipiche dell'opera, sia che fosse addossata a una struttura, come quello di Cincari, sia che fosse essa stessa una struttura autoportante, come quello romano. Tenendo conto che l'edificio ha anche lo scopo di diffondere il culto imperiale[328] e che Lilibeo era un porto di scalo obbligato per le navi provenienti dall'Africa, non si può fare a meno di chiedersi se il monumento non avesse la stessa funzione di quello della capitale, apparire in tutta la sua grandiosità a coloro che provenivano dalla provincia africana, a gloria dell'imperatore che lo aveva fatto costruire.

---

[323] Bivona, in: Kokalos 13, 1967, p. 211.

[324] Picard, in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, pp. 108–111; in particolare, p. 110.

[325] G. Barbieri, in: Kokalos 7, 1961, pp. 34–45; cfr. Wilson, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), p. 165.

[326] Barbieri, art. cit., p. 35.

[327] Aupert, pp. 97–122; M. Janon, in: AntAfr 7, 1973, pp. 222–241; Ginouvès, pp. 152–155; Balland, Bolsena 2, cit. (n. 202), pp. 233–241; Picard, MonPiot 1962, pp. 77–93; S. Settis, in: ANRW I, 4, 1973, p. 726; Neuerburg, p. 76; Crema, pp. 545–548 (con bibliografia ulteriore).

Il periodo tardo-antico in Sicilia è caratterizzato dalla diffusione degli edifici termali, che in questa età vengono costruiti anche negli insediamenti minori e nelle borgate rurali (un aspetto del processo di rivitalizzazione delle campagne, che ha luogo a partire dal III secolo[329] in poi), ma che non mancano nemmeno nelle città. Un gruppo di edifici termali di Catania può datarsi con probabilità tra il III e l'inizio del IV secolo, sulla base dei caratteri intrinseci dell'architettura; mentre i dati di scavo permettono di riportare alla prima metà del III le terme di Tindari.

Un breve cenno, per ricordarle, dedichiamo alle Terme Achillee di Catania, l'edificio sotto il Duomo[330], la cui prima costruzione in età costantiniana potrebbe dedursi, sia pure in via del tutto ipotetica, dalla cronologia di un gruppo omogeneo di capitelli, reimpiegati nella Cattedrale[331]. Più interessante, tuttavia, è certamente la Rotonda[332] (fig. 12), da considerare l'unica sala superstite di un complesso termale di notevoli proporzioni. Di forma circolare (diam. m 5,50), coperta da una cupola rivestita da blocchetti, un accorgimento che già nel II secolo è adoperato in un mausoleo di Cassino[333], la struttura è un esempio, l'unico noto in Sicilia, di quelle rotonde ampiamente aperte – in cui lo spazio è dilatato mediante absidi o ampi ingressi – spesso presenti, con diverse funzioni, nelle terme romane. Rotonde con absidi compaiono già come *apodyteria* nelle terme di Traiano[334], ma le prime rotonde aperte sono quelle delle piccole e grandi terme di Villa Adriana, ovvero la sala rotonda del piccolo palazzo[335], nella stessa villa. Tuttavia, gli antecedenti più diretti dell'edificio catanese sono senza dubbio, per il loro carattere ampiamente aperto su tutti i lati, il ninfeo degli Horti Sallustiani[336] e la sala rotonda delle

---

[328] BARBIERI, art. cit., p. 39.

[329] CRACCO RUGGINI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 492 ss.; MAZZA, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, cit., p. 374 ss.

[330] HOLM – LIBERTINI, pp. 54–55; SERRADIFALCO, Antichità V, p. 22 ss., tav. X; G. FIORELLI, in: NSc 1883, p. 24.

[331] A. M. FALLICO, in: Palladio N.S. 18, 1967, p. 171. Anche un mosaico ivi rinvenuto è databile nel IV sec. d. C., BOESELAGER, p. 203, n. 8.

[332] HOLM – LIBERTINI, pp. 33–35; SERRADIFALCO, Antichità V, tav. XII; PACE, ACSA 2, p. 358; LIBERTINI, in: Atti VIII Congresso di Studi bizantini, vol. 2, Roma 1953, pp. 166–172.

[333] CREMA, p. 326, fig. 305.

[334] CREMA, p. 404, fig. 493.

[335] CREMA, pp. 404–406, figg. 495–496; H. KÄHLER, Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli, Berlin 1950, pp. 128–129, figg. 11–12.

[336] CREMA, pp. 473–477, figg. 620–621.

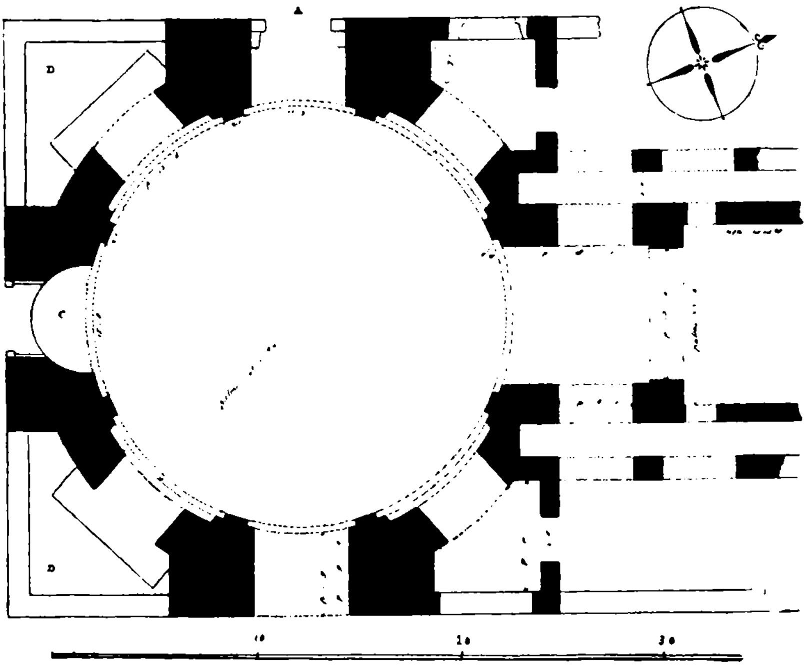


Fig. 12. Catania. Pianta della Rotonda

terme dei Sette Sapienti di Ostia[337], soprattutto per l'inserzione del corpo rettangolare di accesso, cui corrisponde sul lato opposto una nicchia, e per le grandi aperture ai lati dell'ingresso, nella Rotonda catanese trasformate in nicchioni occupati dalle vasche. Nell'edificio di Catania, come nella sala di Ostia e anche nella sala delle 'terme severiane' sul Palatino, nota da un disegno del Peruzzi[338], il carattere di vano di passaggio è accentuato, inoltre, dall'apertura sull'asse trasversale di altri due ingressi di notevole ampiezza. L'edificio assume così il carattere di struttura aperta, attraversabile da più lati e in più direzioni, e si inserisce pienamente in quella tendenza che porterà alla rotonda-frigidario, espansa a croce, delle terme di Thenae, anche se in quest'ultima tre dei bracci, occupati dalle vasche, perdono la funzione di passaggi[339].

Le terme dell'Indirizzo[340] (fig. 13) sono caratterizzate dalla grande aula ottagonale, che ricorda i due tepidari delle Terme a Mare di Leptis Magna[341],

---

[337] Becatti, Ostia I, cit. (n. 259), p. 138, tav. 6.

[338] F. Rakob, in: RM 68, 1961, p. 141, tav. 56,4.

[339] Crema, p. 540, fig. 710; Romanelli, pp. 186–187, tav. 133a.

[340] Holm–Libertini, p. 56; Serradifalco, Antichità V, pp. 23–24, tav. XI; Pace, in: ACSA 2, pp. 357–358; cfr. Wilson, Towns of Sicily etc., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11.1), pp. 133–134.

[341] J. Ward Perkins–J. M. C. Toynbee, Archaeologia 93, 1949, pp. 165–195.

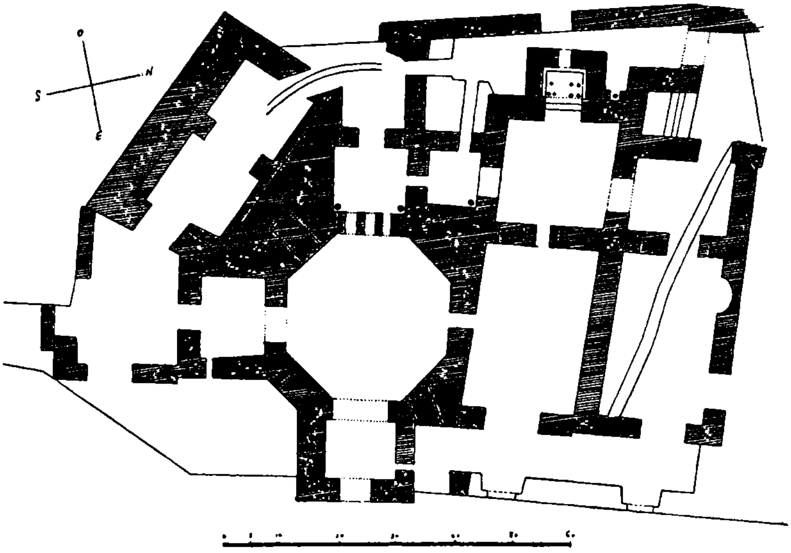


Fig. 13. Catania. Pianta delle terme dell'Indirizzo

anche per le finestre che si aprono appena al di sotto della sommità della volta[342] (Tav. XII,25). La disposizione dei vani, la mancanza di absidi, la riduzione delle parti scoperte fanno dell'edificio una struttura molto compatta e perfettamente chiusa, senza concessioni ad aperture verso l'esterno, secondo la tradizione italica, restia alla „liberazione dei volumi nello spazio"[343]. Tale schema, che va distinto da quello assiale asimmetrico, trova i suoi antecedenti in Italia (ad esempio a Ostia nelle terme delle Sei Colonne e in quelle dei Cisiari[344]), si distribuisce largamente nelle varie regioni dell'impero[345] e continua ad essere adottato per molti edifici siciliani del periodo tardo-romano.

Lo schema assiale asimmetrico, con le sale termali poste a lato di un cortile porticato, secondo la tradizione più antica, è adottato ancora a Tindari nella prima metà del III secolo[346] (fig. 14). Il complesso occupa due terrazze di una insula; in quella inferiore è sistemato il cortile porticato, in quella superiore si allineano paratatticamente le sale termali, il frigidario con la *natatio*, una piccola sala absidata, probabilmente da identificare con il tepidario, e infine le due sale ad alta temperatura, di cui la prima probabilmente riuniva le funzioni di *destrictarium* e di laconico, e l'altra era il calidario.

---

[342] Finestre nella stessa posizione si hanno anche nell'edificio rotondo di S. Pietro sopra Patti, per cui v. SALINAS, in: NSc 1880, pp. 454–455.

[343] E. A. ARSLAN, in: MANSUELLI, Urbanistica, p. 168.

[344] BECATTI, Ostia I, cit. (n. 259), p. 127, tav. 7; p. 155, tav. 5.

[345] Ad esempio in Gallia nelle terme di Gennes e Amiens, GRENIER IV, 1, pp. 326–331; in Sardegna nelle terme di Musumundu, WILSON, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, p. 224.

[346] BERNABÒ BREA–CAVALIER, in: BdA 1965, pp. 207–209. Per i mosaici, BOESELAGER, pp. 114–127.

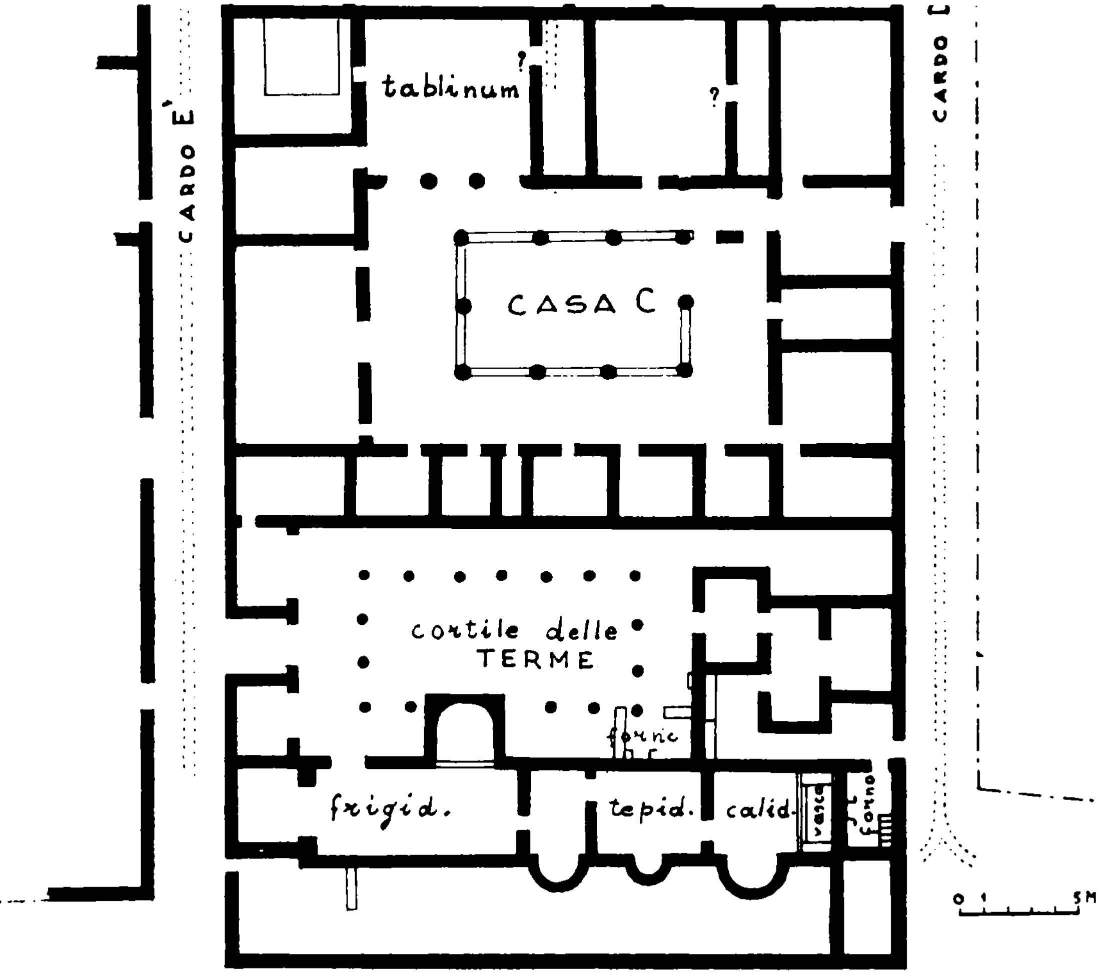

CARDO E'
tablinum
?
?
CARDO L
CASA C
cortile delle
TERME
forni
frigid.
tepid.
calid.
vasca
forno
0 1 5M.

Fig. 14. Tindari. Planimetria delle terme

Nelle terme di Tindari, inserite in uno degli isolati della città, dobbiamo vedere un complesso di quartiere, piuttosto che i servizi di una abitazione privata; non vi si può infatti accedere dall'interno dell'insula, mentre un ingresso si apre sulla strada che le fiancheggia, il *cardo* E. La loro posizione all'estremità dell'isolato, all'incrocio tra il cardine e il principale dei decumani, valorizza questa funzione di servizio di quartiere[347].

La copertura delle sale delle terme di Tindari verosimilmente era ancora quella a botti autocontraffortantisi, che è tipica dei complessi termali asimmetrici. Il primo impiego del sistema di centinatura di tubi fittili si ha, invece, nel complesso termale di Capo Boeo a Marsala, databile sulla base dei mosaici nella seconda metà del III sec. d. C. Il sistema, come è noto, è di origine africana e ha un rilevante significato architettonico, oltre che tecnico[348]; la sua adozione in Sicilia è una prova evidente, nel campo dell'architettura, della preponderanza e diffusione della cultura africana, che investe l'isola nel periodo tardo-antico[349]. Nonostante che la scoperta a Morgantina di un bagno, in cui il sistema è già usato[350], dimostri che la tecnica non era ignota in Sicilia (probabilmente sempre per influenza africana) in età ellenistica, non vi è dubbio, tuttavia, che la sua ripresa avvenga, di nuovo sotto influsso africano, dopo un periodo di totale abbandono, dovuto alla assoluta preponderanza degli esempi romani di centinatura lignea[351].

La tecnica è largamente diffusa in Sicilia, lungo la costa da Favignana, Mozia[352] e Lilibeo a Siracusa[353], Priolo[354] e Catania[355] e lungo la via interna Catania-Agrigento, a Piazza Armerina (Villa del Casale)[356] e Vito Soldano[357]. Non è documentata finora nei centri occidentali della costa nord, ma è probabile che ciò si debba allo stato delle ricerche, perché è difficile pensare che fosse ignota in una città come Termini, certamente aperta al commercio e agli influssi africani[358]. Invece l'adozione della centinatura di mattoni nel piccolo edificio termale di Reilla presso Milazzo[359], sicuramente tardo antico,

---

[347] Per la posizione cfr. le terme orientali di Timgad, ROMANELLI, tav. 134.

[348] Per le volte di tubi fittili, CREMA, in: Boll. Centro Studi Arch. 6, 1952, pp. 6–8; ARSLAN, in: BdA 50, 1965, pp. 45–52; ID., in: Mesopotamia 2, 1967, pp. 185–193. Per l'Africa, LÉZINE, in: Karthago 5, 1954, pp. 168–181; RAKOB, 25 RMErgHefte, cit., p. 114.

[349] COARELLI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 387.

[350] WILSON, Brick and Tile, p. 32.

[351] Per il sistema in Africa, LÉZINE, in: Karthago 5, 1954, pp. 168–181.

[352] CARANDINI, Filosofiana, p. 108, per Mozia.

[353] Nel c.d. Ginnasio, come si è detto; nei c.d. Sessanta Letti e nel bagno 'Daphne'; HOUEL III, tav. CLXXXI; G. CULTRERA, in: NSc 1954, p. 115.

[354] ORSI, in: NSc 1906, p. 235, fig. 21.

[355] ORSI, in: NSc 1912, p. 412; HOLM–LIBERTINI, p. 32.

[356] CARANDINI, Filosofiana, pp. 107–108; 312, 367, 389 ss.

[357] M. R. LA LOMIA, in: Kokalos 7, 1961, pp. 158, 159.

[358] Si veda BELVEDERE, in: Kokalos 28–29, 1982–1983, p. 83. Una cassetta di tubi fittili è conservata nel Museo Civico di Termini Imerese ed è probabile, ma non certo, che provengano da un edificio romano.

[359] P. GRIFFO, Esplorazione archeologica e rinvenimenti fortuiti nel territorio dell'antica Mile, Palermo 1946, pp. 28–35.

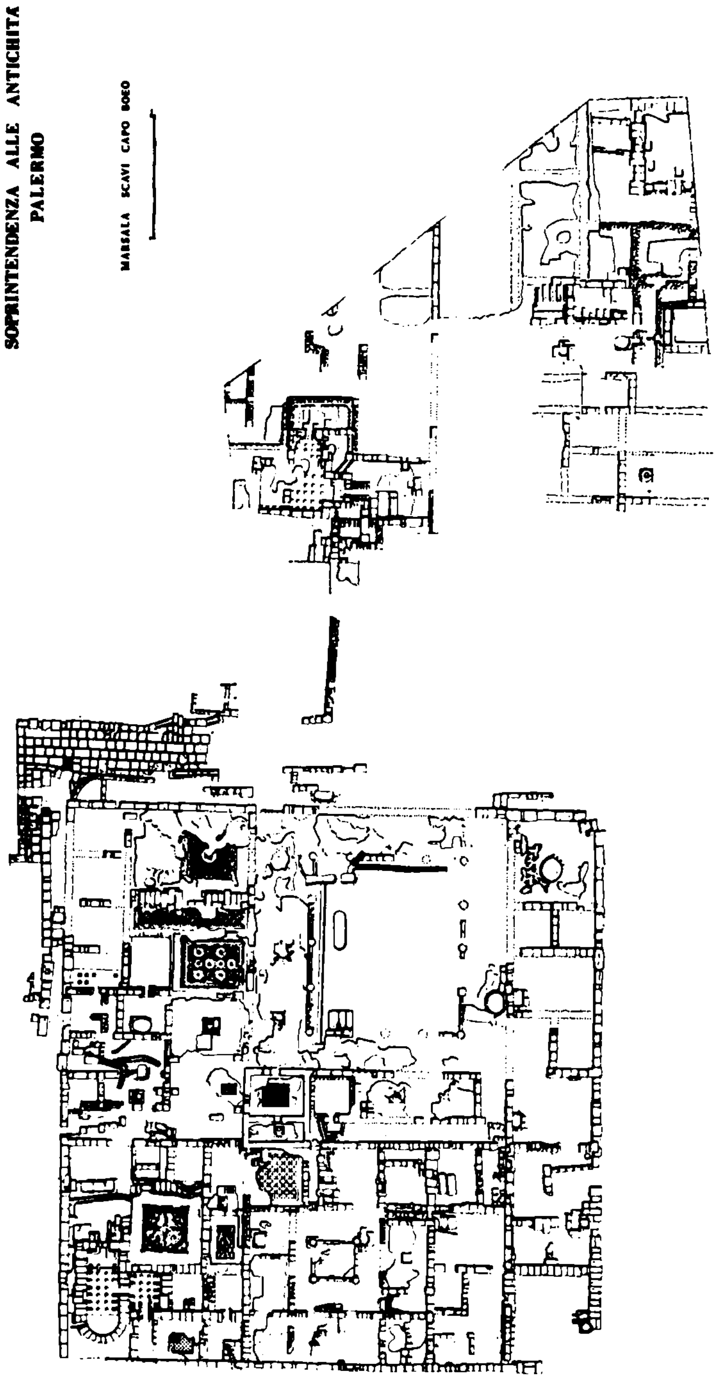

SOPRINTENDENZA ALLE ANTICHITÀ
PALERMO
MARSALA SCAVI CAPO BOEO

Fig. 15. Marsala. Pianta degli scavi di Capo Boeo

potrebbe far pensare, al contrario, che il sistema non si sia diffuso nei centri della Sicilia nord-orientale, quelli più legati alla penisola e non toccati dalla rotta marittima che dall'Africa portava a Roma.

Il complesso di Marsala[360] (fig. 15) è di notevole interesse, soprattutto per la ricca decorazione di pavimenti a mosaico, ma la mancanza di una pubblicazione di scavo impedisce di comprenderlo a pieno in tutti i suoi particolari; probabilmente si tratta di una terma privata, annessa alla vicina grande abitazione (è questa l'opinione della MARCONI)[361], come anche il confronto con il Palazzo delle Colonne di Tolemaide o il Palazzo di Gordiano a Volubilis fa pensare. Le sale termali si distribuiscono attorno a una centrale, coperta da crociera: da un lato si ha il frigidario con la vasca, dall'altro la sequenza dei vani riscaldati, fra cui si possono identificare un tepidario, il *destrictarium*, il laconico (la superficie di questo ambiente è infatti inferiore a quella del vano che lo precede)[362] e il calidario con il *solium* absidato, da cui si poteva tornare alla sala centrale, completando il percorso circolare. La planimetria è condizionata dall'inserimento del complesso nell'insula: l'abside del calidario sporge rispetto alla linea degli ambienti che lo precedono, ma è sempre costretta all'interno del perimetro, per cui il movimento non si riflette all'esterno in alcun modo. Prevale, come a Tindari e in genere in tutte le situazioni analoghe, la logica dell'isolato, i cui limiti sono intangibili[363]. Il confronto migliore che si possa fare, con un edificio presso a poco contemporaneo, è quello con il Palazzo delle Colonne[364], con cui il nostro complesso condivide la posizione della zona termale (che occupa uno degli angoli), la costrizione di essa entro il perimetro dell'abitazione e soprattutto il criterio di distribuzione interna delle sale, che separa il frigidario dagli ambienti riscaldati.

Ciò che caratterizza il periodo tardo-antico nell'isola, oltre l'impiego del sistema di centinatura con tubi fittili, è la grande diffusione degli edifici termali in località rurali. Dalla metà del III sec. d. C. in poi, sono noti edifici termali, in molti casi adorni di marmi e mosaici, in numerose piccole località, in primo luogo nelle *stationes*, poste lungo le vie di comunicazione più importanti, ma non solo in esse. Anche se nella maggior parte dei casi le nostre conoscenze si limitano a brevi notizie e solo relazioni parziali o preliminari vi sono per i complessi più importanti, quelli di Comiso, di Filosofiana e di Vito Soldano, il solo elenco delle località in cui sono attestati edifici termali appare significativo: Maniace, un insediamento importante, dove ORSI esaminò un complesso interessante e sontuoso, di cui riconobbe tre vani, due rettangolari e uno absidato, i primi pavimentati a mosaico, il secondo con pavimento e pareti rivestiti di marmo[365]; Canicattini sulla via interna Siracusa-Agrigento[366], dove è riferita la scoperta di un mosaico e di due vani termali[367]; Castrofilippo, dove è stato saggiato un abitato tardo-romano[368]; Favignana[369]; Reilla presso Milazzo, dove è noto un interessante piccolo complesso, su cui dovremo ritornare[370]; oltre alle già menzionate Comiso[371]; Filosofiana[372] e Vito Soldano (= Corconiana?)[373]. La diffusione delle terme è da mettere in rapporto, senza dubbio, con la rivitalizzazione delle campagne, avvenuta in età tardo-antica[374], che portò alla formazione di innumerevoli piccoli insediamenti rurali[375] ed al potenziamento dei più importanti, e rese necessaria in essi la costituzione di strutture di servizio e in primo luogo di quelle termali, che nelle *stationes* più frequentate erano indispensabili, in concomitanza anche con la riorganizzazione e il miglioramento della rete di comunicazioni, attestati in questo periodo[376].

---

[360] J. BOVIO MARCONI, in: Le Arti 2, 1940, pp. 389–390; Carta Arch. f. 256, n. 7g, p. 25; G. A. RUGGIERI, in: Archaeology 10, 1957, pp. 131–134; BOESELAGER, pp. 144–146, per i mosaici.

[361] MARCONI, art. cit., p. 389.

[362] Cfr. LÉZINE, p. 22.

[363] Come a Timgad nelle terme orientali e anche in quelle del centro, nonostante l'absidiola sporgente, ROMANELLI, pp. 187–188, tavv. 134–135 a.

[364] G. PESCE, Il Palazzo delle Colonne in Tolemaide di Cirenaica, Roma 1953, pp. 49–53.

Parzialmente noti, come si è detto, sono i complessi di Comiso, Sofiana (Filosofiana) e Vito Soldano (Corconiana). Nel primo si ha notizia di un ambiente ottagonale absidato, cui erano adiacenti altri vani; il complesso, probabilmente assiale, si sviluppava su una fronte di circa m 25 – 30 ed era decorato da marmi e mosaici[377]. Lo stile di questi ci permette di avere una idea dell'epoca della sua costruzione[378]; mentre il rifacimento di un pavimento,

---

[365] Orsi, in: NSc 1905, p. 445; in: NSc 1907, p. 497.

[366] Per questa via K. Miller, Itineraria romana, Stuttgart 1916, cc. 401 – 402; G. P. Verbrugghe, Sicilia (Itinera Romana 2), Bern 1976, p. 78 ss.; in particolare p. 81.

[367] Fiorelli, in: NSc 1889, p. 332.

[368] De Miro – Fiorentini, in: Kokalos 18 – 19, 1972 – 1973, p. 247.

[369] Carta Arch., f. 256, n. 9, pp. 14 – 15.

[370] V. ultra, p. 405.

[371] P. E. Arias, in: NSc 1937, pp. 456 – 462; Pace, in: NSc 1946, pp. 162 – 174; in: BdA 51, 1966, p. 97.

[372] D. Adamesteanu, in: BdA 48, 1963, pp. 259 – 273; in particolare pp. 263 – 265 per le terme.

[373] La Lomia, in: Kokalos 7, 1961, pp. 157 – 165. Altri edifici termali sono citati da Pace, ACSA 2, p. 360 a Scicli, Aci, Adrano; a Chiaramonte Gulfi, da S. Lagona, Felix Ravenna 119 – 120, 1980, p. 120.

[374] V. nota 329.

[375] Secondo Orsi, in: Roma 62, 1934, p. 256, tutto l'altopiano da Palazzolo Acreide a Noto in età tardo romana e bizantina è coperto da innumerevoli borghi e fattorie che continuano a vivere fino in età araba.

[376] Dall'itinerario di Antonino, del III secolo, e dagli interventi di età costantiniana. V. anche G. Uggeri, in: Kokalos 28 – 29, 1982 – 1983, p. 435 ss., in particolare.

[377] Pace, in: NSc 1946, pp. 165 – 170.

[378] Il mosaico figurato in bianco e nero è databile in periodo post-severiano, come dimostrano i motivi accessori (la larga linea nera di riquadratura, costituita da quattro file di tessere, e la stilizzazione delle onde marine, rese con segmenti paralleli, cfr. Becatti, Scavi di Ostia 4, Roma 1961, pp. 329 – 340). Per quanto opera di un mosaicista non colto, esso può essere inserito nel c.d. 'secondo stile ottico' di età severiana (per cui v. J. R. Clarke, Roman Black and White Figural Mosaics, New York 1979, pp. 93 – 97), i cui caratteri sono anzi accentuati dalle larghe macchie a tessere chiare nei corpi delle figure, per cui si può pensare a una datazione nella seconda metà del III sec. o agli inizi

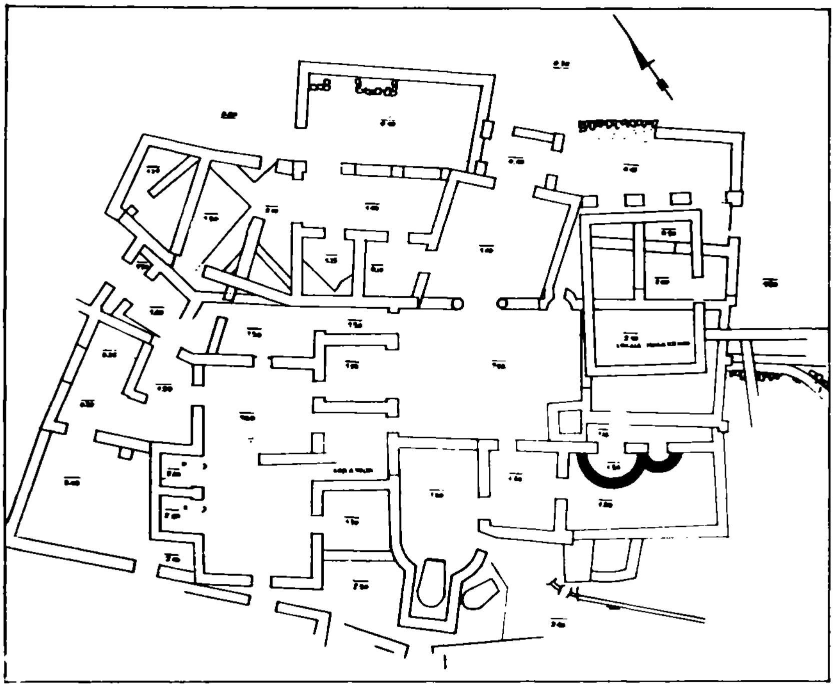


Fig. 16. Sofiana. Planimetria del complesso termale

con lastrine di marmo, ci assicura che le terme vennero utilizzate per lungo tempo[379].

I due edifici di Sofiana (fig. 16) e Vito Soldano (fig. 17) hanno in comune il fatto di sorgere in due importanti *stationes* della via interna Catania-Agrigento[380] e di essere anch'essi stati utilizzati a lungo, fino al VII sec. d. C. (come attestano le monete di Eraclio e di Costante II)[381]; nonché alcune analogie planimetriche, come la presenza di una sala absidata, affiancata da altri vani riscaldati. Pavimenti a mosaico sono testimoniati solo a Vito Soldano dal rinvenimento di tessere[382]; comunque, il ritrovamento di mosaici in altri siti similari, che abbiamo ricordato, è una prova che queste terme rurali non erano necessariamente edifici poveri, ma anzi riccamente decorati. Le strutture di Vito Soldano sono costituite da filari di blocchetti irregolari, ma ben cementati, e talora vengono impiegati anche filari di mattoni; la tipica struttura

---

del IV (IV sec., secondo Becatti, in: La Mosaïque gréco-romaine, Paris 1965, p. 26). Per un analogo carattere popolaresco si possono portare a confronto i mosaici della caupona di Alexander a Ostia (Becatti, Ostia 4, cit., pp. 205–207, n. 391 e p. 351).

[379] Arias, in: NSc 1937, pp. 457–459; Pace, in: NSc 1946, pp. 163–165.

[380] Per la via, Miller, op. cit., pp. 82–84; La Lomia, art. cit., pp. 164–165; Carandini, Filosofiana, pp. 25–26; A. Li Gotti, in: ASSO N.S. 11–12, 1958–1959, pp. 127–129.

[381] Adamesteanu, art. cit., p. 264; La Lomia, art. cit., p. 162.

[382] La Lomia, art. cit., p. 160.

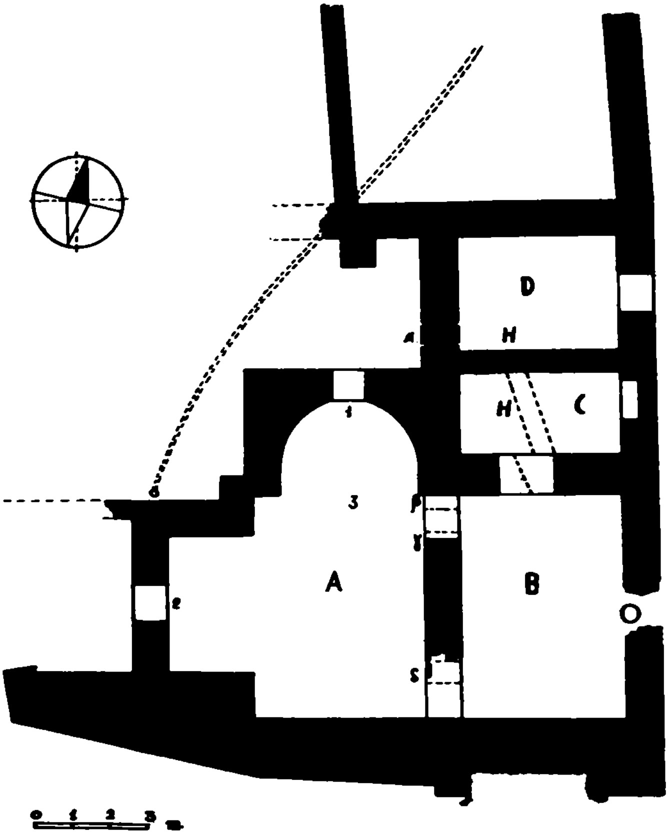


Fig. 17. Vito Soldano. Planimetria del complesso termale

di schegge, blocchetti irregolari e ciottoli, propria degli edifici tardo antichi della Sicilia, compare invece a Comiso e a Sofiana[383]; è evidente, pertanto, che la decorazione parietale aveva, perlomeno all'interno, un ruolo importante. Almeno un vano a Vito Soldano era certamente coperto da una volta di tubi fittili; il loro impiego non è riportato né a Comiso, né a Sofiana, ma nella vicina e contemporanea Villa del Casale l'utilizzazione di tale sistema di copertura è ben attestata[384].

Questi caratteri architettonici si ritrovano insieme anche nell'edificio termale tardo-antico meglio noto, che vi sia in Sicilia, e cioè il bagno 'Daphne' di Siracusa[385] (fig. 18). Anche in questo complesso è attuata la separazione tra il frigidario, che occupa la parte meridionale dell'edificio, ed è attrezzato con una grande vasca e una più piccola, e la serie di vani riscaldati, che si

---

[383] Strutture simili anche nella Villa del Casale, Carandini, Filosofiana, p. 107.

[384] V. nota 356.

[385] Cultrera in: NSc 1954, pp. 114–130.

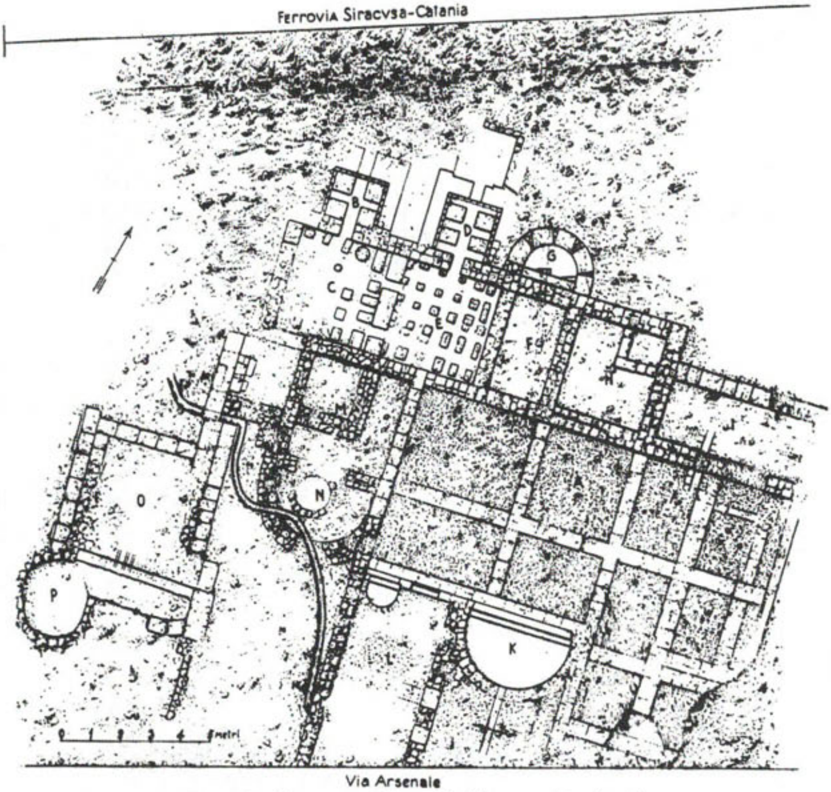


Fig. 18. Siracusa. Pianta del bagno 'Daphne'

allineano sul lato nord delle terme, con la consueta sequenza di tepidario, forse *destrictarium* con una vasca a nicchia[386] e due *calidaria*, ciascuno dotato di una propria stufa secca (laconico), da identificare nei piccoli vani posti a Nord di essi, la cui funzione è chiarita dai mattoni forati (entro cui circolava l'aria calda), rinvenuti nelle intercapedini delle pareti[387]. La collocazione della piscina nel cortile e l'iterazione dei *calidaria* è una caratteristica delle terme più tarde[388], non anteriori al IV secolo.

Il rinvenimento di alcuni capitelli in un punto non molto distante, ci rende certi che l'edificio siracusano faceva parte di un complesso più vasto, che si potrebbe datare, in tal modo, nella sua prima fase costruttiva, agli inizi del IV secolo[389]. Tale cronologia è confermata da un resto di pavimento in *opus sectile* a spina di pesce, appartenente senza dubbio alla prima fase[390] e dal tipo di tubi fittili, di fattura accurata, ben diversi da quelli grossolani, che vennero fabbricati anche in Africa a partire dal V – VI secolo[391], e paragonabili invece a quelli del relitto di Femina Morta, un carico di origine africana databile intorno al 300 d. C.[392].

---

[386] Nel *destrictarium* si potevano anche fare abluzioni, LÉZINE, p. 17, nota 55.

[387] CULTRERA, art. cit., p. 117.

[388] Ad esempio nelle fasi di IV secolo delle terme della Myrtusa e di Tolemaide, STUCCHI, pp. 468–469.

[389] Per i capitelli, GENTILI, in: NSc 1954, pp. 383–384.

[390] CULTRERA, art. cit., p. 115–116, fig. 4.

Secondo il Cultrera il complesso è da identificare con la residenza di Costante II e il bagno 'Daphne', dove l'imperatore fu ucciso[393]; è indubbio, comunque, che le terme furono adoperate a lungo, senza perdere la propria funzione. Una storia simile ci testimoniano, sempre a Siracusa, i resti delle terme di Corso Gelone[394], in cui è stato scoperto un pavimento di lastrine di pietra simile a quello della seconda fase edilizia del bagno 'Daphne', mentre il rinvenimento di una moneta di Leone V fa supporre una loro utilizzazione fino a piena età bizantina.

Un breve cenno meritano anche le terme di Reilla presso Milazzo, un edificio a sviluppo lineare (fig. 19) che culmina nel calidario circolare, che si apre in tre ampie nicchie, in cui sono sistemate le vasche. La proiezione dei volumi all'esterno[395], la soluzione adottata per la copertura, che poggiava sui piedritti degli archi, richiamano senz'altro il frigidario delle terme della Villa del Casale, il cui perfetto inserimento nella tradizione architettonica urbana è stato recentemente messo in rilievo[396]. Tutto ciò conferma i legami che questi complessi rurali, anche i più modesti, hanno con la grande architettura, di cui seguono le tendenze e sentono l'influsso; anzi il sistema di centinatura di mattoni, adoperato a Reilla, al posto di quello con tubi fittili, collega ancor più strettamente, come abbiamo ricordato, questo piccolo complesso agli esempi urbani.

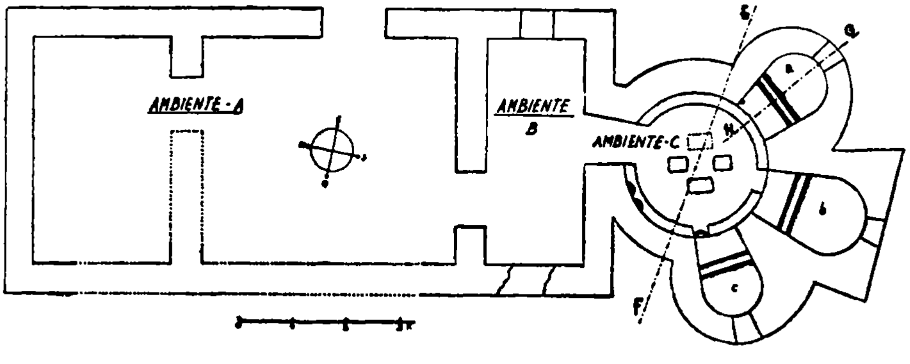


Fig. 19. Milazzo. Planimetria dell'edificio termale in contrada Reilla

---

[391] Lézine, in: Karthago 5, 1954, pp. 170 – 171.

[392] A. J. Parker, in: Kokalos 22 – 23, 1976 – 1977, pp. 625 – 628.

[393] Cultrera, art. cit., pp. 124 – 130.

[394] Bernabò Brea, in: NSc 1947, pp. 198 – 199.

[395] Per la diffusione di questa concezione spaziale, Arslan, in: Mansuelli, Urbanistica, p. 170.

[396] M. Medri, in: Carandini, Filosofiana, p. 388, 390 – 392.

Anche a Catania si ha notizia di un edificio termale, con una sala ottagonale e sale absidate coperte da volte di tubi fittili[397], riccamente decorato da marmi e mosaici, che dobbiamo immaginare non molto diverso da quelli che abbiamo ricordato. Come si può notare, gli edifici cittadini, di Siracusa che conosciamo meglio, ma anche quelli di Catania verosimilmente, presentano caratteri analoghi ai complessi che sorgevano nei piccoli insediamenti rurali, come Sofiana, Vito Soldano, Maniace, Comiso, Reilla, sia dal punto di vista strutturale (costruzione di pietrame e blocchetti cementati con uso accessorio dei mattoni, volte di tubi fittili), che decorativo (mosaici e poi *opus sectile*[398]); né mancano affatto le analogie planimetriche; comune, infine, a tutti è anche il lungo periodo di utilizzazione, fino ad età bizantina. Apparentemente non vi è, quindi, una netta cesura tra le vicende edilizie delle città e quelle della campagna: anche la possibilità di istituire un confronto tra un ninfeo rinvenuto a Catania, probabilmente costantiniano[399], e il ninfeo della Villa del Casale[400], sia nella pianta, sia nella parte decorativa, sembrerebbe confermare questa impressione. Ciò che invece è sostanzialmente cambiato, nelle città, è la destinazione delle nuove costruzioni, che non è più quella pubblica[401]: sia il bagno 'Daphne', sia le terme di Marsala, sia quest'ultimo ninfeo che abbiamo appena menzionato, sono da attribuire a grandiosi complessi privati, i cui proprietari erano probabilmente gli stessi che negli insediamenti rurali e nelle *stationes* contribuivano alla costruzione e al mantenimento di similari edifici – un obbligo cui erano tenuti dallo stato[402] – e ai quali si deve attribuire anche l'edificazione delle grandi ville residenziali[403].

E' chiaro che l'assunzione di tali oneri avveniva a scapito delle città, con la ben nota e generalizzata fuga dagli obblighi curiali da parte dei ceti che facevano parte dell'ordine[404], per cui non meraviglia l'entusiasmo e la gratitudine che si intuiscono nella iscrizione (e la statua) che le città siciliane dedicarono a Betitius Perpetuus Arzygius, *corrector* della Sicilia in età costantiniana, splendidissimo patrono e restitutore, evidentemente per aver sostenuto finanziariamente i decurioni dell'isola[405]. Tuttavia, nemmeno in questa età mancano i benefattori appartenenti a famiglie locali, sia semplici privati[406], sia personaggi importanti come Alpinus Eumenius, che fu anche consolare della Sicilia[407]; mentre altri governatori diedero prova di evergetismo nello stesso periodo[408], fatto che probabilmente non è che il riflesso dell'interesse del governo imperiale per l'isola[409]. Né l'intervento governativo nel promuovere e finanziare l'edilizia pubblica venne mai meno del tutto, come documenta la ben nota epigrafe di Aquae Labodes, che ricorda la costruzione di un edificio[410], voluto dagli imperatori Costante e Costanzo, tramite due consolari di Sicilia, anche se appare significativo che si tratti di un'opera che sorge in una importante *statio* lungo la via Lilibeo-Agrigento.

---

[397] HOLM – LIBERTINI, p. 31; LIBERTINI, in: NSc 1937, p. 82.

[398] Impiego di mattoni nel bagno 'Daphne', CULTRERA, art. cit., p. 118; si tratta di elementi di un piede e mezzo per un piede (cm 48 × 34), il cui spessore medio (cm 5,5) ridotto rispetto agli esemplari più comuni del II secolo, mette in evidenza la cronologia più tarda. Per la possibilità di una decorazione del bagno 'Daphne', CULTRERA, ibid., p. 116.

[399] LIBERTINI, in: NSc 1937, pp. 79 – 81.

[400] CARANDINI, Filosofiana, p. 298. Anche questo doveva essere pavimentato probabilmente con lastre di pietra, come quello del portico semicircolare della stessa villa.

[401] L'ultimo grande complesso pubblico costruito o rinnovato sembra quello delle terme Achilleiane di Catania, agli inizi del IV secolo.

[402] JONES, Tardo Impero, pp. 984 – 985.

[403] A parte il proprietario della Villa del Casale, che, chiunque sia, va identificato in un grande latifondista romano, è probabile che anche i proprietari locali abbiano costruito ville residenziali; a questo proposito v. COARELLI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 385.

[404] JONES, Tardo Impero, pp. 986 – 1008.

[405] L. MORETTI, Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae, vol. I, Romae 1968, pp. 52 – 54, n. 60.

In questa ottica può spiegarsi come una città di non grandissima importanza come Tindari abbia potuto costruire, probabilmente non prima della fine del IV secolo[411], un imponente ingresso monumentale al foro, la cosidetta basilica[412]. Nella struttura a blocchi squadrati si è visto un ritorno alla tecnica della pietra tagliata di tradizione ellenica[413], ma, a nostro parere, anche da questo punto di vista, l'edificio va inquadrato nelle tendenze dell'architettura del suo tempo. La ripresa di questa tecnica non è infatti un ritorno a modi costruttivi abbandonati in Sicilia da secoli, ma una conseguenza della diffusione nell'area mediterranea delle basiliche a pilastri[414], che anche in Sicilia sono attestate da vari edifici, come quello di Caucana[415], di S. Pietro *intra moenia* a Siracusa[416], S. Focà di Priolo[417], per limitarci a quelli cronologicamente contemporanei. La costruzione in blocchi di pietra si accompagna, almeno in alcuni di questi edifici, alla copertura con volte a botte di conci squadrati (S. Pietro, S. Focà); una analogia con il monumento di Tindari, che ci sembra significativa[418]. Caratteri architettonici, quindi, comuni agli edifici civili e a quelli religiosi, come è ovvio, anche se ormai siamo in un periodo in cui gli sforzi della comunità cominciano a rivolgersi quasi esclusivamente all'architettura sacra; caratteri comuni che non permettono di separare la 'basilica' di Tindari dalle contemporanee basiliche e ci consentono, invece, di inquadrare questo monumento nell'ambito di una corrente architettonica che influenzò l'intero mediterraneo.

---

[406] Cracco Ruggini, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 486, nota 20. In generale v. S. Mrozek, in: Historia 27, 1978, pp. 355–378.

[407] G. Barbieri, in: Kokalos 9, 1963, pp. 232–242.

[408] V. nota 406.

[409] Per la rinnovata importanza dell'isola a partire dal IV secolo, Cracco Ruggini, pp. 489–490.

[410] CIL X, 2, 7200.

[411] Probabilmente la pubblicazione dei saggi di scavo permetterebbe di precisare meglio la datazione.

[412] Bernabò Brea, in: BdA 51, 1966, p. 115; Id., in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, pp. 168–169; Pelagatti, in: Kokalos 14–15, 1968–1969, pp. 346–347; Lugli, Tecnica, p. 347; G. Parisi, Tyndaris, Messina 1950, pp. 112–116.

[413] Wilson, in: Kokalos 26–27, 1980–1981, p. 230; S. L. Agnello, IX Corso Ravenna, Ravenna 1962, p. 57 e p. 106.

[414] Stucchi, p. 381.

[415] Pelagatti, in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, pp. 185–186; Ead., in: SicArch 5, 18–20, 1972, pp. 97–99.

[416] G. Agnello, L'architettura bizantina in Sicilia, Firenze 1952, pp. 88–106; S. L. Agnello, art. cit., pp. 70–75.

[417] Agnello, art. cit., pp. 75–79; Orsi, Sicilia bizantina, vol. I, Tivoli–Roma 1942, pp. 51–56. Si veda anche la basilichetta a conci squadrati di Agrigento, De Miro, in: Felix Ravenna 1980, pp. 148–160.

Il propileo di Tindari è l'ultima iniziativa edilizia pubblica di una certa importanza in una città siciliana, tuttavia, anche se non si costruì più, gli sforzi per il mantenimento del patrimonio esistente e il suo restauro non cessarono e sono ben documentati epigraficamente. Ricordiamo in breve i principali interventi, che sono ben noti e più volte citati[419]: da quelli attestati a Palermo e Lilibeo[420], al restauro delle terme achilleiane, del ninfeo e del teatro di Catania[421]; a Siracusa quello del *praetorium* e della scena del teatro[422]. L'editto di Onorio che incoraggiava ricostruzioni e restauri[423] conferma, insieme al fatto che i più importanti di essi sono opera dei consolari di Sicilia, l'interesse e come sempre l'intervento imperiale in questo campo. Naturalmente queste testimonianze, se da un lato attestano lo sforzo per mantenere intatto il tessuto urbano[424], dall'altro ne denunciano l'incipiente disfacimento; infatti, il restauro di un edificio presuppone la sua rovina. In ciò i terremoti del IV sec., che così gravi conseguenze ebbero in varie regioni dell'impero, tra cui la Sicilia[425], e le incursioni vandale del V secolo hanno avuto sicuramente parte; anche in tal caso, tuttavia, non si può generalizzare e bisogna operare delle distinzioni, che l'archeologia, per quanto si sia limitatamente interessata a questi problemi, permette di fare, sia pure a grandi linee. Non sappiamo, infatti, con esattezza quali siano stati gli effetti dei terremoti in tutte le città[426], anche se a Lilibeo e Tindari essi sembrano disastrosi[427], ma le conseguenze delle incursioni vandale lungo la costa meridionale dell'isola sono documentate archeologicamente e non ci sembra siano state le stesse in tutti i luoghi.

---

[418] Già messe in rilievo da S. L. Agnello, che però le considera ereditate dalla tradizione ellenistica, Agnello, art. cit., p. 73.

[419] V. nota 406 e in generale Pace, ACSA 4, pp. 314–315.

[420] Dalle iscrizioni in onore di Domizio Latroniano e Eumenio Alpino, per cui v. nota 406.

[421] Terme Achillee: IG XIV, 455; Pace, in: ACSA 4, p. 198; Holm – Libertini, p. 55; ninfeo: CIL X,2, 7017; Holm – Libertini, p. 30; teatro: S. Mazzarino, Antico, tardo antico ed era costantiniana, vol. 2, Bari 1980, pp. 355–361.

[422] *Praetorium*: Mazzarino, op. cit., pp. 336–354; Pace, ACSA 4, p. 314; teatro: CIL X,2, 7124.

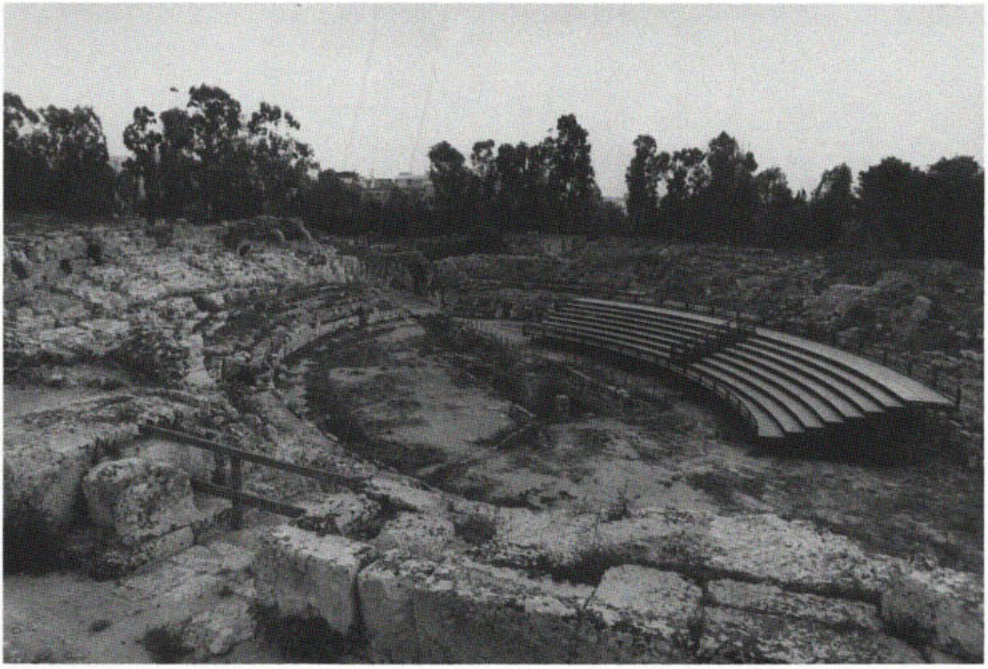
[423] Pace, ACSA 4, pp. 315–316.

[424] Clemente, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 475; Cracco Ruggini, ibid., p. 490.

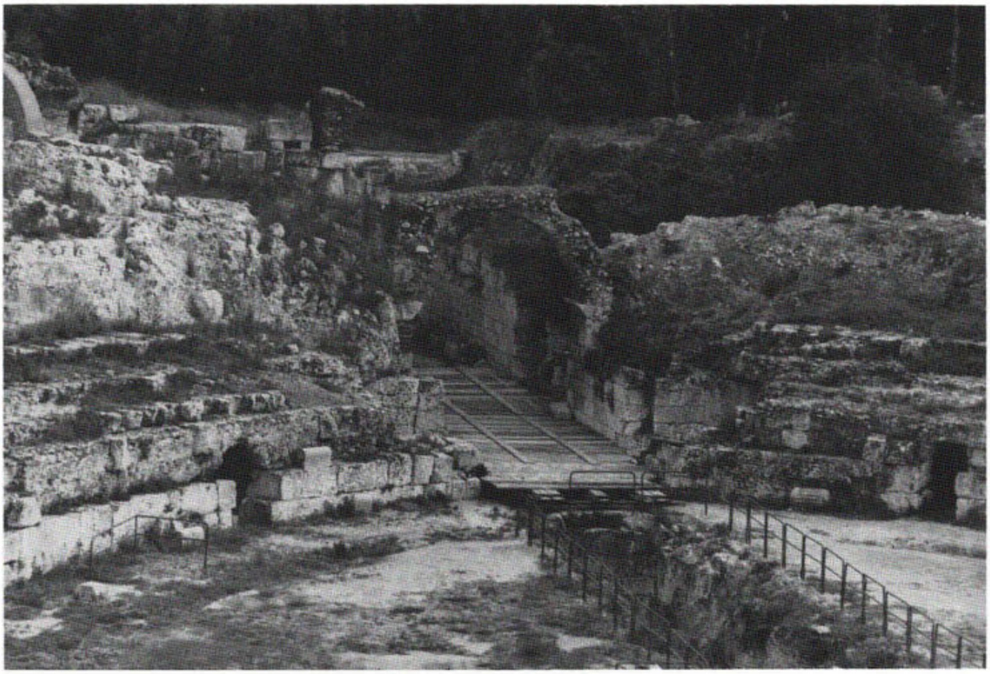
[425] Di Vita, in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, pp. 254–257; Id., in: Africa 7–8, 1975, pp. 127–139, in particolare, pp. 134–135. Si veda, tuttavia, F. Jacques – B. Bousquet, in: MEFRA 96, 1984, pp. 423–461; C. Lepelley, ibid., pp. 463–491.

[426] Per il passo di Libanio in cui si dice che le più grandi città siciliane subirono gravi danni, v. Di Vita, art. cit., pp. 256–257.

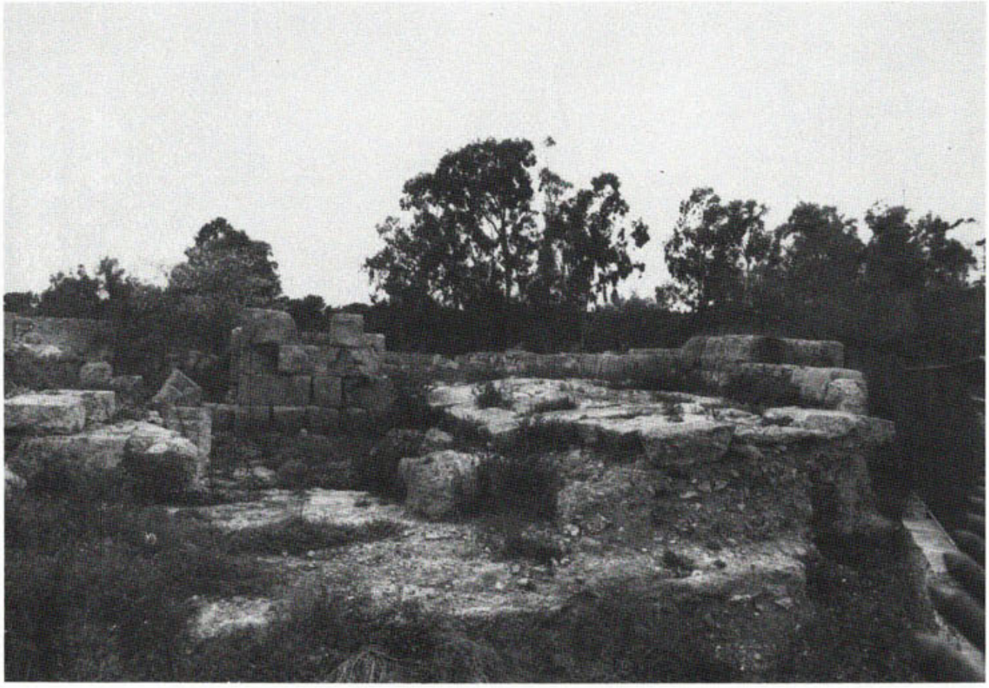
[427] Di Stefano, in: Kokalos 22–23, 1976–1977, p. 764 e in: SicArch 13, 43, 1980, pp. 15–16; Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, in: BdA 1965, p. 208; eventuali danni anche a Sofiana, Manganaro, in: Kokalos 18–19, 1972–1973, p. 262.



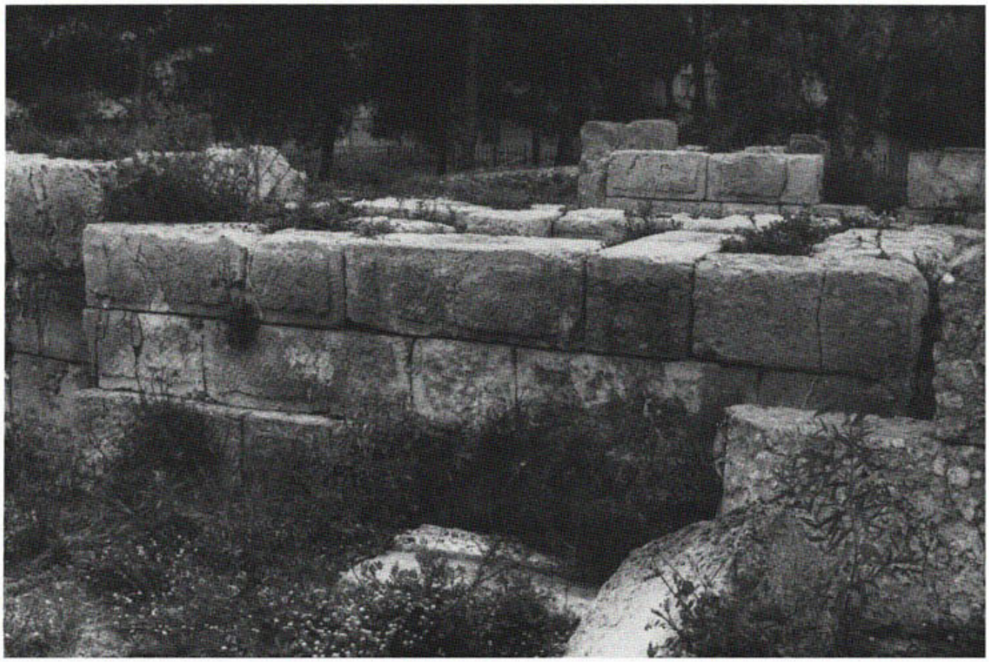
1. Siracusa. Veduta dell'anfiteatro



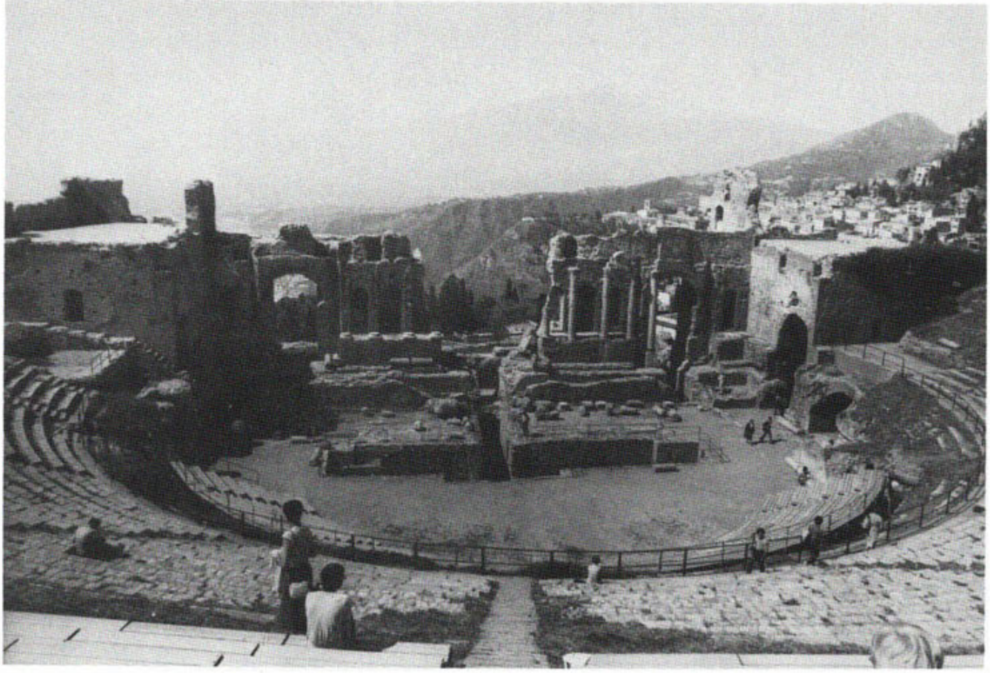
2. Siracusa. Ingresso principale dell'anfiteatro



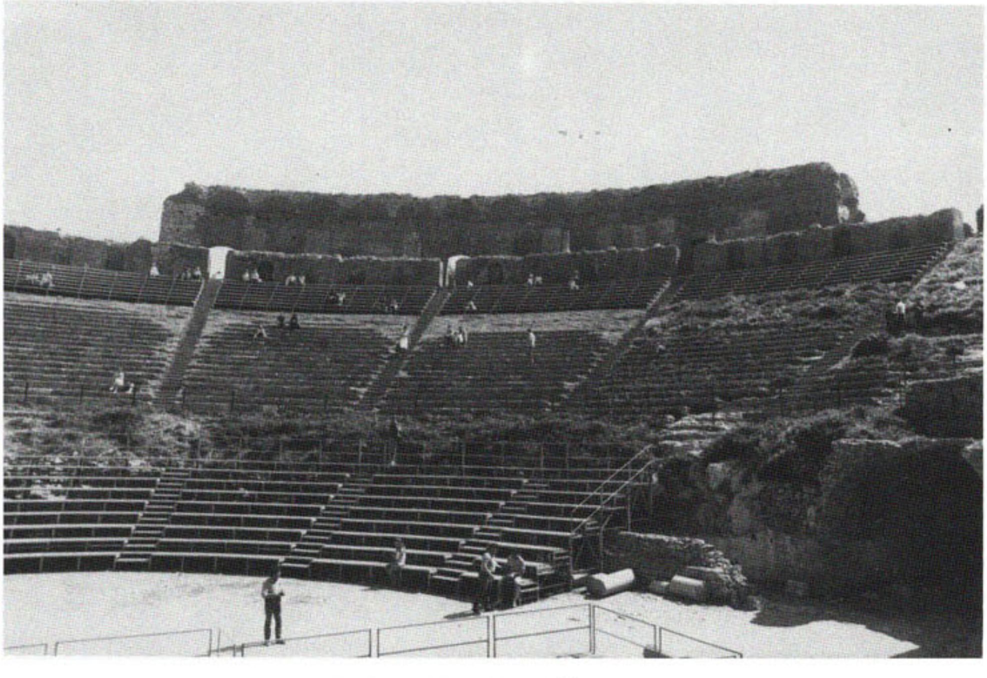
3. Siracusa. Veduta dell'arco onorario augusteo



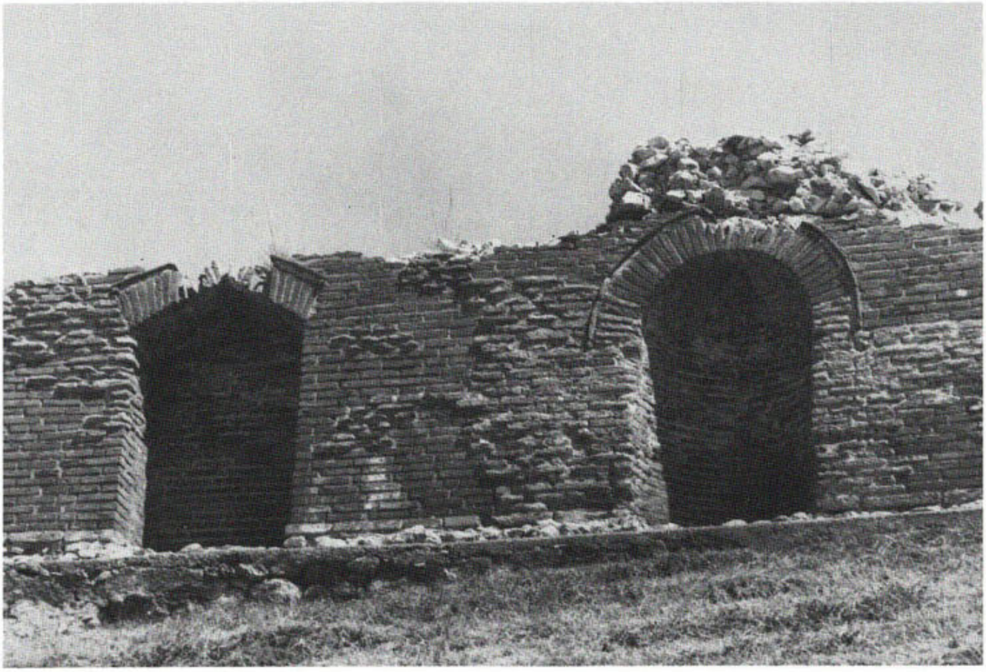
4. Siracusa. Pilone dell'arco onorario



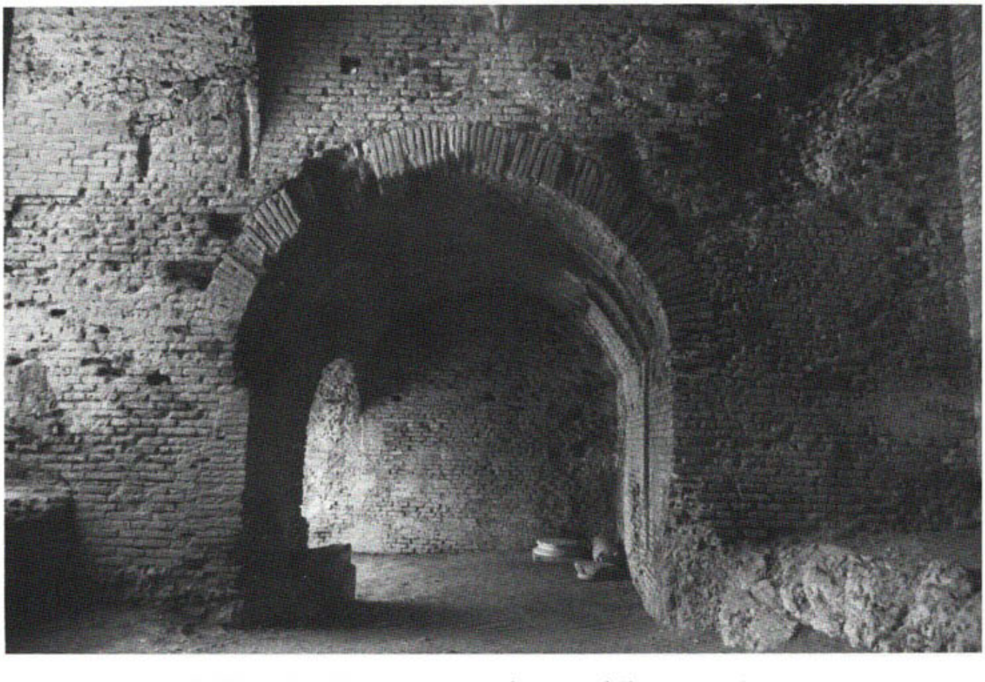
5. Taormina. La scena del teatro



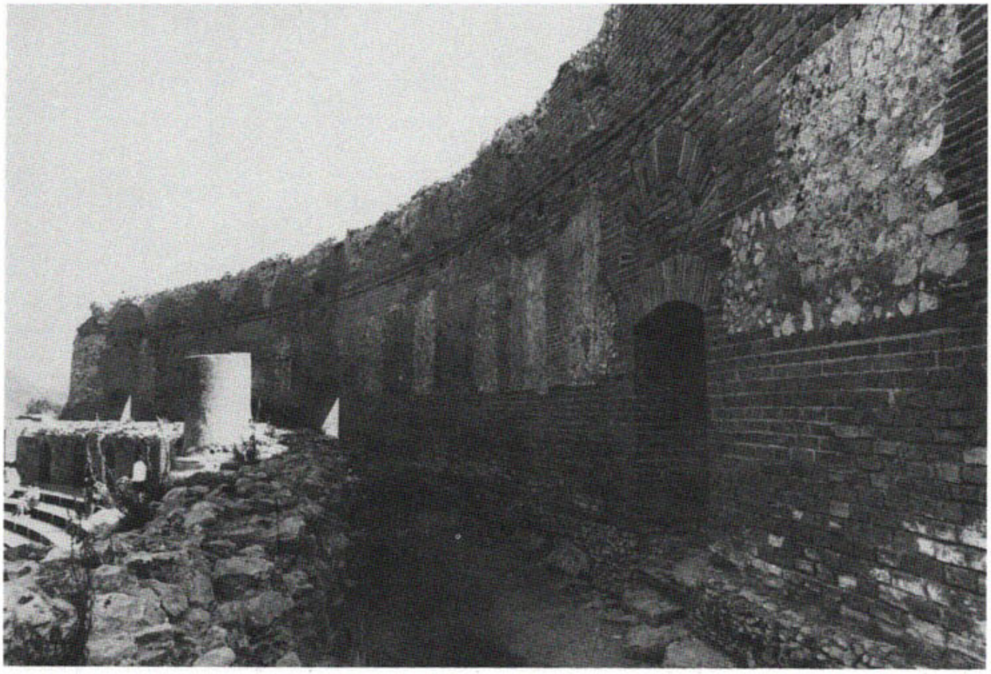
6. Taormina. Cavea del teatro



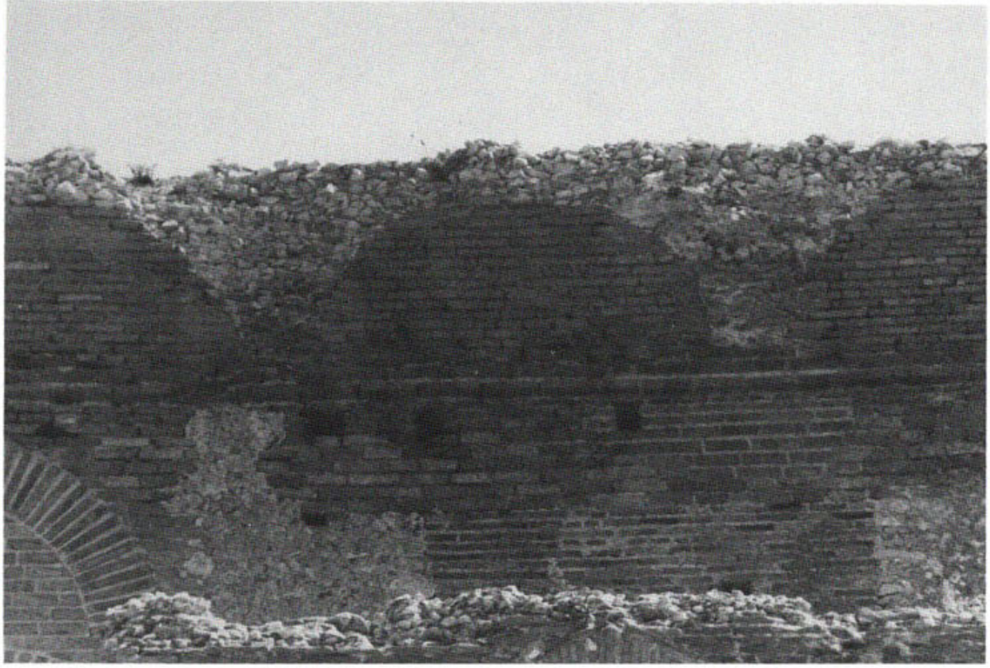
7. Taormina. Teatro, particolare dell'opera laterizia: nicchie *in summa cavea*



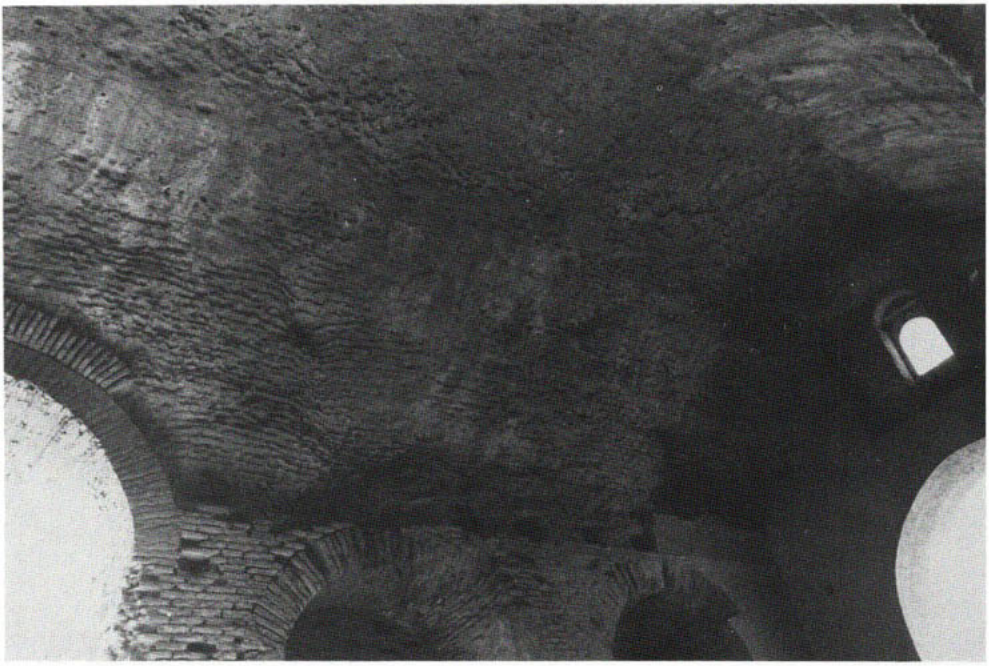
8. Taormina. Teatro, struttura laterizia della *versura* destra



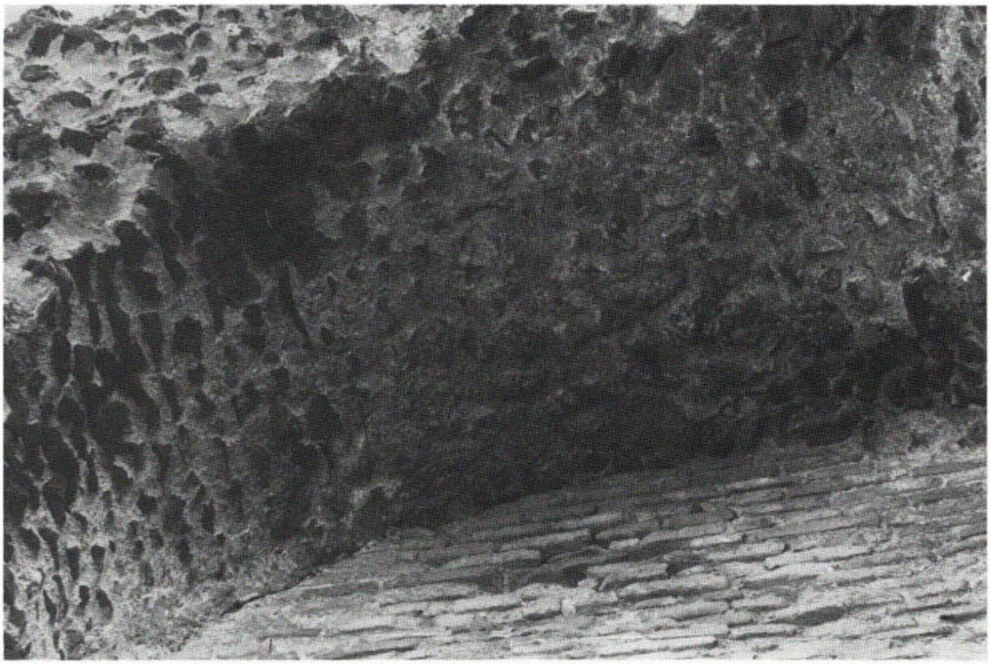
9. Taormina. Teatro, *porticus in summa cavea*



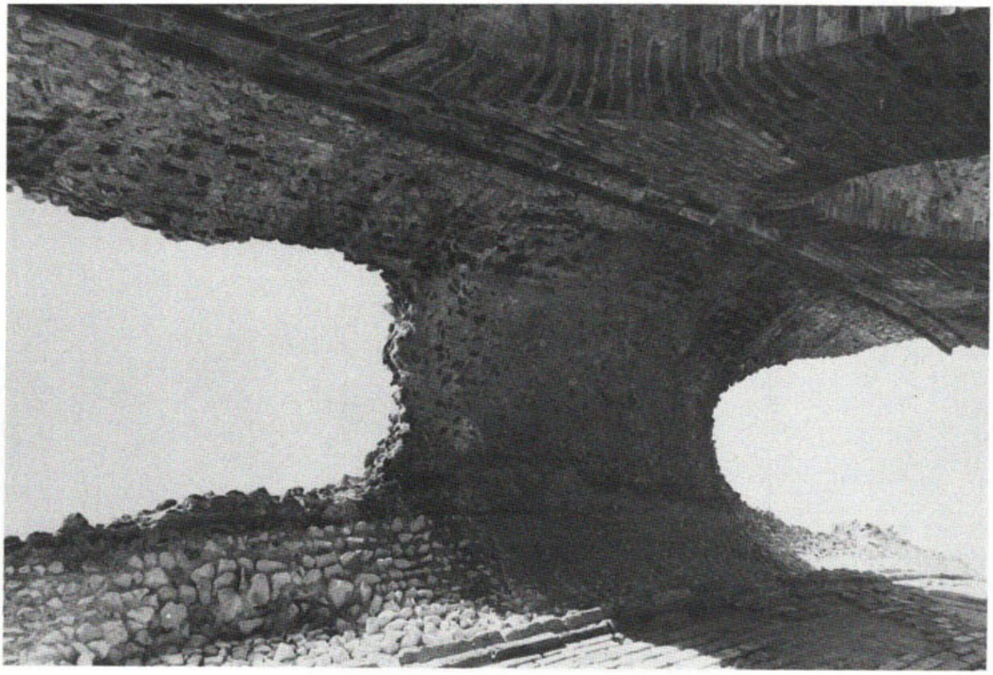
10. Taormina. Teatro, *porticus in summa cavea*: imposta delle crociere sul muro di fondo



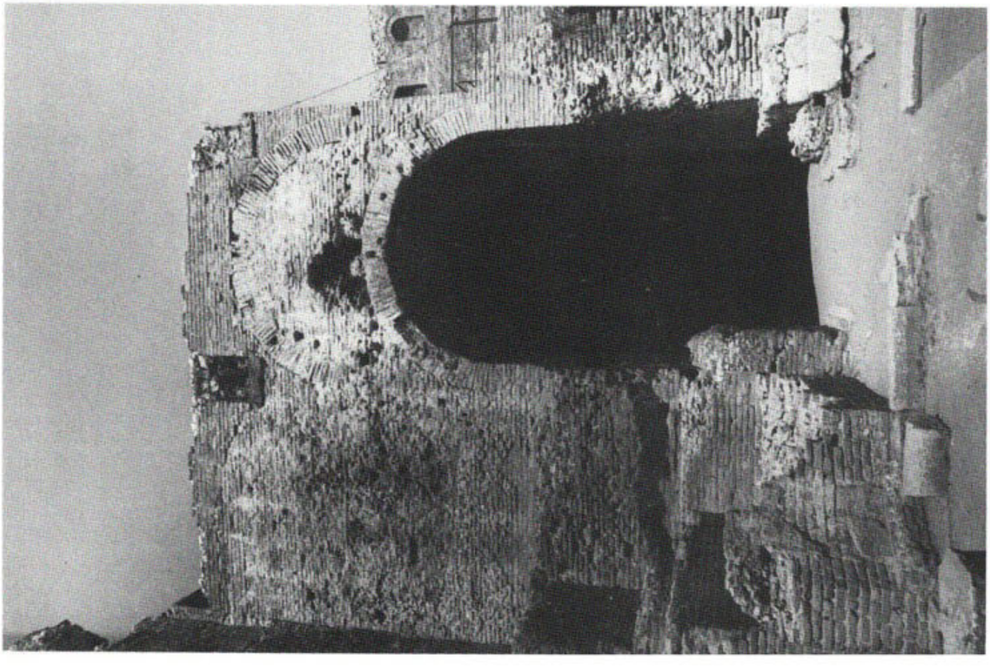
11. Taormina. Teatro, volta a botte di una delle *versurae*



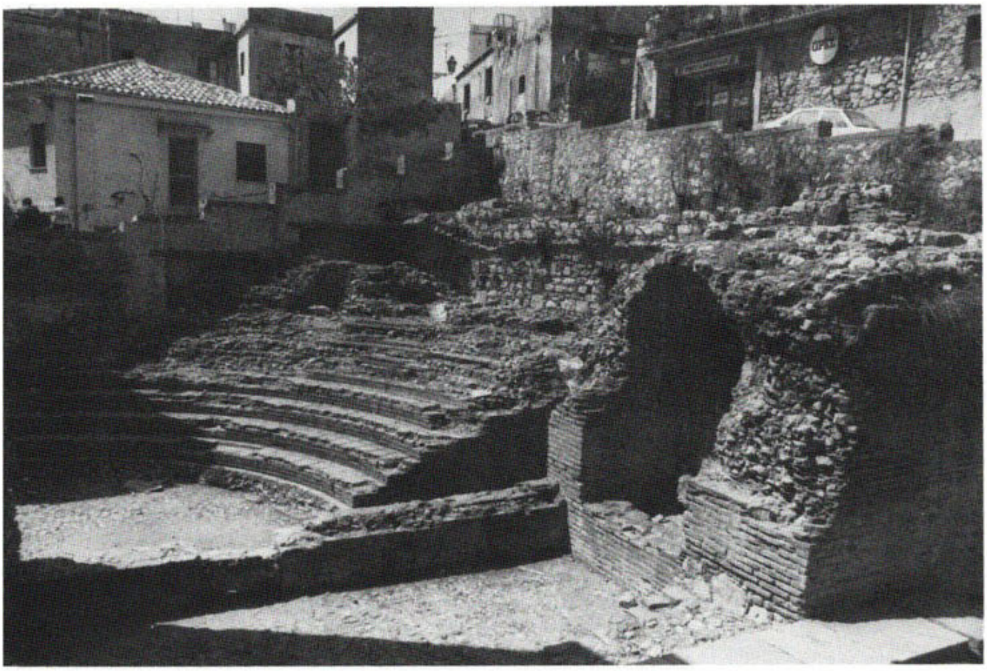
12. Taormina. Teatro, particolare della struttura della volta



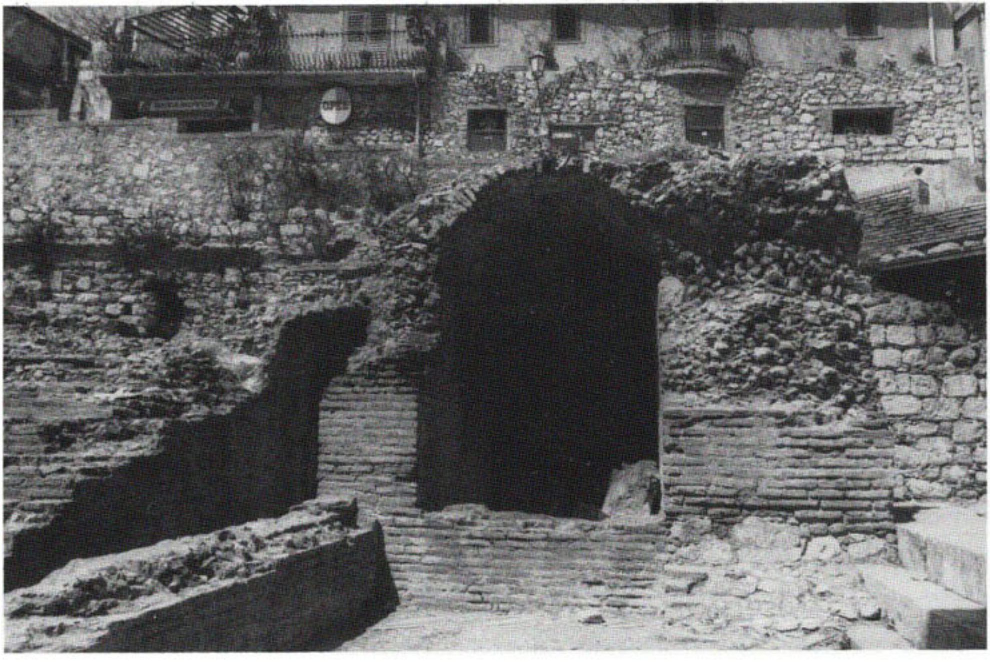
14. Taormina. Teatro, volta a botte dell'ambulacro esterno



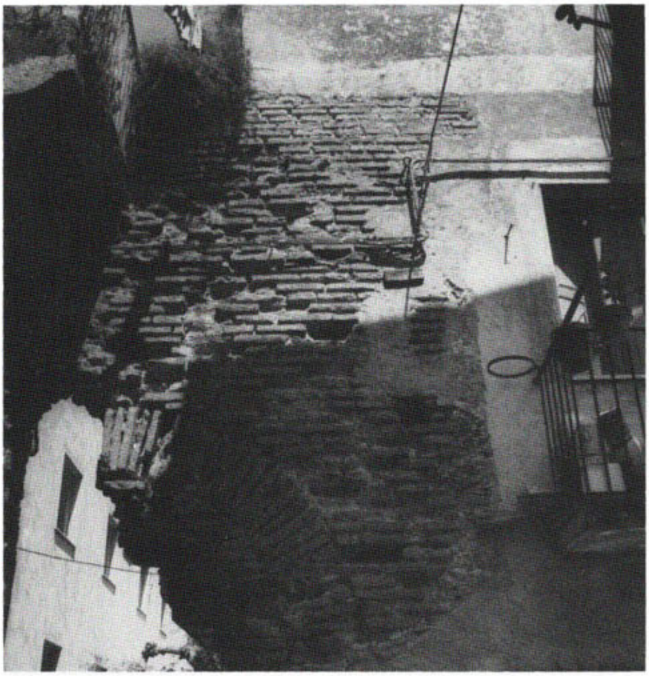
13. Taormina. Teatro, struttura laterizia della *versura* di sinistra



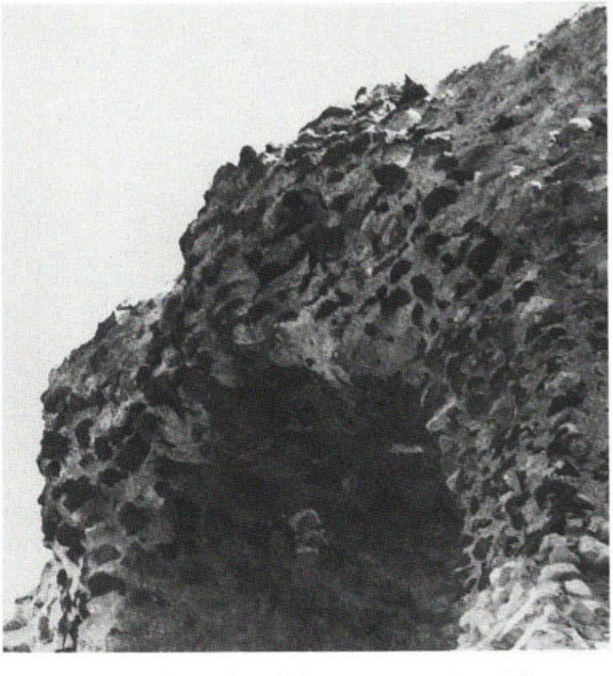
15. Taormina. Cavea dell'odeon



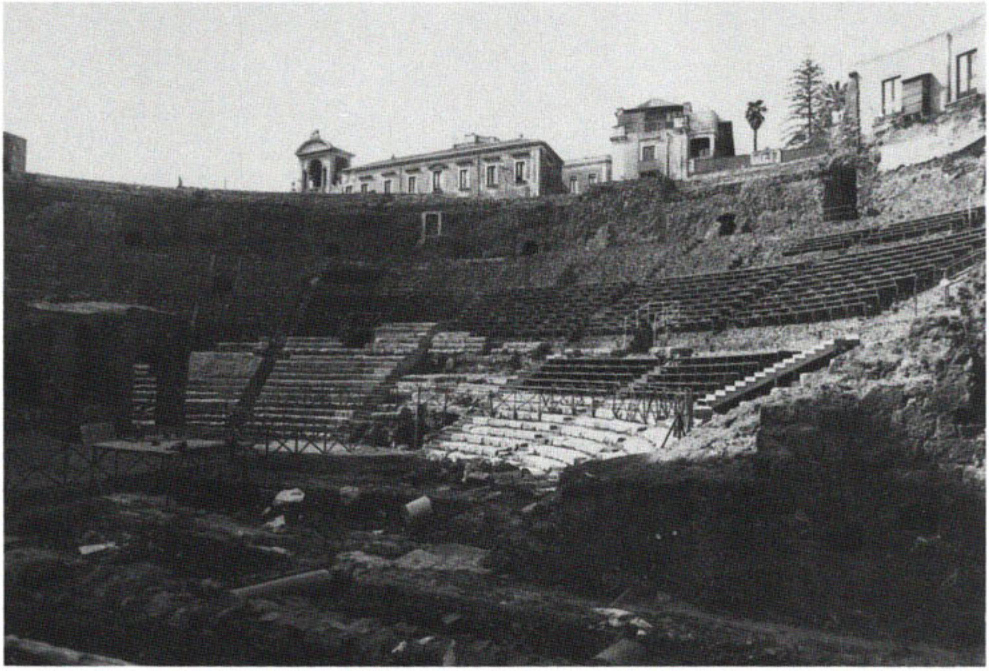
16. Taormina. Struttura laterizia dell'odeon



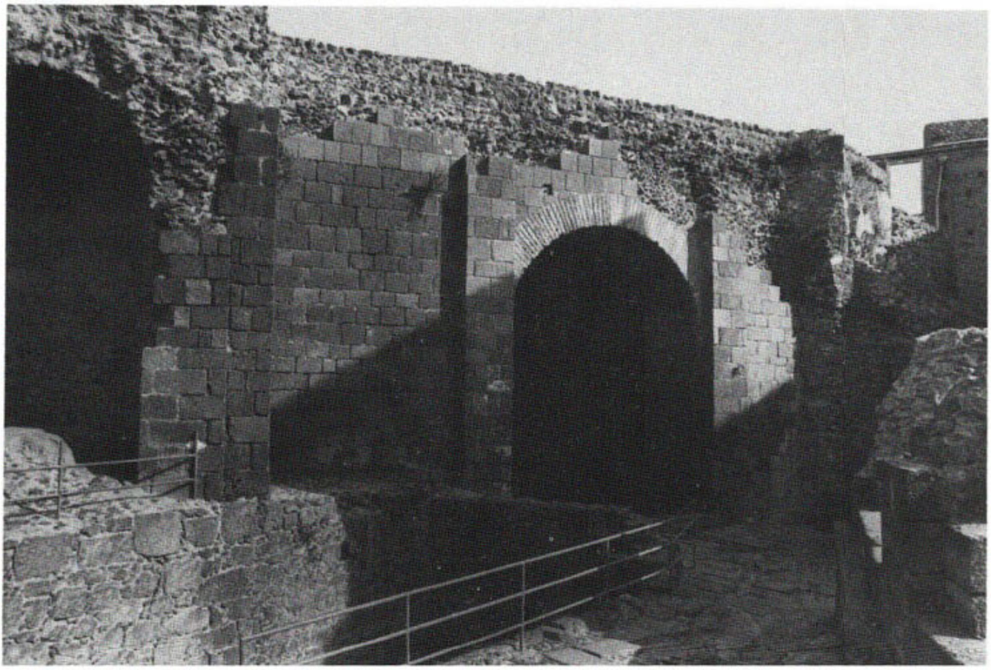
17. Taormina. Struttura laterizia delle terme



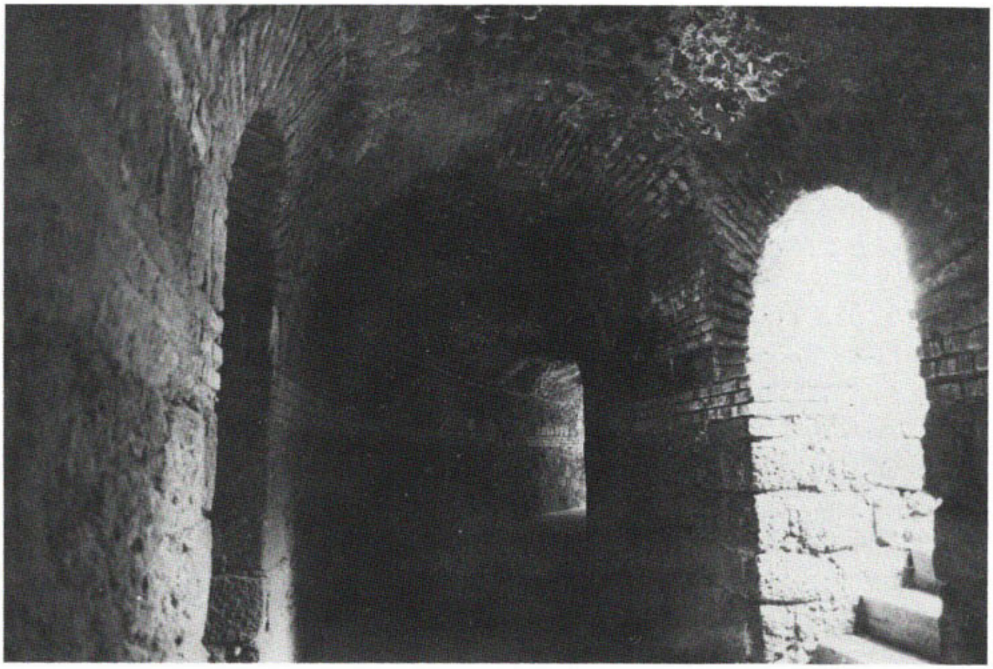
18. Taormina. Particolare dell'opera cementizia del teatro



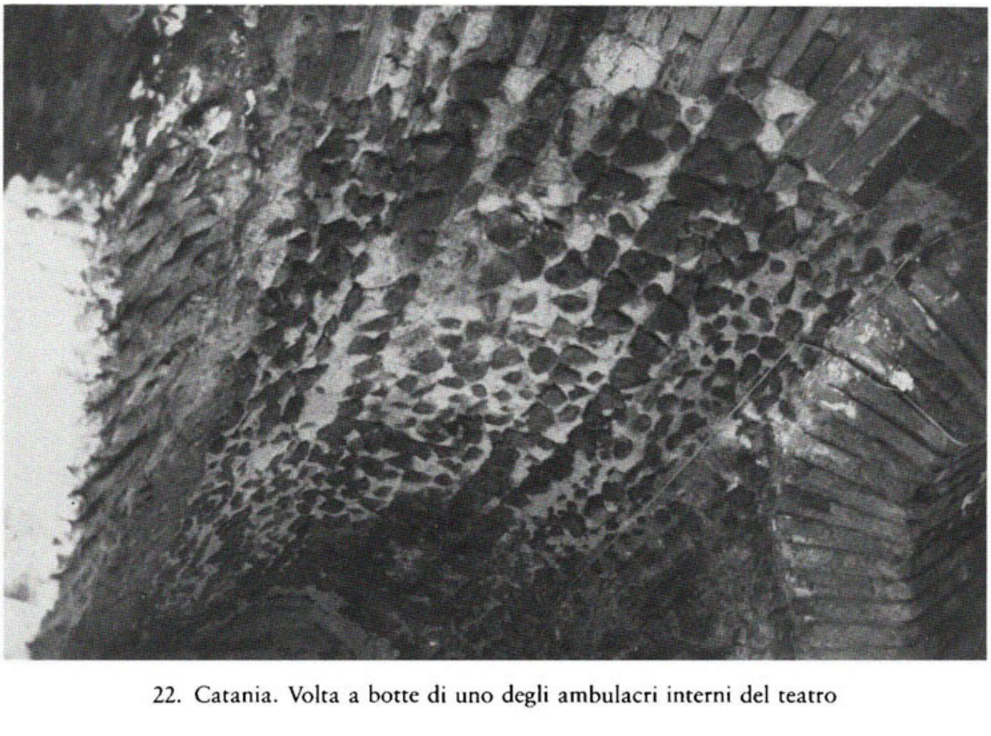
19. Catania. Cavea del teatro



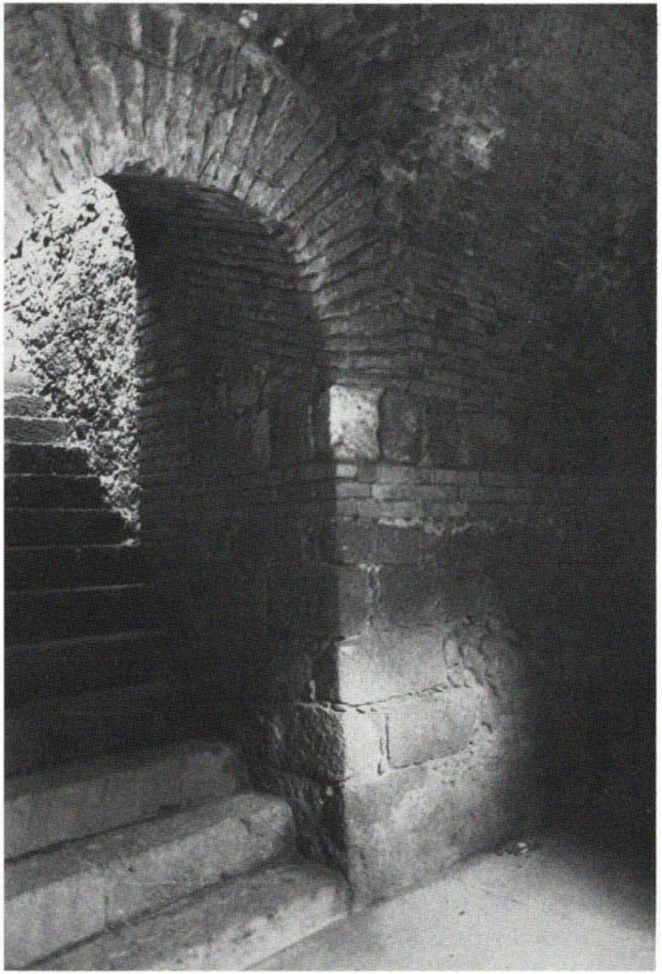
20. Catania. Ambulacro esterno del teatro



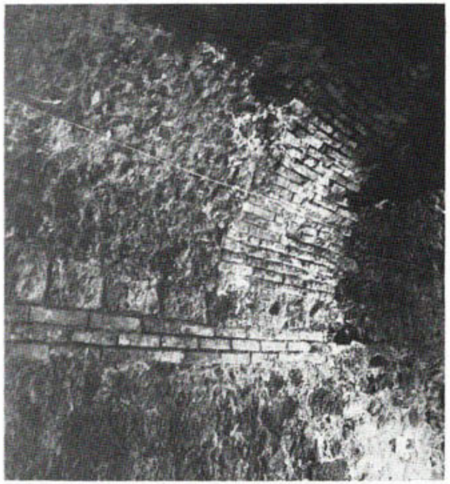
21. Catania. Ambulacro interno del teatro



22. Catania. Volta a botte di uno degli ambulacri interni del teatro

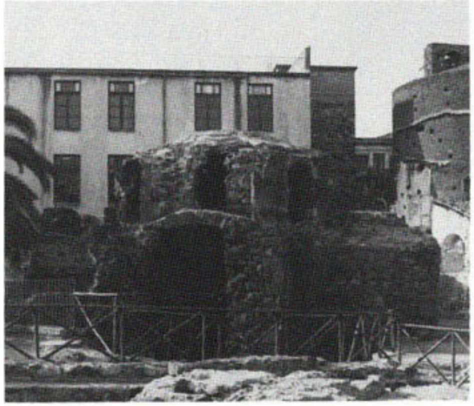


23

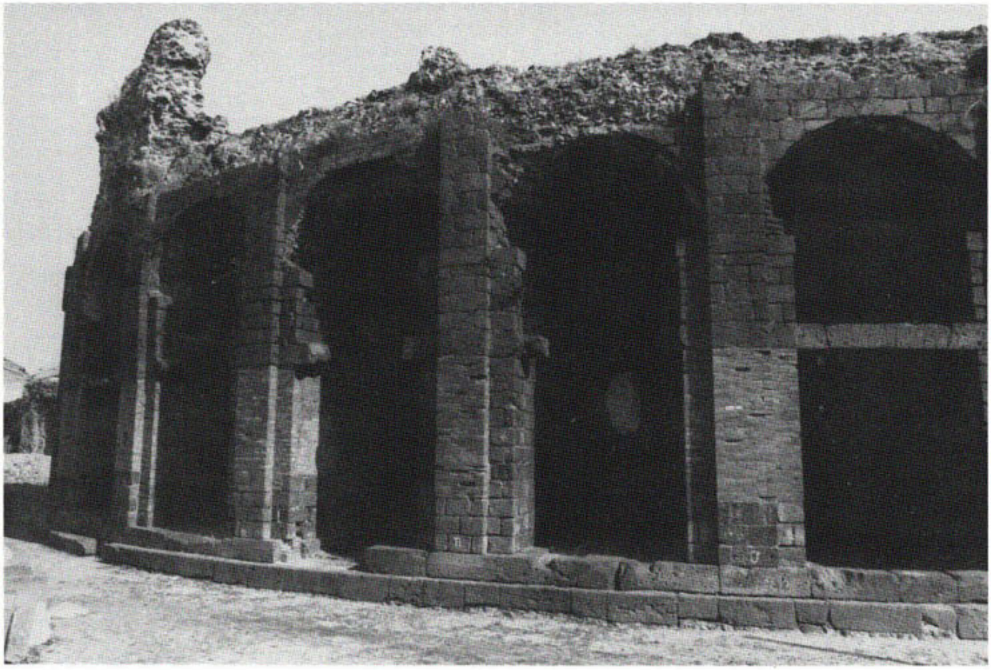


24

23 – 24. Catania. Teatro, particolari delle strutture interne

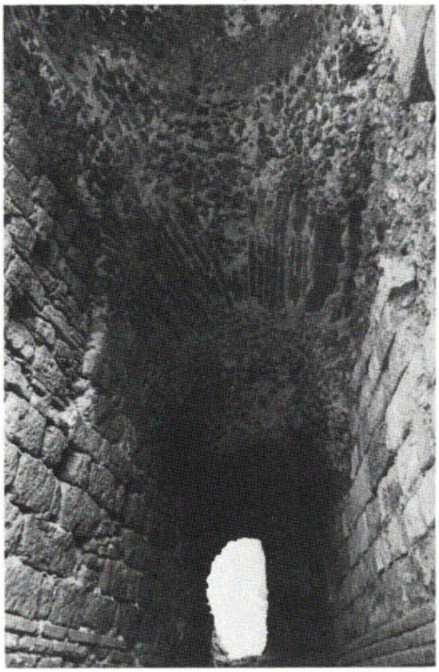


25. Catania. Veduta delle Terme dell'Indirizzo



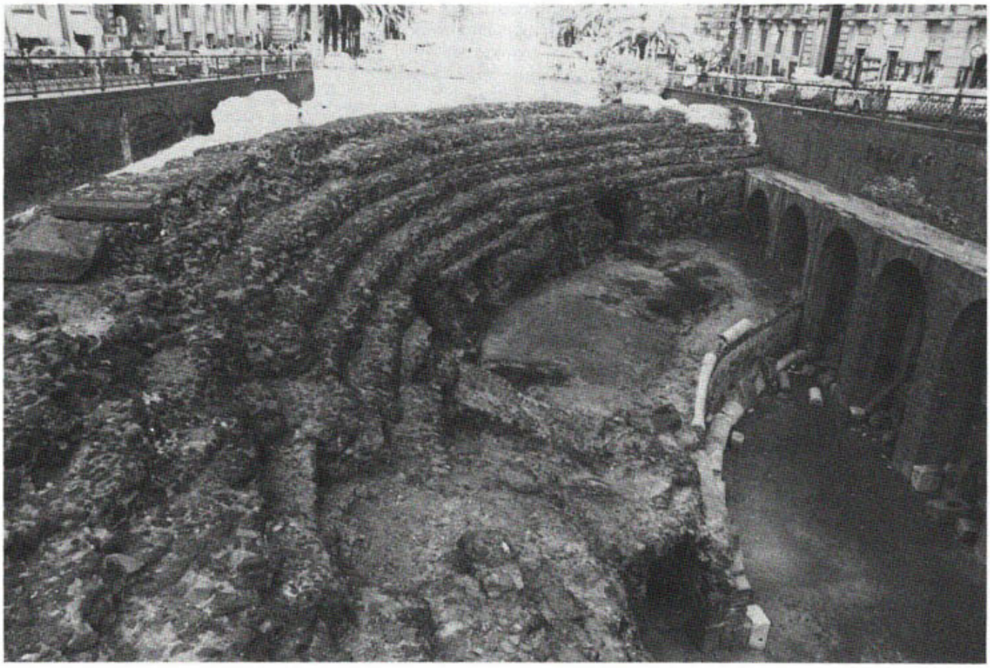
26. Catania. Ambulacro esterno dell'odeon

27

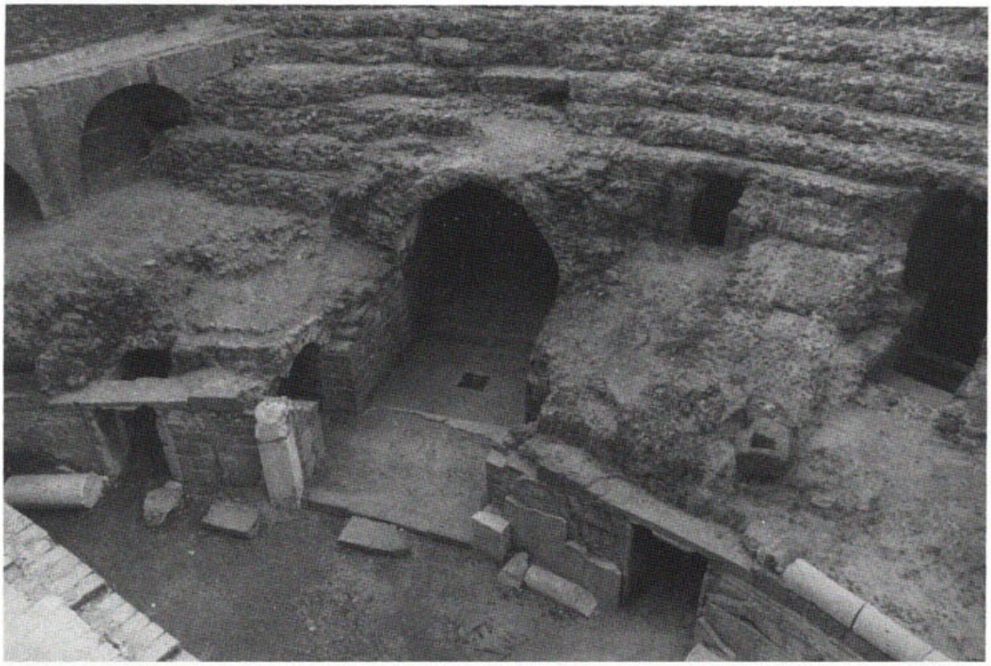


28

27 – 28. Catania. Particolari delle strutture dell'odeon

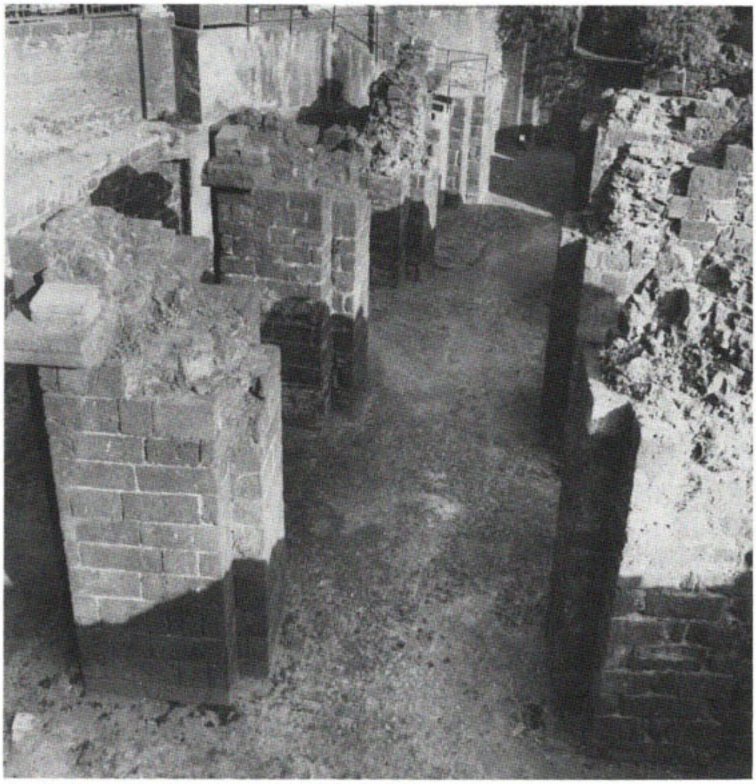


29

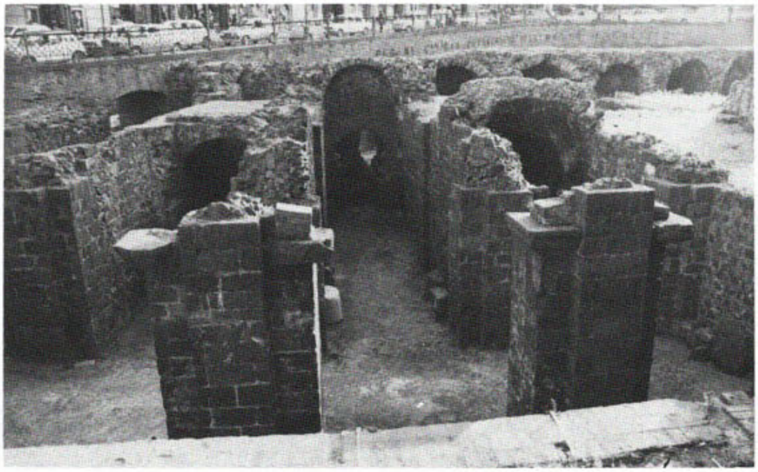


30

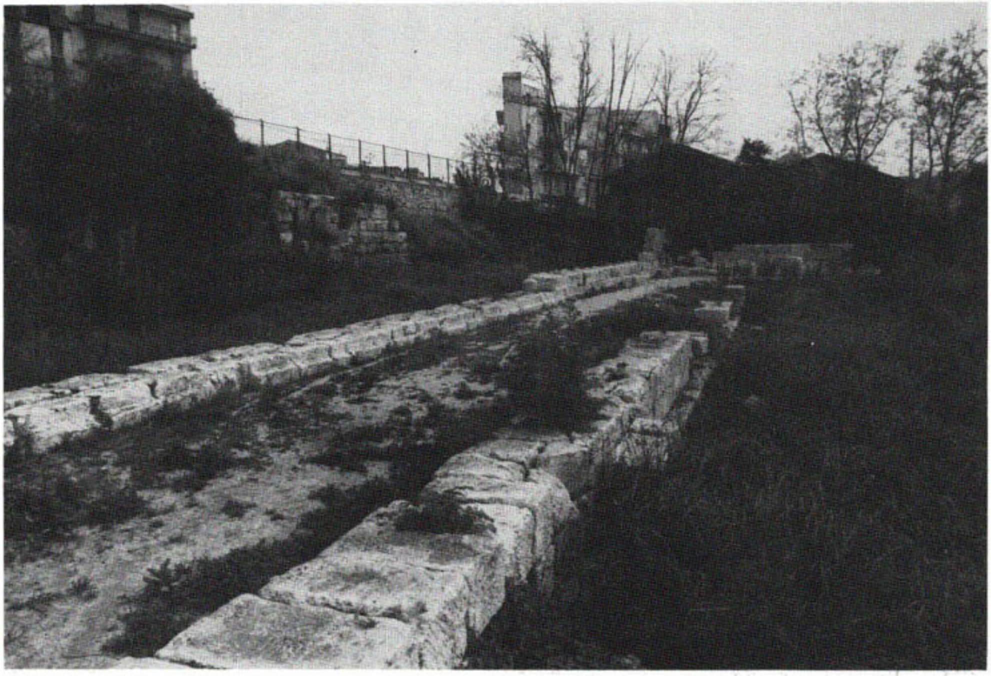
29 – 30. Catania. Anfiteatro, vedute parziali della cavea



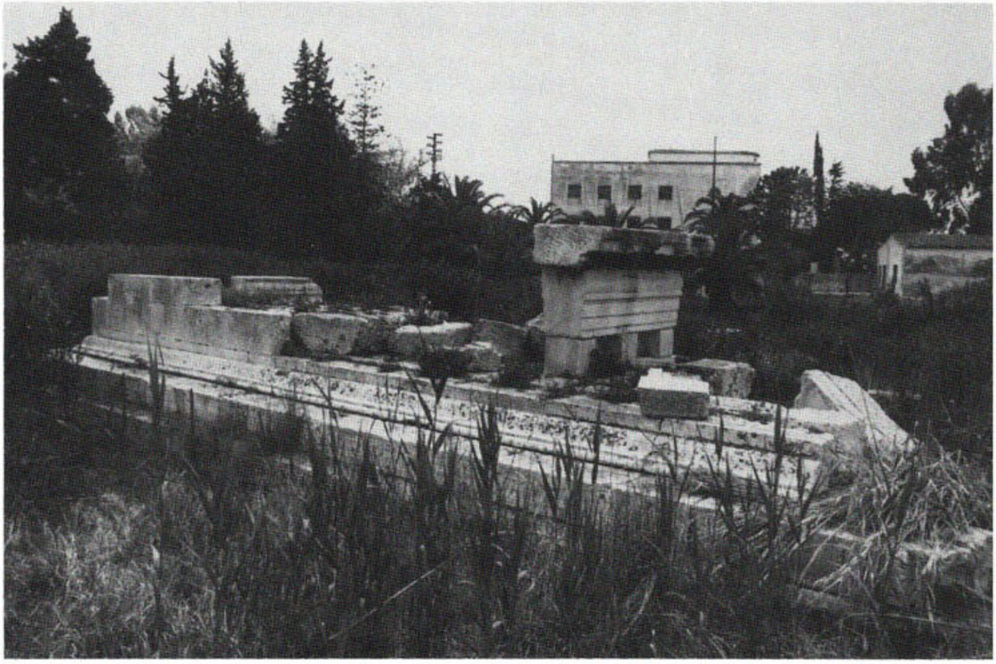
31. Catania. Ambulacro esterno dell'anfiteatro



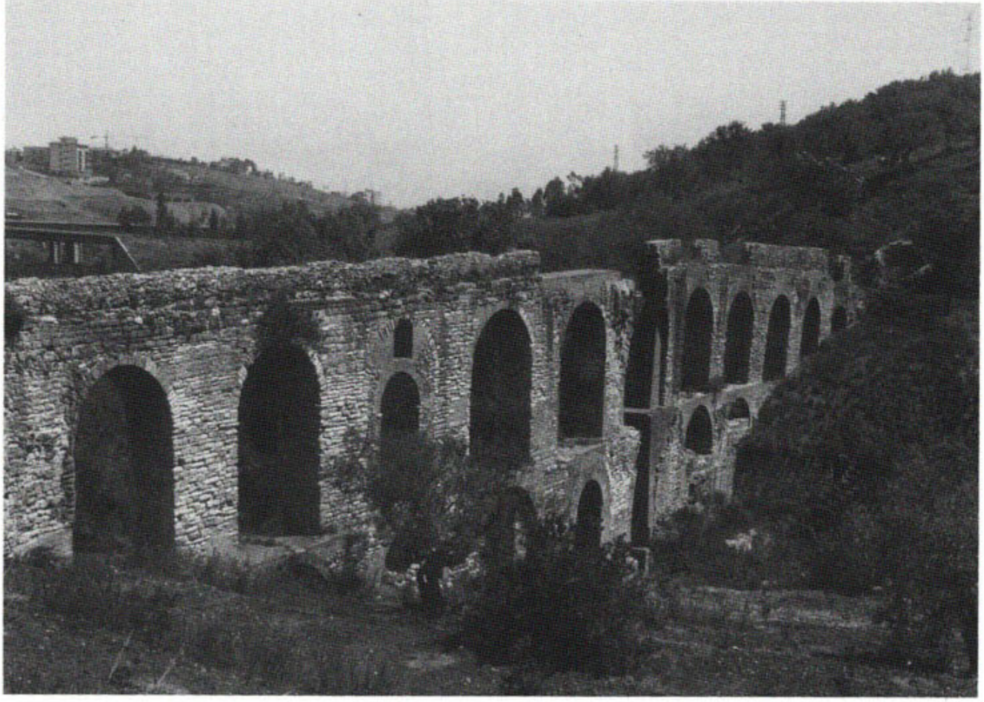
32. Catania. Anfiteatro, ambulacro esterno e strutture radiali



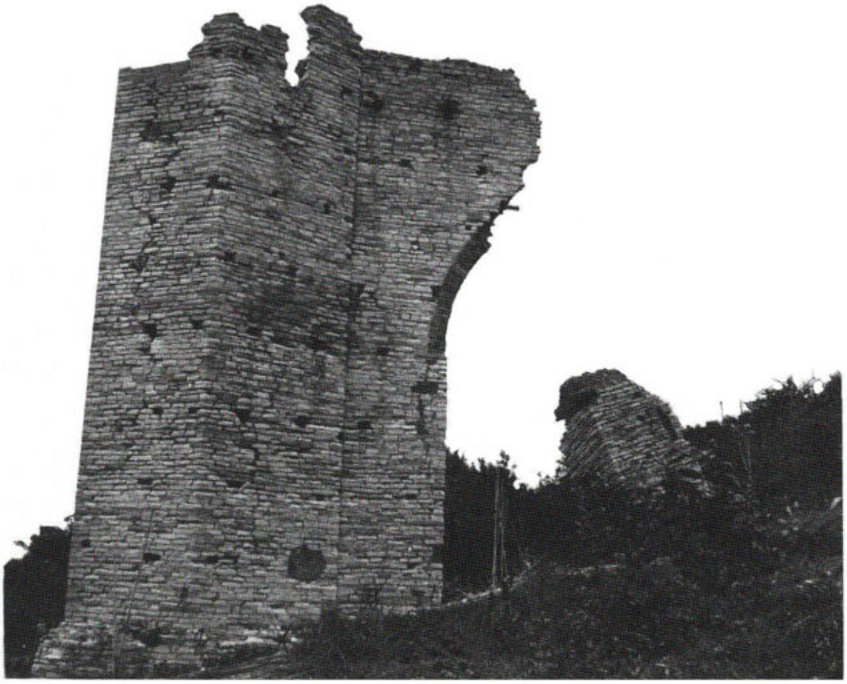
33. Siracusa. Portico del c. d. Ginnasio



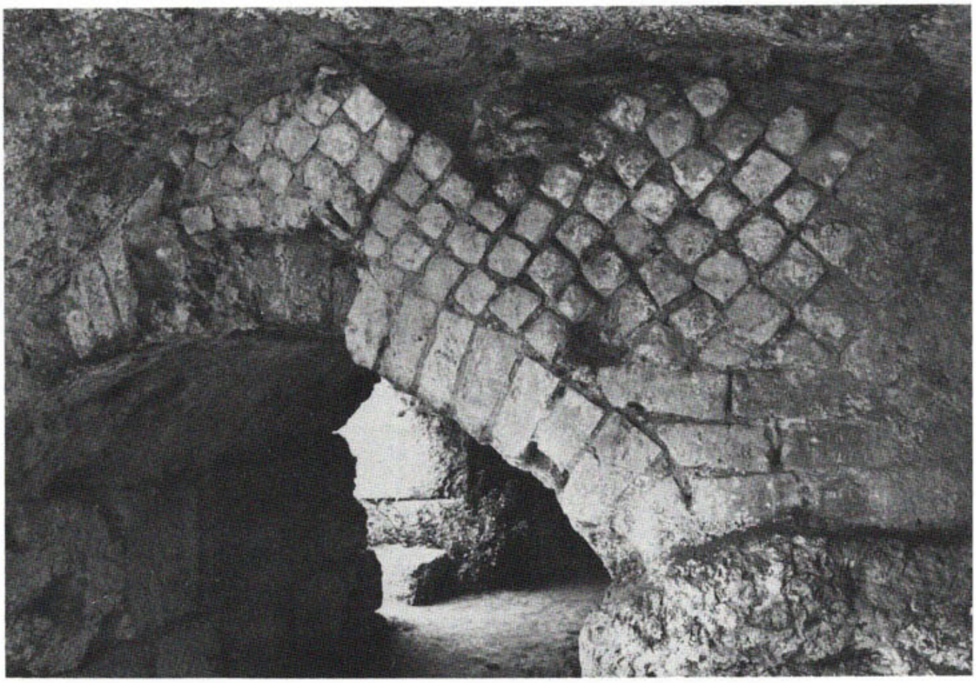
34. Siracusa. Tempietto del c. d. Ginnasio



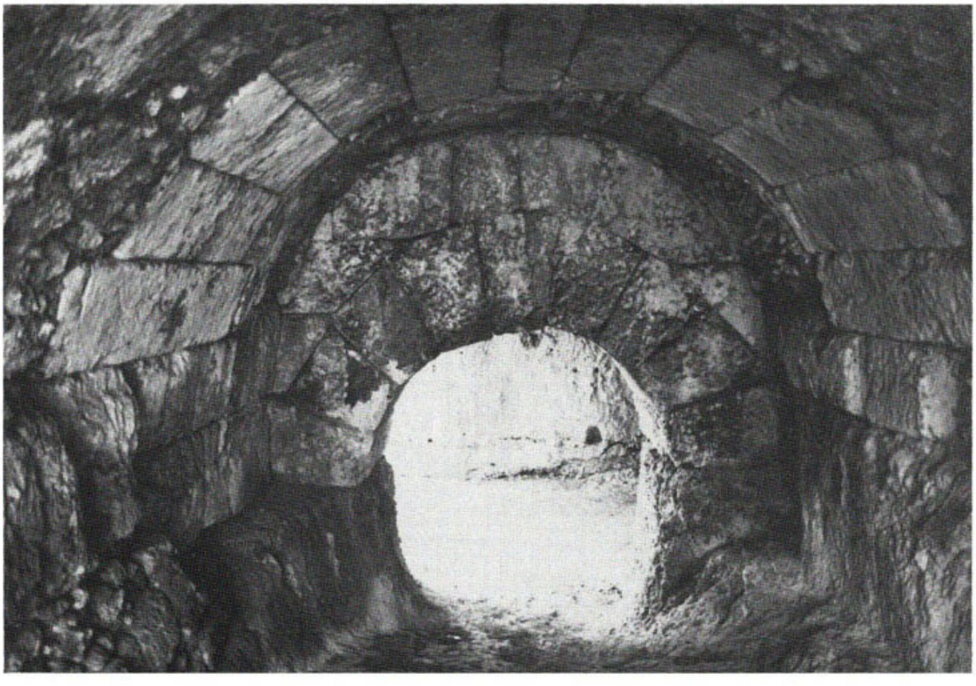
35. Termini Imerese. Acquedotto, ponte in contrada Figurella



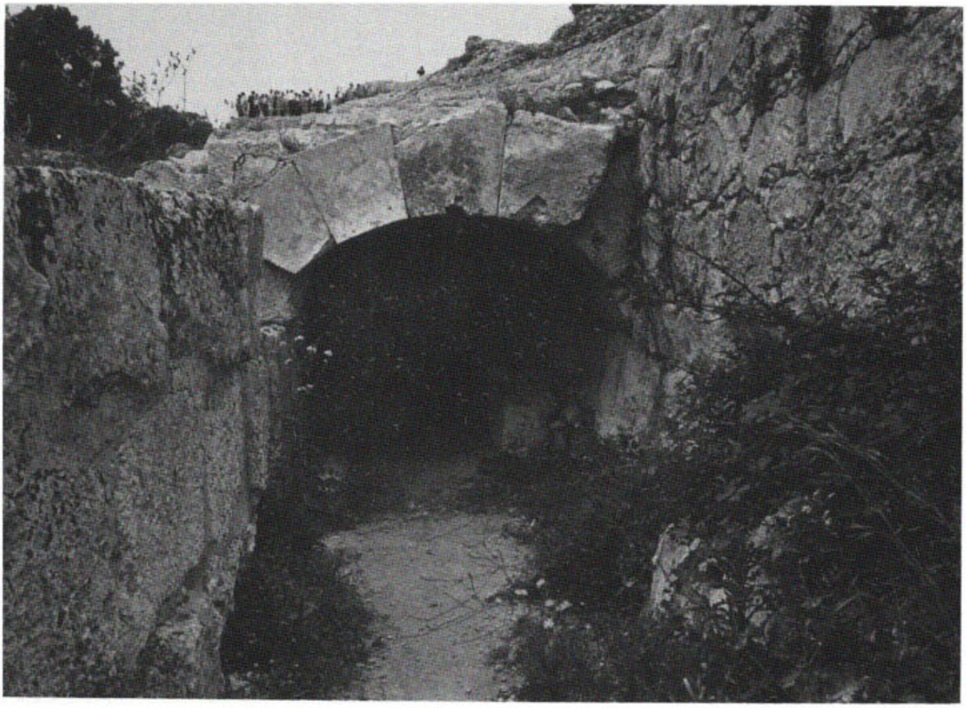
36. Termini Imerese. Acquedotto Cornelio, torre di partenza del sifone di Barratina



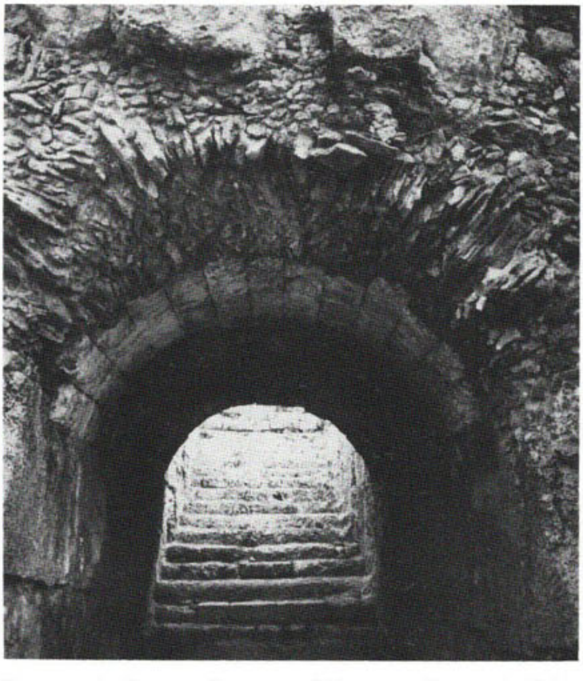
37. Siracusa. Anfiteatro, struttura in opera reticolata



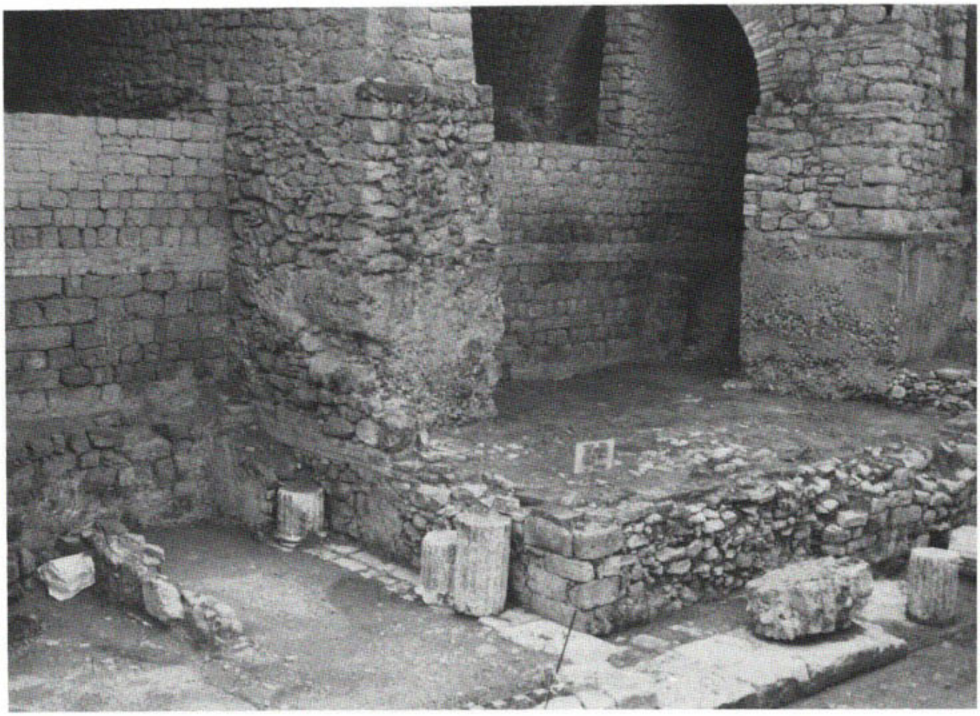
38. Siracusa. Anfiteatro, ammorsatura delle volte a botte e arco in conci squadrati



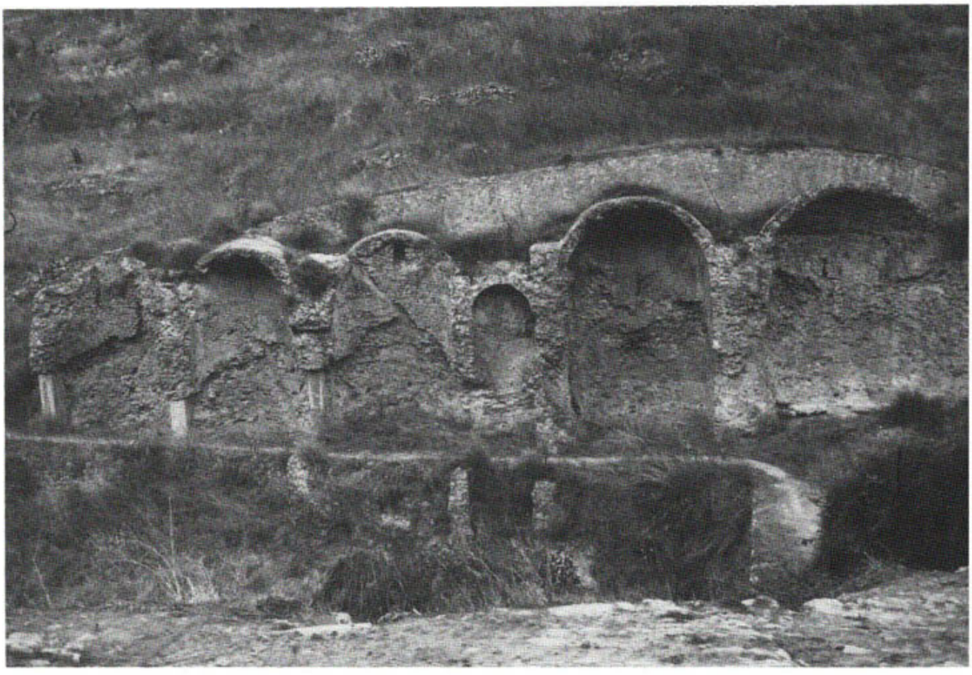
39. Siracusa. Anfiteatro, arco in conci squadrati della *crypta*



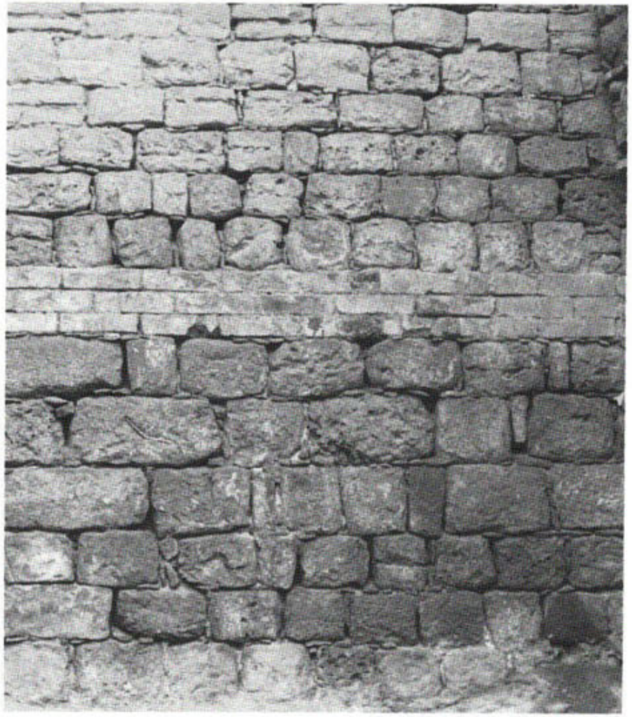
40. Siracusa. Anfiteatro. Struttura della volta di uno degli ingressi



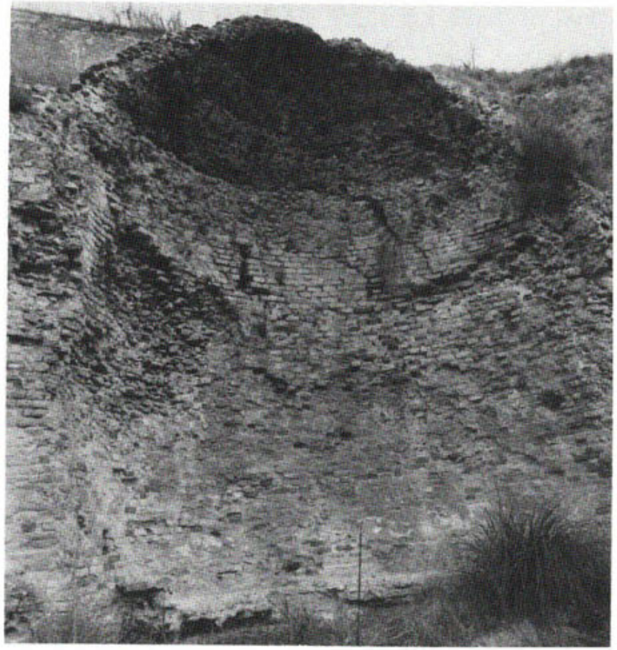
41. Centuripe. Veduta parziale dell'edificio degli *Augustales*



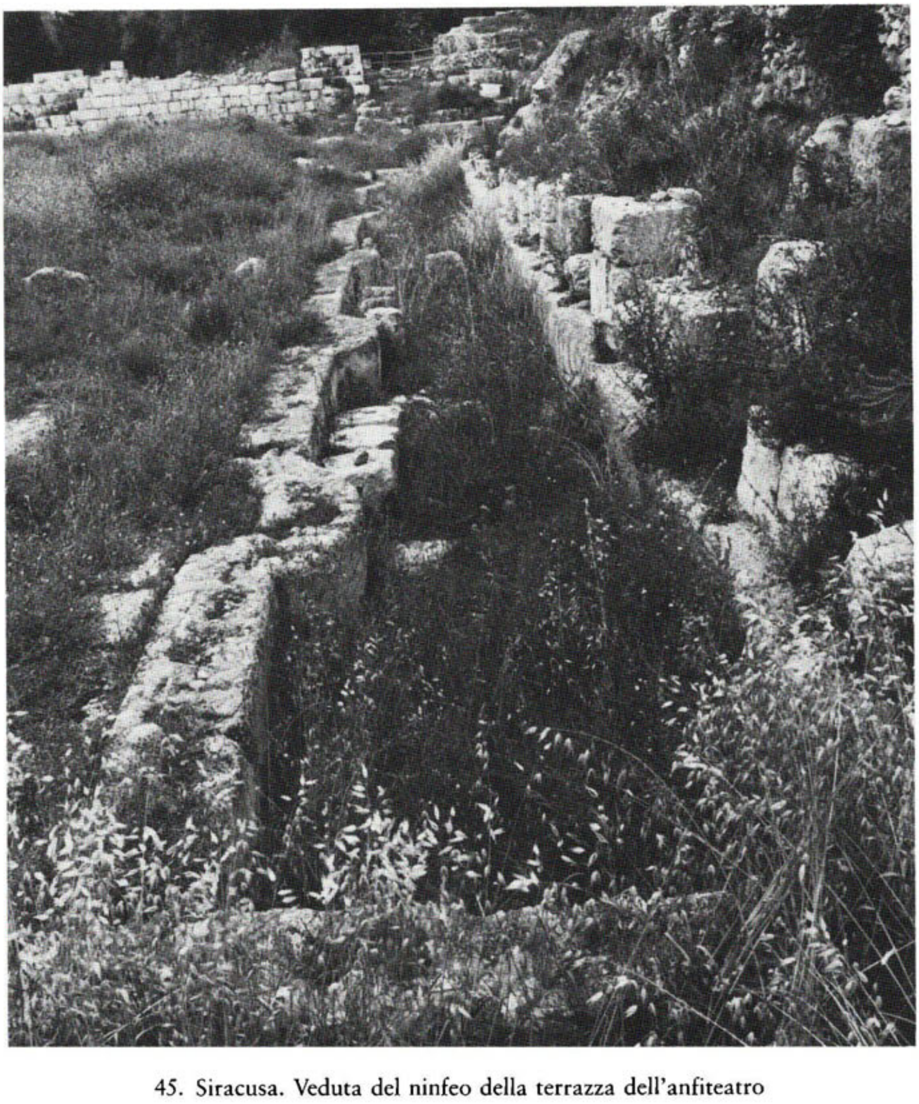
42. Centuripe. Veduta del ninfeo di Vallone Bagni



43. Centuripe. Edificio degli *Augustales*, particolare della struttura



44. Centuripe. Ninfeo di Vallone Bagni, struttura laterizia di uno dei nicchioni



45. Siracusa. Veduta del ninfeo della terrazza dell'anfiteatro

Certamente più colpite furono le città della costa occidentale e meridionale, le più esposte; da Lilibeo, che venne distrutta nel 440, come gli scavi recenti hanno confermato[428], a Caucana[429]; tracce di probabili incursioni si hanno anche nell'interno, nella villa di Montallegro[430], e ci si potrebbe chiedere se il precoce abbandono di parte dell'abitato della Valle dei Templi ad Agrigento[431] non si possa mettere in relazione con gli stessi avvenimenti[432]. Più limitati sembrano invece i danni nelle città della costa orientale, anche se i restauri nel teatro di Catania, attestati dall'iscrizione citata, vanno messi in relazione con una incursione vandala[433]. Gli scavi eseguiti a Siracusa hanno, comunque, messo in rilievo la continuità del tessuto urbano fino a un'epoca molto tarda, la seconda metà del VII secolo, quando ancora furono effettuati lavori di pavimentazione del decumano che attraversava la città, proveniendo dall'Acradina, e si sistemò per l'ultima volta l'arco onorario augusteo[434]; tale continuità di vita è stata confermata dai recenti scavi nella zona di Piazza della Vittoria[435], nonostante che l'invasione della primitiva sede stradale e il suo spostamento a Nord testimonino che le vicende del tessuto urbano non furono sempre tranquille. La stessa notizia del permesso dato da Teodorico per la demolizione dell'anfiteatro di Catania[436] può essere intesa in senso meno drammatico, come ha fatto PACE[437], e del resto la sostanziale integrità del tessuto urbano catanese fino ad epoca bizantina è ben attestata[438].

Non è possibile, quindi, una generalizzazione; alcune città ebbero a soffrire maggiormente per le catastrofi naturali o gli eventi bellici (Lilibeo, Tindari, forse Agrigento); altre in misura minore (Siracusa, Catania, probabilmente Termini e Taormina)[439]. Ancora nel VI secolo nelle città vengono edificate chiese di una certa importanza[440], probabilmente grazie alle risorse finanziarie derivanti all'episcopato locale dalle proprietà terriere[441]; mancano invece attestazioni di interventi sul patrimonio civile, in linea con l'ulteriore indebolimento dei ceti cittadini e il progressivo affermarsi della ruralizzazione della vita isolana[442]. La ripresa delle incursioni, stavolta ad opera degli Arabi, a partire dalla metà del VII secolo, non potè non accentuare il processo di contrazione del tessuto urbano, che appare già concluso nel IX, al momento della invasione araba. A Siracusa, il trasferimento della sede episcopale in Ortigia, prima della fine del VII, concorda con i dati archeologici e dai resoconti della prima spedizione contro la città nell'827 e dell'assedio dell'877–878, appare chiaro che il quartiere di terraferma era ormai ridotto alla zona più vicina all'isola e Acradina e Neapoli sembrano totalmente abbandonate[443].

---

[428] DI STEFANO, in: SicArch 13, 43, cit., p. 16.

[429] PELAGATTI, in: Kokalos 14–15, 1968–1969, p. 356 e in SicArch 5, 18–20, cit., pp. 93–94.

[430] WILSON, in: SicArch 15, 48, 1982, p. 15.

[431] Che non sembra sopravvivere dopo il IV–V secolo, DE MIRO, in: RendLinc (ser. 8) 1, 1957, p. 139.

[432] L'osservazione di strati di incendio nel quartiere ellenistico-romano, che si deve al WILSON, potrebbe confermare questa ipotesi, WILSON, in: SicArch 15, 48, cit., p. 15, nota 18.

[433] V. nota 421. [434] GENTILI, NSc 1951, pp. 266, 273–274.

[435] VOZA, in: Kokalos 23–24, 1976–1977, p. 555.

[436] Cassiod., Variae III, 49.

[437] PACE, ACSA 4, p. 315, ha messo in rilievo che la richiesta di un permesso indica che la demolizione non poteva farsi liberamente e ricorda anche la notizia di una ripresa edilizia a Catania in epoca teodoriciana. La stessa demolizione dell'anfiteatro è giustificata con l'eliminazione e lo sgombero di rovine indecorose.

[438] LIBERTINI, in: ASSO 28, 1932, pp. 242–266.

[439] La necropoli della città bassa di Termini è ancora in uso nel IV secolo, BELVEDERE, in: Kokalos 28–29, 1982–1983, p. 86.

[440] S. L. AGNELLO, XXVII Corso Ravenna, Ravenna 1980, pp. 13–26, per le chiese siracusane.

[441] CRACCO RUGGINI, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 493.

Bibliografia e abbreviazioni

ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt / Rise and Decline of the Roman World (H. Temporini, W. Haase, edd.), Berlin–New York 1972 ss.
Aupert	A. Aupert, Le nymphée de Tipasa et les nymphées et 'septizonia' nord-africains, Rome 1974
Bieber	M. Bieber, The History of the Greek and Roman Theater, Princeton 1961
Blake I	M. E. Blake, Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus, Washington 1947
Blake–Bishop	M. E. Blake–D. Taylor Bishop, Roman Construction in Italy from Nerva through the Antonines, Philadelphia 1973
Bodei Giglioni	G. Bodei Giglioni, Lavori pubblici e occupazione nell'antichità classica, Bologna 1974
Boeselager	D. von Boeselager, Antike Mosaiken in Sizilien, Roma 1983
Boëthius–Ward Perkins	A. Boëthius–J. B. Ward Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture, Harmondsworth 1970
Caputo	G. Caputo, Il teatro di Sabratha e l'architettura teatrale africana, Roma 1959
Carandini, Filosofiana	A. Carandini–A. Ricci–M. De Vos, Filosofiana. La Villa di Piazza Armerina, Palermo 1982
Carta Arch.	Edizione archeologica della carta d'Italia al 100.000, Firenze, I.G.M.
Coupel–Frézouls	P. Coupel–E. Frézouls, Le théâtre de Philippopolis en Arabie, Paris 1956
Crema	L. Crema, L'architettura romana, Torino 1959
De Bernardi Ferrero	D. De Bernardi Ferrero, Teatri classici in Asia Minore, voll. I–IV, Roma 1966–1974
Garzetti	A. Garzetti, L'impero da Tiberio agli Antonini, Bologna 1960
Gentili	G. V. Gentili, Studi e ricerche su l'anfiteatro di Siracusa, in: Palladio N.S. 23, 1973, pp. 3–80

---

[442] Cracco Ruggini, Storia della Sicilia II, p. 495.

[443] Pace, ACSA 4, p. 145; è verosimile che la situazione fosse la stessa già nell'827, M. Amari, Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia, 2. ed., vol. I, Catania 1933, pp. 402–403.

Ginouvès	R. Ginouvès, Le nymphée de Laodicée et les nymphées romains, in: Laodicée du Lycos. Le nymphée, Québec – Paris 1969, pp. 136 – 167
Ginouvès, Argo	R. Ginouvès, Le théâtron à gradins droits et l'odéon d'Argos (Études péloponnésiennes 6), Paris 1972
Grenier III,1	A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, vol. III,1: L'architecture, Paris 1958
Grenier III,2	A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, vol. III,2: L'architecture, Paris 1958
Grenier IV,1	A. Grenier, Manuel d'archéologie gallo-romaine, vol. IV,1: Les monuments des eaux, Paris 1960
Gros	P. Gros, Aurea Templa. Recherches sur l'architecture religieuse de Rome à l'époque d'Auguste, Rome 1976
Hanson	J. A. Hanson, Roman theater-temples, Princeton 1959
Holm – Libertini	A. Holm, Catania antica, trad. di G. Libertini, Catania 1925
Hornbostel Hüttner	G. Hornbostel Hüttner, Studien zur römischen Nischenarchitektur (Stud. Dutch Archeol. & Hist. Soc. 39), Leiden 1979
Houel	J. Houel, Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari, voll. I – III, Paris 1782 – 1785
Jones, Greek City	A. H. M. Jones, The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian, Oxford 1940
Jones, Tardo impero	A. H. M. Jones, Il tardo impero romano, tr. it., Milano 1974 (prima ed. Oxford 1964)
Lanckoroński, Villes	Ch. Lanckoroński, Les villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie, voll. I – II, Paris 1890 – 1893
Lézine	A. Lézine, Architecture romaine d'Afrique, Tunis 1963
Libertini, Centuripe	G. Libertini, Centuripe, Catania 1926
Lugli, Studi minori	G. Lugli, L'architettura in Sicilia nell'età ellenistica e romana, in: Id., Studi minori di topografia antica, Roma 1965, pp. 203 – 222
Lugli, Tecnica	G. Lugli, La tecnica edilizia romana, Roma 1957
Magie	D. Magie, Roman Rule in Asia Minor, Princeton 1950
Mansuelli, Architettura	G. A. Mansuelli, Architettura e città, Bologna 1970
Mansuelli, Urbanistica	G. A. Mansuelli, Urbanistica e architettura della Cisalpina romana fino al III sec. e.n. (Coll. Latomus 111), Bruxelles 1971
Neppi Modona	A. Neppi Modona, Gli edifici teatrali greci e romani, Firenze 1961
Neuerburg	N. Neuerburg, L'architettura delle fontane e dei ninfei nell'Italia antica, Napoli 1965
Pace, ACSA	B. Pace, Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica, voll. I – IV, Città di Castello 1935 – 1949
Romanelli	P. Romanelli, Topografia e archeologia dell'Africa romana, Torino 1970
Santangelo	M. Santangelo, Taormina e dintorni, Roma 1950
Serradifalco, Antichità	D. Lo Faso Pietrasanta di Serradifalco, Le antichità della Sicilia, voll. I – V, Palermo 1834 – 1842
Storia della Sicilia II	AA.VV., La Sicilia antica, vol. II,2 (= Storia della Sicilia, voll. II – III), Napoli 1980

STUCCHI	S. STUCCHI, Architettura cirenaica, Roma 1975
Studi sull'arco	AA.VV., Studi sull'arco onorario romano, Roma 1979
VAN DEMAN	E. B. VAN DEMAN, The Building of the Roman Aqueducts, Washington 1934
WATAGHIN CANTINO	G. WATAGHIN CANTINO, La Sicilia occidentale in età romana: i dati archeologici, in: Un decennio di ricerche archeologiche, vol. II, Roma 1978, pp. 641–654
WILSON, Brick and Tile	R. J. A. WILSON, Brick and Tiles in Roman Sicily, in A. MCWHIRR (Ed.), Roman Brick and Tile. Studies in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire, Oxford 1979

Indice delle illustrazioni

I. Tavole:

I	1	Siracusa. Veduta dell'anfiteatro.
	2	Siracusa. Ingresso principale dell'anfiteatro.
II	3	Siracusa. Veduta dell'arco onorario augusteo.
	4	Siracusa. Pilone dell'arco onorario.
III	5	Taormina. La scena del teatro.
	6	Taormina. Cavea del teatro.
IV	7	Taormina. Teatro, particolare dell'opera laterizia: nicchie *in summa cavea.*
	8	Taormina. Teatro, struttura laterizia della *versura* destra.
V	9	Taormina. Teatro, *porticus in summa cavea.*
	10	Taormina. Teatro, *porticus in summa cavea*: imposta delle crociere sul muro di fondo.
VI	11	Taormina. Teatro, volta a botte di una delle *versurae.*
	12	Taormina. Teatro, particolare della struttura della volta.
VII	13	Taormina. Teatro, struttura laterizia della *versura* di sinistra.
	14	Taormina. Teatro, volta a botte dell'ambulacro esterno.
VIII	15	Taormina. Cavea dell'odeon.
	16	Taormina. Struttura laterizia dell'odeon.
IX	17	Taormina. Struttura laterizia delle terme.
	18	Taormina. Particolare dell'opera cementizia del teatro.
X	19	Catania. Cavea del teatro.
	20	Catania. Ambulacro esterno del teatro.
XI	21	Catania. Ambulacro interno del teatro.
	22	Catania. Volta a botte di uno degli ambulacri interni del teatro.
XII	23–24	Catania. Teatro, particolari delle strutture interne.
	25	Catania. Veduta delle Terme dell'Indirizzo.
XIII	26	Catania. Ambulacro esterno dell'odeon.
	27–28	Catania. Particolari delle strutture dell'odeon.
XIV	29–30	Catania. Anfiteatro, vedute parziali della cavea.
XV	31	Catania. Ambulacro esterno dell'anfiteatro.
	32	Catania. Anfiteatro, ambulacro esterno e strutture radiali.
XVI	33	Siracusa. Portico del c. d. Ginnasio.
	34	Siracusa. Tempietto del c. d. Ginnasio.
XVII	35	Termini Imerese. Acquedotto, ponte in contrada Figurella.
	36	Termini Imerese. Acquedotto Cornelio, torre di partenza del sifone di Barratina.

XVIII	37	Siracusa. Anfiteatro, struttura in opera reticolata.
	38	Siracusa. Anfiteatro, ammorsatura delle volte a botte e arco in conci squadrati.
XIX	39	Siracusa. Anfiteatro, arco in conci squadrati della *crypta*.
	40	Siracusa. Anfiteatro. Struttura della volta di uno degli ingressi.
XX	41	Centuripe. Veduta parziale dell'edificio degli *Augustales*.
	42	Centuripe. Veduta del ninfeo di Vallone Bagni.
XXI	43	Centuripe. Edificio degli *Augustales*, particolare della struttura.
	44	Centuripe. Ninfeo di Vallone Bagni, struttura laterizia di uno dei nicchioni.
XXII	45	Siracusa. Veduta del ninfeo della terrazza dell'anfiteatro.

II. Figure:

1	(dopo p. 348)	Siracusa. La zona monumentale della Neapolis in età romana (da Voza, Kokalos 22–23, 1976–1977, tav. LXXXIX).
2	(p. 351)	Siracusa. Planimetria dell'arco onorario augusteo (da Gentili, NSc 1951, fig. 3).
3	(p. 354)	Siracusa. Planimetria dell'anfiteatro (da Gentili, Palladio N.S. 23, 1973, fig. 13).
4	(p. 359)	Acireale. Pianta del tempietto di Capo Molini (da Libertini, NSc 1952, fig. 3).
5	(dopo p. 364)	Taormina. Pianta del teatro (per gentile concessione della Soprintendenza archeologica di Siracusa).
6	(p. 366)	Taormina. Planimetria dell'odeon (da Pelagatti, Kokalos 22–23, 1976–1977, fig. 4).
7	(dopo p. 368)	Catania. Pianta del teatro e dell'odeon (per gentile concessione della Soprintendenza archeologica di Siracusa).
8	(p. 372)	Catania. Pianta dell'anfiteatro (da Holm – Libertini, tav. II).
9	(p. 374)	Taormina. Planimetria del centro urbano con le terme e l'odeon (da Pelagatti, CrASA 3, 1964, tav. VIII).
10	(p. 376)	Centuripe. Planimetria del ninfeo di Vallone Bagni (da Libertini, Centuripe, tav. F).
11	(p. 381)	Siracusa. Planimetria del c.d. Ginnasio (da Bernabò Brea, NSc 1947, fig. 6).
12	(p. 395)	Catania. Pianta della Rotonda (da Holm – Libertini, tav. I).
13	(p. 396)	Catania. Pianta delle terme dell'Indirizzo (da Holm – Libertini, tav. VIII).
14	(p. 397)	Tindari. Planimetria delle terme (da Bernabò Brea – Cavalier, BdA 1965, fig. 19).
15	(p. 399)	Marsala. Pianta degli scavi di Capo Boeo (da Di Stefano, Kokalos 22–23, 1976–1977, tav. CLXXIII).
16	(p. 402)	Sofiana. Planimetria del complesso termale (da Adamesteanu, BdA 1963, fig. 5).
17	(p. 403)	Vito Soldano. Planimetria del complesso termale (da La Lomia, Kokalos 7, 1961, tav. XXIV, 1).
18	(p. 404)	Siracusa. Pianta del bagno 'Daphne' (da Cultrera, NSc 1954, fig. 1).
19	(p. 405)	Milazzo. Planimetria dell'edificio termale in contrada Reilla (da Griffo, Esplorazione archeologica, tav. III).

La sigillata italica in Sicilia.
Importazione, distribuzione, produzione locale

di ANTONELLA MANDRUZZATO, Palermo

Sommario

Introduzione 415

I. Le importazioni 417

- 1. Siracusa e il siracusano 417
- 2. Catania e il catanese 421
- 3. Messina 421
- 4. Tindari 422
- 5. Halaesa 424
- 6. Cefalù 424
- 7. Himera 425
- 8. Termini Imerese 425
- 9. Solunto 425
- 10. Palermo 428
- 11. Monte Iato 428
- 12. Lilibeo 429
- 13. Agrigento 430
- 14. Camarina 431
- 15. Morgantina 431
- 16. Troina 431
- 17. Pantelleria 432
- 18. Panarea 432
- 19. Lipari 433

II. La distribuzione 436

III. La produzione locale 442

Abbreviazioni e bibliografia 446

Indice delle illustrazioni 448

Introduzione

Questo lavoro intende proporre una serie di dati desunti dall'esame della terra sigillata italica[1] presente in Sicilia; tale esame ha consentito infatti di delineare un quadro delle importazioni e una mappa della distribuzione della ceramica sigillata nell'isola. Non si è trascurata, infine, la possibilità dell'esistenza di una produzione locale, parallela alle importazioni dalla penisola: come si vedrà nel corso del lavoro, l'indagine archeologica deve affrontare ancora molti interrogativi che riguardano questo problema.

I risultati ottenuti nel corso della ricerca non hanno certo la pretesa di essere definitivi; in questa sede si vuole fare il punto della situazione riguardo ad un tema, qual è quello della sigillata italica in Sicilia, che ha attirato l'attenzione degli studiosi in misura assai limitata, ma che merita ulteriori e più vasti approfondimenti.

Il carattere provvisorio di questo bilancio va ascritto a vari fattori, primo fra tutti la parzialità dei dati di scavo, e per la mancanza di esplorazioni sistematiche in tutta l'isola – incrementate solo negli ultimi anni anche nella sua parte occidentale – e per lo scarso interesse che, come abbiamo detto, in un passato non lontano la sigillata romana ha destato rispetto ad altre classi di manufatti.

Ciò si riflette anche nelle pubblicazioni: a tutt'oggi non esistono per quanto riguarda la Sicilia – a conoscenza di chi scrive – studi specifici sul problema di cui ci occupiamo, ma solo alcuni articoli, e poche notizie relative agli scavi più recenti, nei quali si è dato maggior peso al ritrovamento di ceramiche romane. A questo si aggiunga che parte delle segnalazioni si riferisce a rinvenimenti sporadici, e che il più delle volte anche per i pezzi rinvenuti in scavo non viene data alcuna precisazione riguardante qualità e quantità, né la loro descrizione: così diviene arduo ricostruire un quadro, sia pure provvisorio, della distribuzione della ceramica sigillata nell'isola, e segnalarne eventuali centri di irradiazione.

Per avere un quadro della storia degli studi, andando indietro nel tempo troviamo in primo piano la figura di PAOLO ORSI che, per la precisa ed esauriente descrizione dei pezzi, e per l'aver dato alle sigillate un loro posto nell'ambito del materiale romano rinvenuto in Sicilia, costituisce, almeno per la zona sud-orientale dell'isola, un punto di riferimento insostituibile e sempre attuale[2]. Successivamente, lo studioso che si è occupato con maggiore attenzione della sigillata in Sicilia, ponendosi una serie di problemi ancora oggi aperti, è NINO LAMBOGLIA, che pubblicò alcuni articoli, riguardanti gli scavi condotti a Tindari dal '52, il più significativo dei quali tratta il problema di una eventuale produzione isolana di sigillata, in una Sicilia ancora inserita, sia su un piano culturale che più largamente economico, nel traffico mediterraneo in età proto-imperiale[3]. Un altro importante spunto sull'argomento è dato da PAOLA PELAGATTI in un suo articolo del 1970, riguardante lo 'Stato e prospettive degli studi di ceramica romana in Sicilia'[4]: si tratta, è vero, come dice il titolo stesso, di un lavoro di insieme riassuntivo di una situazione esistente, che non porta sostanziali novità; va però rilevato che lo spoglio delle notizie riguardanti i più recenti scavi, da me effettuato, e la visione di una parte dei materiali ancora inediti, non modifica sostanzialmente il quadro allora presentato dalla PELAGATTI.

---

[1] Sotto questa definizione sono state raggruppate sia le sigillate aretine, puteolane, padane, che le tardo-italiche. Per l'uso del termine 'sigillata italica' comprensiva di tutte queste produzioni vale quanto scrive G. PUCCI, in: Ostia III, Studi Miscellanei XXI, 1973, p. 311.

[2] Si veda, ad esempio, quanto detto da ORSI in: AttiIIICStR, p. 353.

Agli articoli menzionati, vanno aggiunte le notizie relative ai rinvenimenti di scavo, in genere, come ho detto, assai povere; mancano invece cataloghi ragionati del materiale ceramico, e quindi quelle opere critiche di sintesi che ad essi dovrebbero far seguito.

L'unica eccezione è data da un lavoro sulla ceramica romana di Morgantina, dovuto a SHELLEY C. STONE, di recente pubblicazione, che porta un valido contributo ed interessanti novità, soprattutto per quanto riguarda la possibile produzione isolana di sigillata[5].

Già in questo primo approccio appare irrinunciabile la dimensione storico-economica, posta dalla natura stessa del materiale, e che si può individuare nel rapporto tra fabbriche attestate – distribuzione nell'isola – punti di provenienza e di smistamento. Questo rapporto merita l'esame più attento, non solo perché può condurci a distinguere le ceramiche importate da quelle eventualmente prodotte sul posto, ma perché ci aiuta ad interpretare correttamente la portata degli scambi economici che tali importazioni sottintendono[6].

---

[3] N. LAMBOGLIA, in: AC XI, 1959, p. 87ss.

[4] P. PELAGATTI, in: ReiCretRomFautActa XI–XII, 1969–70, p. 76ss., in particolare p. 80.

[5] S. C. STONE, Roman Pottery from Morgantina in Sicily I–II, Princeton University, Ph.D. 1981, University Microfilms Int. AnnArbor, Michigan 1985.

[6] Il censimento effettuato durante questa ricerca non copre tutta la sigillata italica presente nell'isola, ma una parte di quella recuperata negli scavi; quanto acquisito da vecchie collezioni o di provenienza incerta è stato volutamente escluso perché non utile ai fini di questo lavoro, che mira a dare un quadro della distribuzione e della quantità di sigillata rinvenuta in suolo siciliano. Nell'ambito del materiale ceramico proveniente da scavo, viene considerato quello pubblicato o segnalato, al quale si aggiungono numerosi pezzi di varie località, come il quartiere ellenistico-romano di Agrigento, o Solunto, o ancora Lipari, che, pur non essendo pubblicati, mi sono stati gentilmente messi a disposizione dai Soprintendenti e da loro collaboratori. Questa puntualizzazione mi è parsa necessaria, in quanto negli scavi più recenti, condotti negli ultimi anni in molte località della Sicilia, sono stati raccolti nuovi elementi riguardanti la ceramica romana, anche per centri dai quali in passato era considerata assente. La mia gratitudine va pertanto a tutti gli studiosi impegnati in tali ricerche, che mi hanno aiutata offrendomi osservazioni ed anticipazioni utili per poter formulare un quadro più completo della reale distribuzione dei materiali ceramici nella Sicilia romana.
Infine, in questa sede non viene ripreso in considerazione il materiale bollato già edito nel CVArr. Esso è stato recentemente proposto nelle tavole di distribuzione dell'articolo di G. PUCCI, La ceramica italica. (Terra sigillata), in: Società romana e produzione schiavistica, II: Merci, mercato e scambi nel Mediterraneo (a cura di A. GIARDINA ed A.

I. Le importazioni

I singoli scavi non hanno restituito grosse quantità di materiale bollato: soprattutto nei siti minori abbiamo non più di uno o due bolli sulla totalità dei pezzi. Ma il rischio di trarre conclusioni affrettate da questa situazione viene a nostro avviso ridotto da un fattore rilevante, che non va sottovalutato: l'ampiezza del ventaglio dei nomi che emerge dalla lettura dei bolli, e che prova la presenza di prodotti di ceramisti aretini, puteolani, e di diversi tra quelli non ancora esattamente collocabili, ma genericamente assegnati all'area centro-italica ed alla Valle Padana – attestazioni che coprono un ampio arco di tempo, sino ai ceramisti tardo-italici –, che ci assicura della costante e continuata immissione dei prodotti della penisola sul mercato siciliano.

Le conclusioni raggiunte in questa analisi si fondano dunque soprattutto su vasellame bollato, sia perché ci consente di gettare le basi per un discorso di carattere economico, sia perché essendo attestati in massima parte frammenti, la forma del bollo è spesso un criterio accettabile per delle indicazioni cronologiche[7].

Nell'illustrare gli esiti della ricerca nei vari siti archeologici, si è seguito un criterio geografico, procedendo da Siracusa verso occidente, in senso antiorario: questa scelta è stata dettata dall'importanza che, anche in età romana, la città ha rivestito nella politica, nell'economia e nella cultura dell'isola.

1. Siracusa e il siracusano

Sin dal 1890, P. Orsi dà notizia del ritrovamento di sigillata in questa città, dalla quale proviene il maggior numero di segnalazioni di rinvenimenti[8].

Schiavone), Bari 1981, tavv. XVII–XXI, pp. 104–105; 108–109; 112–113; 116–119. Rispetto al panorama offerto da tale censimento, abbiamo diverse novità, soprattutto per quanto riguarda i centri dell'interno dell'isola. Il Pucci stesso, peraltro, mette in guardia dalla inevitabile parzialità della propria raccolta di dati, notando che le tavole, pur „integrate in più casi con l'evidenza – edita o inedita – nota all'autore, ... rimangono comunque approssimate per difetto" (p. 100).

[7] Sulla scorta delle osservazioni avanzate da Goudineau, p. 352 ss.

[8] Ad Orsi, oltre le scoperte del 1890–91 ad Ortygia, segnalate in: NSc 1891, p. 386, si devono: la pubblicazione di pochi frammenti, tra i quali uno bollato, dagli scavi dell'Artemision di Scala Greca del 1900, in: NSc 1900, p. 376; quella dei frammenti, alcuni dei quali decorati, dagli strati romani intorno all'Athenaion, scavi 1912–17, in: MALinc XXV, 1919, coll. 560–61, fig. 151, ed il rinvenimento di un gruppo di pezzi, tra cui un vaso puteolano decorato di Atticus di Naevius, del massimo interesse, a S. Lucia nel 1916, vd. NSc 1920, p. 314 ss. e fig. 8. Successivamente, negli anni '40 e '50, G. Cultrera e G. V. Gentili proseguirono nell'attività di ricerca, arricchendo il campionario di t.s.it. del Museo Archeologico, ma il materiale ceramico scoperto è sempre piuttosto limitato nei singoli scavi. Negli anni più vicini a noi, P. Pelagatti e

Ma sino alla pubblicazione degli scavi più recenti la fisionomia generale dei ritrovamenti non appare alterata: ci troviamo di fronte a prodotti importati che non raggiungono mai grosse quantità in un solo scavo.

La situazione è ben riassunta da P. PELAGATTI nell'articolo citato alla nota 4, quando osserva che un censimento dell'aretina conservata al Museo di Siracusa non potrebbe basarsi su „la presenza di forti nuclei di recente acquisizione da scavi sistematici"[9].

Tra i pezzi bollati restituiti dagli scavi siracusani, ne vanno segnalati alcuni con sigle di ceramisti italici, tra cui diversi aretini, e di tardo-italici, più parecchi privi di bollo non attribuibili con certezza, tra i quali taluni probabilmente sud-gallici.

La produzione di sigillata aretina è rappresentata dai bolli di Avillius[10] (Tav. I, 1), Camurius[11] (Tav. I, 2), (P.) Cornelius[12], Crispinius[13], Ra(sinius)[14], L. Tettius Samia[15]. Si tratta di ceramisti segnalati nelle liste di OXÉ, e, con l'eccezione di Camurius e Crispinius, per i quali avanza delle riserve, considerati aretini anche dal COMFORT. Abbiamo inoltre l'attestazione del *cognomen* di un lavorante, Hospes di L. Umbricius, anch'egli probabilmente di Arezzo[16].

Accanto agli aretini, compaiono un bollo di Atticus, lavorante del Naevius puteolano[17], alcuni di liberti di Ateius: Zoilus (Tav. I, 3), Euhodus (?) e Xanthus[18], e ancora bolli di Cn. Ateius Arretinus ed Ateius Mahes, probabilmente tardo-puteolani[19], infine uno di C. Marius ed uno di Sex Murrius[20], le cui fabbriche non sono localizzate.

G. VOZA hanno effettuato nuove scoperte durante varie esplorazioni, tra le quali particolarmente importante quella condotta all'Apollonion tra il 1964 ed il '69, vd. Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale, a cura di P. PELAGATTI e di G. VOZA, Siracusa 1973, p. 76.

[9] P. PELAGATTI, in: ReiCretRomFautActa XI – XII, 1969 – 70, p. 80.

[10] CVArr, 226. Il bollo è in p.p.

[11] Su questo ceramista, e sui problemi posti dalla lettura del suo nome, vd. quanto viene detto in: CVArr, 397.

[12] Vd. CVArr, 471 e 479: a Siracusa è attestato sia col *praenomen*, che senza; in entrambi i casi, il bollo è centrale e rettangolare.

[13] COMFORT non dà per certa la sua appartenenza ad Arezzo: CVArr, 561.

[14] La lettura è incerta, poiché il bollo è incompleto: *RA* . . . in p.p.

[15] Attestato tre volte, sempre in bollo rettangolare. CVArr, 1968.

[16] Anche per L. Umbricius non è certa la provenienza. Per Hospes vd. CVArr, 2438.

[17] Il vaso di Atticus (inv. 37101), è assai interessante, sia nella prospettiva di uno studio sempre più approfondito della ceramica puteolana, sia per gli spunti di ricerca che vengono offerti dal suo schema iconografico, che saranno approfonditi in altra sede. Per il bollo vd. CVArr, 1088.

[18] Per i tre vd.: CVArr, 181; ibid., 161; ibid., 177: a proposito di Xanthus, assai interessanti e calzanti anche per molti bolli siciliani le osservazioni di PUCCI, Instrumentum, p. 15, che portano lo studioso ad ipotizzare l'esistenza di uno Xanthus puteolano: in particolare, va detto che i bolli da me letti come Xanthus presentano spesso quelle 'legature' e quei segni 'quasi crittografici', che contraddistinguono molti dei pezzi pompeiani.

[19] H. COMFORT, in: ReiCretRomFautActa VI, 1962, p. 5 ss., e PUCCI, Instrumentum, p. 14. Per il bollo vd. CVArr, 151, per Cn. Ateius Arretinus; ibid., 148 e 168 per Cn. Ateius Mahes.

[20] Vd. CVArr, 975 e 1052: entrambi i bolli in p.p.

Compaiono sia i bolli centrali, rettangolari ed ovali, che quelli in p.p.: avremmo dunque, sulla base della cronologia formulata da CH. GOUDINEAU, sia materiale databile tra il 15 – 10 a. C. ed il 15 d. C. circa, che posteriore a questa data.

Quanto al repertorio delle forme, nell'ambito della ceramica contraddistinta dal bollo, abbiamo la DRAGENDORFF 27 (fig. A, b) (Tav. II, 1), la GOUDINEAU 39 (fig. A, a) (Tav. VIII, 3), e la GOUDINEAU 43; non assegnabili ad una fabbrica determinata, perché prive di bollo, ma sempre nell'ambito delle italiche, la GOUDINEAU 21, la 37, e la 38, anche nella variante con carena più bassa (fig. A, c).

Inoltre, tra le forme decorate, una ascrivibile al tipo V DRAGENDORFF – WATZINGER (fig. A, d)[21], e infine, con bollo in p.p. anepigrafe sul fondo interno, va segnalata un'interessante coppetta a pareti emisferiche e labbro a sezione triangolare decorato alla rotella, vicinissima ad una forma che PUCCI considera „prettamente campana", attestata a Pompei (fig. A, e)[22].

Un altro dato interessante è ricavabile da alcune delle coppe GOUDINEAU 37: pur presentando il profilo proprio agli esemplari di questo tipo, il labbro appare leggermente modificato, avvicinandosi notevolmente a quello della GOUDINEAU 40, e portando quindi la datazione di questi pezzi verso il 20 d. C. (fig. A, f)[23].

Si tratta dunque di forme aperte, e nella massima parte lisce, eccezion fatta per il vaso di Atticus (Tav. III, 1) ed alcuni frammenti (Tav. II, 3), di cui una parte non italici. Accanto ai pezzi dalla forma ricostruibile, molti frammenti quasi illeggibili: comunque, almeno nell'ambito dei materiali degli scavi di cui ho potuto prendere visione, la quantità complessiva della sigillata italica è piuttosto limitata.

Per tutta la zona del siracusano esistono segnalazioni di rinvenimenti ceramici romani, dovute soprattutto ad ORSI, e la sigillata italica è presente, anche se sempre in piccole quantità.

Le segnalazioni provengono da Eloro[24]; Avola[25]; Akrai[26], dove, precisamente in contrada Aguglia, P. PELAGATTI e G. CURCIO hanno dissepolto una fattoria ellenistico-romana; Floridia[27]; Megara Hyblaea[28]; Melilli[29]; Augusta[30].

I rinvenimenti, tranne che nella fattoria di Aguglia, sono sempre esigui; si tratta infatti di pochi frammenti, talvolta bollati, di ceramica liscia o con

---

[21] DRAGENDORFF – WATZINGER, Abb. 2, V.

[22] PUCCI, Instrumentum, p. 15 e tav. II, 8.

[23] GOUDINEAU, p. 307.

[24] Vi condussero scavi P. ORSI e, successivamente, E. MILITELLO. Cfr. E. MILITELLO, in: MALinc XLVII, 1966, col. 310 e nota 1.

[25] G. FIORELLI, in: NSc 1884, p. 255.

[26] G. CURCIO, in: NSc 1970, p. 455 ss.

[27] P. ORSI, in: NSc 1912, p. 358. Dalla descrizione dell'Orsi, non possiamo avere la certezza che il materiale presentato sia t.s.it.

[28] P. ORSI, in: MALinc I, 1890, col. 762.

[29] P. ORSI, in: NSc 1889, p. 390.

[30] G. V. GENTILI, in: FA X, 4303.

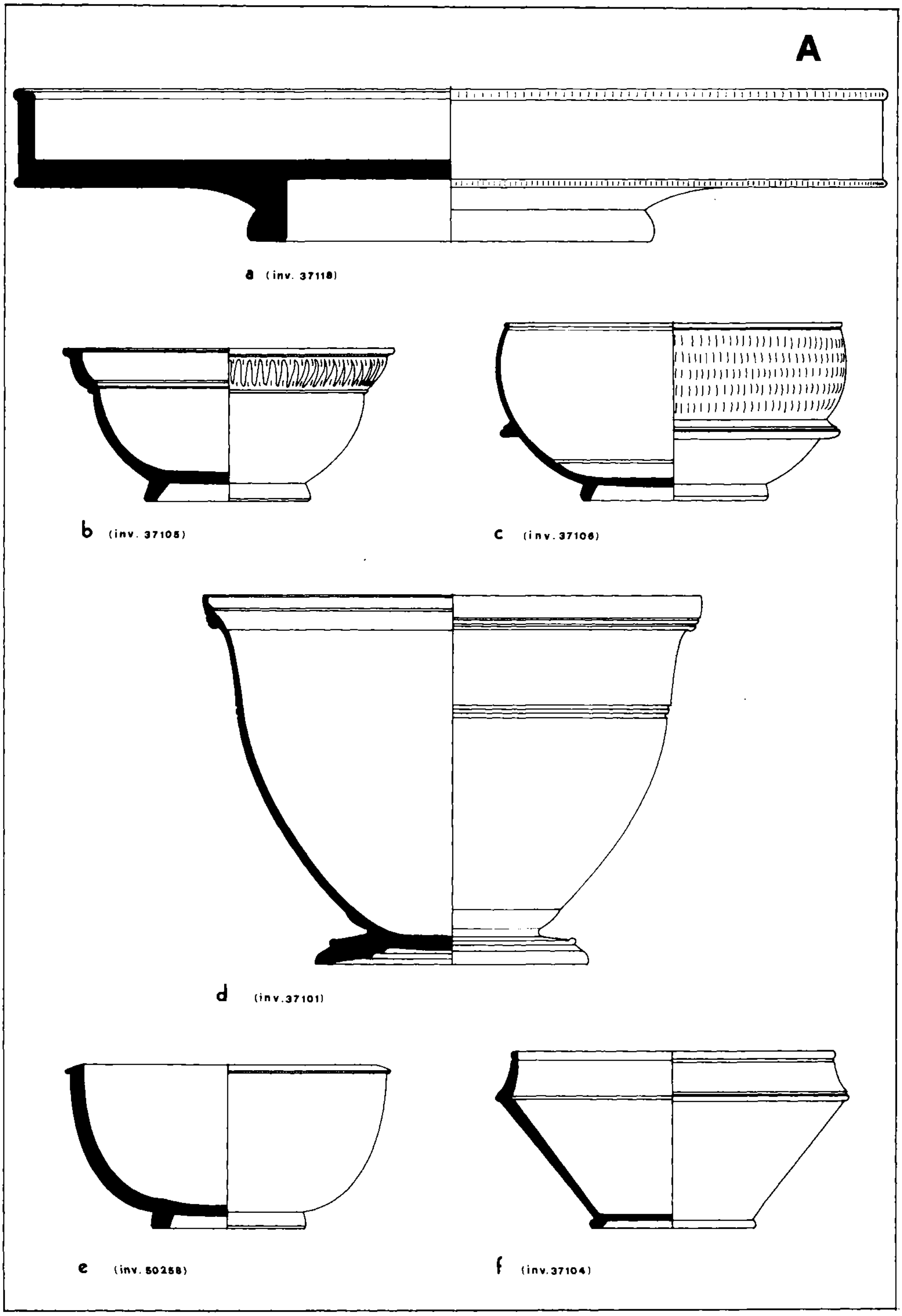

A
a (inv. 37118)
b (inv. 37105)
c (inv. 37106)
d (inv. 37101)
e (inv. 50258)
f (inv. 37104)

Fig. A. Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Siracusa decorazioni applicate. La sua presenza è dunque significativa soltanto come testimonianza della diffusione della sigillata nella parte sud-orientale dell'isola. La fattoria di Aguglia, pur restituendo una maggior quantità di materiale, ci dà anch'essa pezzi lisci o tutt'al più decorati da qualche motivo geometrico. Tra le forme, vanno segnalate la GOUDINEAU 32 e la GOUDINEAU 38.

La situazione del siracusano si configura, dunque, piuttosto chiaramente: Siracusa, centro politico dell'isola anche in età imperiale romana, e porto dal traffico sempre vivo, è uno scalo obbligato per le navi che dal Tirreno sono dirette in Grecia, Siria, Egitto; punto focale anche per il commercio marittimo locale, importa la sigillata che poi, in parte, irradia nei centri minori dell'entroterra, dove la portata dei rinvenimenti è nettamente inferiore a quella del centro urbano principale[31].

2. Catania e il catanese

Per Catania abbiamo l'indicazione di un rinvenimento di aretina in sepoltura, dovuto a PAOLO ORSI[32]. Gli scavi che in questi anni si stanno svolgendo nella città, in particolare a cura dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università, daranno certo nuovi contributi per la conoscenza della sigillata, data l'importanza che ebbe Catania in età romana come porto e soprattutto come caricatore di grano, e quindi centro di intensi rapporti commerciali.

Dal sito dell'antica Palikè, presso Mineo, P. PELAGATTI segnala la presenza di aretina sparsa attorno al luogo di un arcaico edificio di culto[33]. Assieme ad essa sono state rinvenute sia ceramica a vernice nera, che terra sigillata chiara, fatto che testimonia la frequentazione del sito sino ad età imperiale romana; fino ad ora, sono rari in Sicilia i casi del rinvenimento di ceramica sigillata in un luogo sacro, pertanto la sua presenza a Palikè acquista un valore particolare nel quadro della distribuzione di questa classe di manufatti. Un altro interessante esempio della presenza di sigillata in un'area sacra è quello di Bitalemi, dove, dal santuario alla foce del Gela, ORLANDINI segnala aretina associata a monete, dallo strato corrispondente al I sec. d. C.[34].

3. Messina

Anche da Messina, centro nevralgico delle rotte per Pozzuoli ed Ostia, per la Grecia, l'Africa e l'Egitto, non vi sono segnalazioni di rinvenimenti recenti; del resto neppure dal più vasto scavo romano che vi sia stato compiuto, quello della necropoli indagata da P. ORSI nel 1916, è emersa sigillata italica. Vi è però da ricordare che ORSI non potè sondare tutta l'area cemeteriale, e che quindi i risultati della sua indagine sono parziali[35]. La situazione rivelata dalle sepolture messinesi, come vedremo più dettagliatamente parlando della distribuzione, non si discosta, comunque, da quella delle altre necropoli siciliane di età romana proto-imperiale.

---

[31] Per le rotte commerciali tra i centri costieri siciliani e gli altri porti mediterranei in età antica vd.: COLUMBA, pp. 20; 47; 67; 123 ss. HEICHELHEIM, pp. 729; 841; 981 ss. ROUGÉ, p. 85 ss. e 136 ss. Tutte le notizie relative alle rotte commerciali, riportate in questo lavoro, sono desunte dagli studi sopra citati.

[32] P. ORSI, in: NSc 1915, p. 217.

[33] P. PELAGATTI, in: BArte LI, 1966, 1–2, pp. 106–107.

[34] P. ORLANDINI, in: BArte LI, 1966, 1–2, pp. 100–101.

4. Tindari

In questa località sono state rinvenute ceramiche d'importazione – sia aretina che di altre provenienze – in discreta quantità[36]. I pezzi che ho visto, tutti esposti nell'Antiquarium[37], sono stati rinvenuti all'interno dell'antico centro urbano, e precisamente in edifici privati, canali di scolo e cisterne: essi provengono da scavi effettuati da BERNABÒ BREA all'inizio degli anni '60. Questi hanno restituito vari frammenti di vasi decorati a rilievo, tra cui uno a calice, quasi interamente ricostruito, di non accuratissima fattura, privo del bollo del ceramista (fig. B, a; Tav. III, 3; 4)[38]. Ancora, va segnalato un bel frammento con Nereide su di un ippocampo, che con la destra regge un elmo (Tav. IV, 4)[39]. Merita un cenno anche un grosso frammento di parte superiore di parete e bordo di vaso a calice, con una raffinata decorazione di festoni vegetali e rosette ad otto petali (inv. 289).

Accanto a questi pezzi più pregevoli, il materiale liscio: sono attestate le forme GOUDINEAU 21 (fig. B, c; Tav. IV, 3); 37; 41 (fig. B, b); ed una assai vicina al *catinus palmipedalis* B – 2B' – 37, p. 167, di GOUDINEAU (fig. B, d).

Scarseggiano i bolli, tra i quali uno di Cn. Ateius ed un secondo, di non agevole lettura, probabilmente di Eros di C. Annius, aretino. Sempre di Arezzo, un bollo esterno attribuibile a M. Perennius Bargathes. Abbiamo poi attestati un marchio di Roscius ed uno di Messenus Sindaeus, dei quali è ignoto il

---

[35] P. ORSI, in: MALinc XXIV, 1917 – 18, col. 9 ss. dell'estratto.

[36] L. BERNABÒ BREA – M. CAVALIER, in: BArte L, 1965, 3 – 4, p. 208.

[37] Non è stato possibile esaminare il materiale dei Magazzini, in corso di sistemazione.

[38] Tindari, Antiquarium, inv. 126. Del vaso, incompleto, si conservano il bordo, pressoché verticale, ornato da quattro fanciulle musicanti rappresentate di spalle, gradienti verso sinistra e con lira in mano, e parte del corpo, con la figura di una danzatrice con strumento nella sinistra (cfr. DRAGENDORFF – WATZINGER, Beilage II, 11 e p. 103 ss.; da un vaso a Dresda con bollo esterno di (M. Perennius Sat)*VRN*(us)). La figura di un musico seduto, di profilo, verso sinistra (cfr. OXÉ, tav. II, 1 d, pp. 41 – 42: stesso soggetto su di un vaso da Xanten di M. Perennius Tigranus); e infine quella di un satiro con pelle svolazzante dietro le spalle, braccia alzate a reggere il flauto, volto a sinistra (cfr. STENICO, Cer.Arr.I, p. 57, fig. 51, e tav. 2, 1).

[39] Tindari, Antiquarium, inv. 2364. Vicinissimo al motivo di un punzone da New York, Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 26.81.3; cfr. STENICO, Cer.Arr.II, tav. 3, 5 a b.

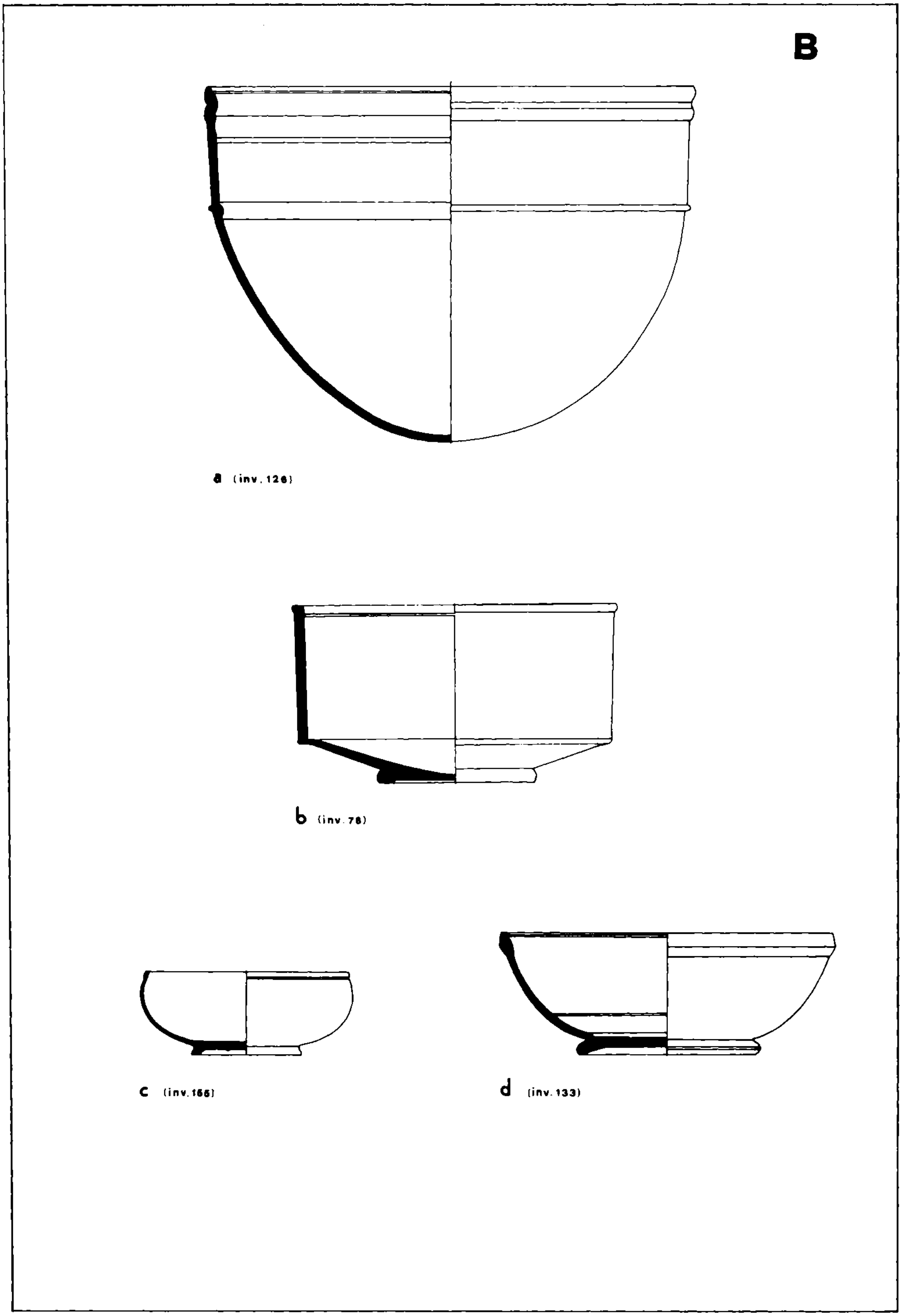

B
a (inv. 126)
b (inv. 78)
c (inv. 166)
d (inv. 133)

Fig. B. Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Tindari luogo di produzione, ed infine, su di un piatto, quello del fabbricante *C.P.P.*, tardo-italico[40].

5. Halaesa

Nel corso di alcune campagne di scavo condotte negli anni '50 Carettoni rinvenne una certa quantità di ceramica sigillata italica; sia nell'esplorazione delle mura urbiche, che nello scavo della città vera e propria e dei suoi santuari, si rinvennero diversi esemplari, di cui alcuni bollati: tra i timbri, leggibili uno di Cissu di Rasinius ed un altro di Domitius, entrambi di provenienza aretina. Ambedue i bolli sono interni e rettangolari[41]. Va inoltre segnalato un bollo in p.p. di Camurius, anch'egli aretino[42].

Alcuni dei frammenti rinvenuti presentano decorazioni applicate, ma per la maggior parte si tratta di forme completamente lisce di uso assai comune, coppe e piatti: diffusa appare la Goudineau 38.

Nonostante Halaesa abbia avuto un ruolo piuttosto importante durante l'occupazione romana – era caricatore di grano per la parte settentrionale dell'isola – non è segnalata nella città la presenza di fornaci di vasellame per il periodo che a noi interessa. Va detto inoltre che la quantità di ceramica rinvenuta è decisamente limitata, né gli scavi condotti negli ultimi anni dalla Soprintendenza di Siracusa hanno modificato questo quadro, restituendo scarse testimonianze del nostro materiale. Abbondantissimi, invece, i frammenti di sigillata chiara, presente ad Halaesa in misura piuttosto cospicua.

Dai dati ricavabili sino ad oggi dagli scavi, durante il I secolo appare una regressione nelle importazioni di sigillata, ampiamente superata nel corso del II.

6. Cefalù

Durante l'opera di restauro del Duomo di Cefalù, tuttora in corso, sono stati condotti dei saggi di controllo sia all'interno che all'esterno dell'edificio. Dal sondaggio effettuato presso la torre sud, dove si sono rinvenuti i resti di una strada pavimentata a basole, provengono pochi frammenti di sigillata italica[43].

---

[40] Vd. CVArr, 145 per Cn. Ateius; ibid., 83 r, per Eros di Annius; ibid., 1254, per Bargathes; ibid., 1586 per Roscius; ibid., 1017, per Messenus Sindaeus; infine, per C. *P*() *P*(), ibid., 1191.

[41] G. Carettoni, in: NSc 1959, p. 334. Per Cissu-Rasini vd. CVArr, 1504. Domitius è probabilmente il P. Domitius di Arezzo, vd. CVArr, 607.

[42] Per i problemi relativi a questo ceramista vd. supra, nota 11.

[43] A. Tullio, Mostra di documenti e testimonianze figurative della Basilica ruggeriana di Cefalù, luglio – settembre 1982, Palermo 1982, pp. 52 – 53.

7. Himera

Dalla fattoria ellenistico-romana di Canne Masche, non lontana da Himera, proviene qualche frammento di sigillata, sia dagli ambienti del settore nord, che da quelli del settore sud[44]. In particolare, da quest'ultimo, sono affiorati il fondo di una coppetta bollata (Eros in cartiglio rettangolare) e dei frammenti di cui uno decorato[45].

8. Termini Imerese

Già nel 1838 B. ROMANO dà notizia del rinvenimento di alcuni vasi frammentari tra i quali „un fondo verniciato con bollo in rilievo"[46], che risulta appartenere ad Anthus, lavorante di P. Cornelius di Arezzo[47].

Al Museo di Termini sono conservati diversi fondi di piatti, qualche frammento di coppetta, e parte del bordo di un vaso, tutti di terra sigillata italica. Da una notizia di ROMANO, si desume che almeno una parte dei frammenti termitani proverrebbe da un sepolcro[48].

Probabilmente da sepolcri delle necropoli di Piano S. Antonio e di Giancaniglia provengono anche quattro coppette e due piatti di grandi dimensioni conservati al Museo Regionale di Palermo: il quadro che si ha in questo momento della sigillata di Termini mostra dunque una provenienza cemeteriale dei pezzi. Dal centro urbano, che solo negli anni più recenti è stato interessato da indagini archeologiche, ancora limitate, va segnalato il rinvenimento di un frammento bollato *A.T()FI*, in un saggio condotto in piazza Vittorio Emanuele[49].

9. Solunto

Rispetto alla somma delle ceramiche romane rinvenute, ed anche rispetto alle varie classi della campana, la sigillata italica a Solunto non raggiunge un'alta percentuale, ma si tratta pur sempre di una buona quantità di materiale, specie se posto a confronto con i ritrovamenti di terra sigillata di altri centri siciliani indagati[50].

---

[44] N. BONACASA, in: Himera II, nota 106, p. 658, e tav. CIX,4.

[45] M. T. PIRAINO MANNI, in: Himera II, p. 701, n. 299. Il fondo bollato Eros non va però datato a mio avviso nel II sec., poiché tutti i ceramisti e i lavoranti attestati con questo nome appartengono al I.

[46] B. ROMANO, Antichità termitane, Palermo 1838, p. 78.

[47] Vedi CVArr, 482.

[48] Il ROMANO indica un sepolcro dietro il convento dei Padri Riformati di S. Antonio.

[49] O. BELVEDERE, in: SicA XV, 1982, 48, p. 37 e nota 3 a p. 44.

[50] Sulla ceramica aretina di Solunto, una segnalazione di V. TUSA, in: Kokalos IV, 1958, p. 154, dove si rileva la scarsità di tale ceramica rinvenuta nell'antico centro. Successiva-

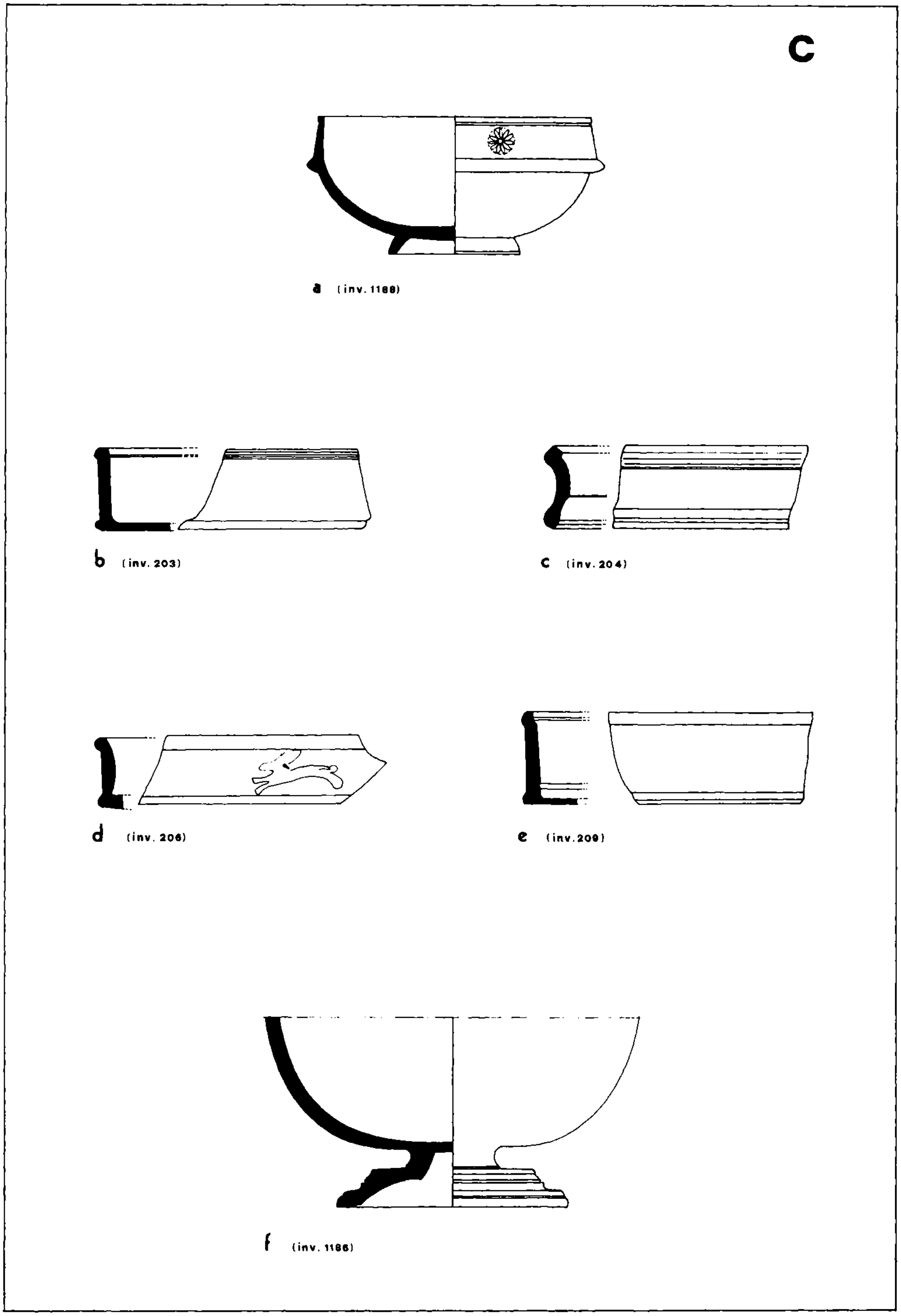

C
a (inv. 1188)
b (inv. 203)
c (inv. 204)
d (inv. 206)
e (inv. 209)
f (inv. 1186)

Fig. C. Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Solunto

I pezzi schedati comprendono prevalentemente piatti e coppe a superficie liscia, o con decorazioni applicate: tra le forme delle coppe, largamente attestata è la Goudineau 38 (fig. C, a). Tra i piatti, numerose varianti del tipo Goudineau 39 (figg. C, b; C, c; C, d; C, e).

Vi sono però anche alcuni frammenti di vasi a calice e grosse coppe emisferiche, con decorazione da matrice, tra cui un ampio frammento di parete, conservato a Solunto (inv. 2085), con un'accurata e raffinata ornamentazione di Vittorie alate alla guida di un cocchio. Anche la vernice è in buono stato di conservazione.

Oltre a questo, vanno segnalati in particolare la parte inferiore del calice di un vaso Dragendorff Im, con piede molto articolato dalle modanature, decorato con foglie cuoriformi e fregio vegetale (fig. C, f), e resti di un grande vaso scampanato comprendenti parte del bordo e della metà superiore della parete, e l'ansa decorata da una protome barbata (inv. 1185) (Tav. IV, 1), entrambi conservati al Museo Regionale di Palermo. Essi, però, denotano minor cura nell'esecuzione rispetto al pezzo esposto a Solunto.

Tra i figuli attestati vi sono gli aretini Cornelius, con tre esemplari, due in p.p. (Tav. VI, 3) ed uno rettangolare; Protus di Calidius, bollo rettangolare (Tav. V, 3); Titius, bollo quadrato; Secundus di Publius, bollo rettangolare (Tav. V, 4), ed il ceramista che si firma *C.M()R()*, bollo in p.p.

Accanto a questi, vi sono inoltre Avillius con bollo in p.p. (Tav. VI, 1); e Felix di L. Saufeius Gausa, bollo rettangolare. Infine, due bolli di Euhodus di Ateius, ed uno, rettangolare, forse di Ateius stesso. Tra quelli di lettura incerta, uno, in p.p., attribuibile a *C. CAE(sius?) CL(emens)*, aretino, e sempre in p.p. un altro di *Sex M(urrius)T()*, la cui fabbrica non è stata individuata[51].

Il materiale di Solunto, inoltre, consente di verificare un elemento importante per il problema delle importazioni di terra sigillata italica nella Sicilia occidentale; le datazioni deducibili dalla forma dei bolli conservatisi oscillano infatti tra il 15 – 10 a. C., 15 d. C. circa, per la presenza di bolli centrali rettangolari, ed il 15 d. C. in poi, per l'attestazione dei bolli in p.p.

In particolare, indicativa di una data piuttosto alta per l'inizio delle importazioni, è la presenza di un bollo di A. Titius, uno dei primi fabbricanti aretini (Tav. VI,2): la sua forma, quadrata, con la dicitura *A. TIT/FIGV* disposta su due linee, appare su una serie di esemplari, che consentono di porlo verso il 20 – 15 a. C. circa[52].

---

mente alla data di pubblicazione del suo articolo, la Soprintendenza di Palermo ha condotto altri scavi nell'abitato, i cui materiali ceramici ho potuto in parte esaminare sia al Museo di Palermo, che a quello di Solunto.

[51] Per Cornelius vd. supra, nota 12; per Protus-Calidi vd. CVArr, 382; Secundus di Publius, ibid., 1442; *C. M() R()*, ibid., 979; per Avillius vedi supra, nota 10; per Felix di Saufeius, CVArr, 1695; per Ateius, ibid., 145; per il suo liberto ibid., 160 – 161; per *C. CAE(sius?) CL(emens)*, ibid., 354; infine per *SEX M(urrius) T()*, ibid., 1060.

[52] Per Titius, oltre al n. 2002, vedi la nota introduttiva sull'attività e la cronologia in CVArr, 1998.

10. Palermo

Palermo, che pure fu il principale porto della costa settentrionale siciliana, ha restituito per ora ben poco vasellame italico; vedremo come esso sia totalmente assente dalla necropoli, mentre dalla città IDA TAMBURELLO segnala soltanto alcuni fondi bollati, tra cui uno – con palmetta in cartiglio ovale – attribuibile agli ultimi decenni prima di Cristo: siamo sempre in presenza di ceramiche d'importazione.

A riprova di quanto accennato nei suoi articoli, la TAMBURELLO mi ha confermato che gli strati del periodo proto-imperiale sono i più poveri di ogni tipo di rinvenimento, ed in particolare di terra sigillata[53].

La povertà dei rinvenimenti di sigillata italica è evidente all'esame del materiale pubblicato: si tratta di pochi pezzi, messi in luce durante gli scavi condotti all'Istituto De Cosmi nel 1940, e durante quelli presso la chiesa di S. Cataldo nel 1948, che costituiscono sino ad ora il nucleo principale di ceramica sigillata restituita dal terreno. Sono frammenti di piatti e coppette, tutti a superficie liscia e di qualità piuttosto buona; su due di essi spiccano i bolli di C. Murrius e di Rufrenus[54], entrambi figuli di Arezzo: i due timbri confermano l'origine d'importazione del materiale.

E' impossibile, allo stato attuale degli studi, valutare per Palermo la reale consistenza delle importazioni di sigillata italica, che resta dunque un problema aperto.

Tutto l'entroterra tra palermitano e trapanese, lungo la linea Alcamo–Poggioreale–Salaparuta–Santa Ninfa, è popolato da centri agricoli di età romana ed ellenistico-romana, dove si è rinvenuto qualche frammento di sigillata italica d'importazione[55].

11. Monte Iato

La missione dell'Università di Zurigo, diretta da H. P. ISLER, ha messo in luce in diversi punti dell'area urbana del Monte Iato – in particolare nella zona a Sud del tempio di Afrodite, nell'area del teatro e nella casa a peristilio – una buona quantità di sigillata, spesso in ottimo stato, e talvolta con i bolli di fabbrica; il dato più significativo è l'ottima qualità dei pezzi, tra i quali alcuni decorati a rilievo con repertori fitomorfi o figure umane.

---

[53] Ciò è ovviamente dovuto all'uso protratto nei secoli delle aree abitabili della città, che è stata sempre popolata nel corso della sua storia, uso che ha provocato un continuo sconvolgimento degli strati archeologici. Il danno maggiore è imputabile comunque agli ultimi decenni di sfrenata espansione edilizia. Notizie sulla ceramica romana rinvenuta negli scavi palermitani dà I. TAMBURELLO, in: Kokalos XVII, 1971, p. 88, ed in: SicA XIII, 1980, 43, p. 68, e fig. 7, p. 71.

[54] Vd. CVArr, 1044, e ibid., 1599.

[55] Per Alcamo: C. TRASSELLI, in: SicA III, 1970, 12, p. 21. Per Poggioreale (contrada Mandra di Mezzo): G. FALSONE, in: SicA IX, 1976, 31, p. 28. Per Salaparuta (contrada Cusumano): G. FALSONE, in: SicA IX, 1976, 31, p. 36. Per S. Ninfa: B. TODARO, in: SicA VI, 1973, 21–22, pp. 63–64.

Tutta la sigillata finora segnalata è d'importazione, tranne un vaso a calice decorato a rilievo, simile ad un esemplare pubblicato dal LAMBOGLIA come 'sigillata siciliana', che rimane per il momento un dato isolato nel contesto archeologico di Iato.

Tra i materiali pubblicati vengono segnalati un piatto del tipo GOUDINEAU 15, uno tipo 19c, un altro 36b, uno 39; inoltre, una coppetta GOUDINEAU 38, e, tra i vasi decorati a rilievo, un pezzo di forma DRAGENDORFF Im.

Diversi i bolli attestati: abbiamo infatti pezzi delle fabbriche di Titius (*APPELLES/TITI*); Perennius; Rasinius (*FIRMV/RASINI*); Domitius e Cn. Ateius Xanthus.

Fra il materiale decorato da matrice, vanno ricordati gran parte della vasca di un calice aretino con ornamenti floreali (inv. K3093) (Tav. V, 1), un frammento di vaso a calice con danzatrice ed Eros (inv. K3169) (Tav. V, 2) ed un vaso a cilindro firmato da Perennius Tigranus con decorazione di foglie di vite e grappoli di uva (inv. K5102) (Tav. IV, 2)[56].

12. Lilibeo

Altro centro della Sicilia occidentale che ha restituito terra sigillata italica è Lilibeo[57].

L'esame dei pochi pezzi rinvenuti negli scavi BISI e di quelli, più numerosi, recuperati dalla DI STEFANO, conservati al Museo di Palermo, mostra che la sigillata italica di Lilibeo non è molto abbondante – il nucleo più cospicuo, quello di via Sibilla, comprende una trentina di pezzi – poiché la ceramica segnalata come 'aretina di imitazione' va completamente esclusa dalla nostra indagine.

Rispetto alla quantità complessiva del materiale, poco è il vasellame bollato; un bollo in p.p. del figulo aretino *C.M()R()*, sempre in p.p. uno di

---

[56] Per la t.s.it. di Iato vedi in particolare: H. P. BLOESCH – H. P. ISLER, in: SicA VII, 1974, 26, p. 15; BLOESCH – ISLER, ibid., X, 1977, 35, pp. 24 – 25 (vasi K3093 e K3169); ISLER, ibid., XIII, 1981, 44, p. 25 (vaso K5102); ID., ibid., 1981, 46 – 47, p. 61; ID., ibid., XV, 1982, 49 – 50, p. 7 e pp. 18 – 20; ID., ibid., XVI, 1983, 52 – 53, p. 26.

[57] Vi hanno lavorato successivamente A. M. BISI e C. A. DI STEFANO. Esse hanno continuato lo scavo dell'*insula* romana con mosaici a Capo Boeo iniziato dalla MARCONI BOVIO, portando successivamente alla luce altre *insulae*, che attestano l'importanza e la grandezza di questo scalo marittimo e presidio militare in età romana. Vd. A. M. BISI, in: NSc 1966, p. 344; EAD., in: NSc 1967, p. 403; C. A. DI STEFANO, in: SicA VII, 1974, 24 – 25, p. 27 e fig. 10; EAD., in: Kokalos XXII – XXIII, 1976 – 77, II, 2, p. 769; EAD., in: SicA XIII, 1980, 43, p. 14. Proprio la scarsità di sigillata italica rinvenuta nei suoi scavi, fa pensare alla BISI che in età augustea il centro punico non abbia avuto una grande ripresa: cfr. NSc 1967, p. 403.
Alcuni tra i pezzi rinvenuti sono ora pubblicati nel catalogo della mostra: Lilibeo. Testimonianze archeologiche dal IV sec. a. C. al V sec. d. C., Palermo 1984, pp. 119 – 123, nn. 137 – 152.

C. M(urrius) (Tav. VI,4); uno di Agathemerus lavorante di N. Naevius Hilarus di Pozzuoli (Tav. II,2); attestato anche Cn. Ateius, e infine i tardo-italici *C.P.P.*, con due esempi, e *L. R(asinius) P(isanus)*. Di ipotetica lettura, un bollo rettangolare *C. PAC(ideius) PAR(a...)*, del quale non ci è noto il luogo della fabbrica[58].

La forma vascolare maggiormente attestata è la GOUDINEAU 38; rari i frammenti di piatti, ascrivibili tutti al Servizio II di Haltern con le sue varianti.

13. Agrigento

La sigillata italica rinvenuta nel quartiere ellenistico-romano non assomma a un gran numero di pezzi: abbiamo sia vasi che piatti frammentari in parte bollati[59].

Tra i nomi di figuli che ricorrono sui frammenti agrigentini abbiamo Rasinius (Tav. VII, 1) e (P.) Cornelius di Arezzo, l'uno esterno in cartiglio rettangolare e l'altro in p.p., un altro bollo esterno rettangolare di Agathemerus di Naevius, puteolano; un altro, anch'esso rettangolare, forse di Cn. Ateius; anche ad un suo liberto, Euhodus, ne possiamo ascrivere uno; attestato A. Annius Crispus, presente nella lista dei ceramisti romani e dell'Italia centrale di OXÉ, quindi L. Titius Iusculus (Tav. VIII, 1) e P. Messenus Menopilus (Tav. VII, 2), dei quali non conosciamo il luogo di origine. Infine, un bollo in p.p. del tardo-italico *L. R(asinius) P(isanus)*[60].

Le forme attestate comprendono qualche vaso a calice decorato (Tav. VIII, 2), ma prevalentemente pezzi a superficie liscia o con decorazioni applicate[61].

Tra i vasi decorati è presente la DRAGENDORFF 29; per quanto riguarda il repertorio morfologico dei pezzi lisci abbiamo la GOUDINEAU 37, 38, 39, 41, e le DRAGENDORFF 17 e 31.

---

[58] Per *C. M() R()* vd. supra, nota 51; per C. Murrius vd. supra, nota 54; per Agathemerus-Naevi, CVArr, 1086; per Cn. Ateius e *C. P() P()* vd. supra, nota 40. Per L. Rasinius Pisanus cfr. CVArr, 1558; per *C. PAC(ideius) PAR(a...)*, ibid., 1215.

[59] Sulla sigillata rinvenuta ad Agrigento abbiamo una comunicazione di P. MARCONI, in: NSc 1926, p. 99, in cui si rende noto il rinvenimento di alcuni frammenti di aretina nel quartiere ellenistico-romano; una seconda notizia riguarda gli scavi compiuti da DE MIRO a Sud del tempio di Zeus, dove è stata recuperata una coppetta di t.s.it. di tipo GOUDINEAU 41 (MALinc XLVI, 1963, col. 167). Al Museo di Agrigento ho potuto esaminare il materiale ceramico trovato nel quartiere ellenistico-romano durante gli scavi ivi condotti.

[60] Per Rasinius vd. CVArr 1486; per (P.) Cornelius vd. supra, nota 12; per Agathemerus-Naevi vd. supra, nota 58; per Cn. Ateius vd. supra, nota 40; per Euhodus, CVArr, 161; per A. Annius Crispus, CVArr, 81; per L. Titius Iusculus ibid., 2050; per P. Messenus Menopilus ibid., 1015; e per *L. R(asinius) P(isanus)* vd. supra, nota 58.

[61] Tra i pezzi decorati val la pena di ricordare un frammento con il bollo di Rasinius (inv. 13 950), ornato con foglie allungate e rosette, comprese tra modanature, che richiama il frammento DRAGENDORFF – WATZINGER, Beil. 4, 33.

Non abbondantissima, la sigillata italica di Agrigento presenta però un repertorio di bolli e forme abbastanza ampio, sintomo di una importazione regolare nel tempo. I punti di rinvenimento del materiale ceramico, all'interno del quartiere ellenistico-romano, sono sia le abitazioni, che i *cardines* che lo percorrono[62].

14. Camarina

I rinvenimenti di sigillata italica nell'abitato camarinese sono assai limitati, e in genere associati a Campana C e a vasetti a pareti sottili[63]; in particolare, va segnalata una coppetta con bollo Gelli in p.p.[64].

Anche nella vicina S. Croce Camerina, sita alle spalle dell'importante approdo di Caucana, è stata rinvenuta della sigillata italica in due insediamenti di età romana[65]: si tratta, anche in questo caso, di pochissimi frammenti.

Vedremo meglio in seguito la situazione nell'entroterra geloo, dove hanno operato ADAMESTEANU ed ORLANDINI, sostanzialmente simile a quella delineata nelle altre località trattate: anche in quest'ampia area, infatti, la sigillata rinvenuta dai due studiosi è di importazione, e tra i marchi di fabbrica ne compaiono alcuni di Arezzo.

15. Morgantina

Tra i centri della parte interna dell'isola hanno restituito una certa quantità di sigillata Morgantina e Troina; nella prima, i rinvenimenti ceramici si devono agli scavi di R. STILLWELL ed E. SJÖQVIST negli anni '50 e '60; i ritrovamenti di italica sono attestati nell'*agora* della città, e particolarmente nella zona delle botteghe.

Nel recente studio sulla ceramica romana di Morgantina, SHELLEY STONE fa un quadro aggiornato della sigillata italica rinvenuta in questo centro: oltre ad un buon numero di fabbricanti aretini e di loro lavoranti (Ateius; Zoilus; M. Perennius Tigranus; Rasinius; L. Avillius Sura; L. Tettius Samia; T. Rufrenus Rufio; L. Titius; P. Cornelius ed altri), sono rappresentati anche artigiani puteolani, quali Cocco Naevi; Favor Naevi; Q. Pompeius Serenus; M. Iulius, etc., artigiani padani (Acutus; Ingenuus ed altri), nonché alcuni di origine ancora ignota.

---

[62] Rinvenimenti di sigillata italica anche nella necropoli di S. Gregorio; i corredi di I sec. d. C. comprendono infatti patere dei tipi DRAGENDORFF 15/17 e DRAGENDORFF 17 con bolli in p.p. E. DE MIRO, in: Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, II, 1, p. 573 e tav. XLVIII, fig. 1.

[63] P. PELAGATTI, in: SicA III, 1970, 10, p. 14 e fig. 11, p. 13; EAD., in: BArte XLVII, 1962, II–III, p. 261.

[64] A. DI VITA, in: BArte XLIV, 1959, IV, p. 353 e nota 23 p. 361. Il pezzo non proviene da scavi regolari.

[65] G. SCROFANI, in: SicA V, 1972, 18–20, pp. 105–106.

In base alle forme ed ai bolli rinvenuti, i ritrovamenti di Morgantina sono databili soprattutto tra gli ultimi anni del principato di Augusto ed il periodo claudio[66].

16. Troina

A Troina, durante gli scavi di E. MILITELLO nel 1960[67], emersero frammenti di italica, tra i quali alcuni di fabbriche aretine, ma in quantità molto limitata.

Il quadro fornito dai singoli centri è dunque abbastanza omogeneo, e situazioni particolari, come la possibile esistenza di una fabbrica di sigillata a Tindari, di cui ci occuperemo tra breve, o la relativa abbondanza di materiali di importazione di alcuni centri costieri, si verificano solo nei punti nevralgici del sistema amministrativo e commerciale isolano.

Anche nelle isole minori, Pantelleria e le Eolie, si è recuperata terra sigillata italica.

17. Pantelleria

Per quanto riguarda quest'isola, naturale scalo sulla rotta Sicilia-Africa, e dotata in antico di un porto per ripararvi le navi nottetempo, P. ORSI segnala il rinvenimento di ceramica sigillata, soprattutto da un santuario indagato nel 1898[68].

18. Panarea

Dalle Eolie si hanno indicazioni di rinvenimenti sia a Lipari che a Panarea; in quest'ultima i ritrovamenti sono dovuti a semplice esplorazione del terreno, effettuata in diverse riprese tra il 1946 ed il '48 da BERNABÒ BREA[69]. La presenza della sigillata italica è piuttosto cospicua; essa viene rinvenuta in associazione con lucerne, dati questi che inducono l'archeologo a pensare ad una intensa vita per i primi due secoli dell'impero.

---

[66] S. C. STONE, Roman Pottery from Morgantina in Sicily, cit., pp. 213–252; 369–380. Si veda in particolare la tabella con i bolli dei fabbricanti italici attestati a Morgantina (p. 227). Lo STONE riporta la bibliografia precedente sullo scavo ed i rinvenimenti nella città.

[67] E. MILITELLO, in: NSc 1961, p. 340 ss., in particolare pp. 351–354. Notizia di un rinvenimento sporadico in C. G. CANALE, Engyon, Catania 1955, p. 49 ss.

[68] P. ORSI, in: MALinc IX, 1899, col. 80; l'esplorazione dell'isola è stata ripresa più recentemente da A. VERGER, in: OA V, 2, 1966, p. 272 e p. 274 ss.

[69] L. BERNABÒ BREA, in: NSc 1947, p. 224 e p. 230; ID., in FA III, 1886.

19. Lipari

Per quanto riguarda Lipari, oltre agli scarsi rinvenimenti in necropoli, ed ai frammenti di terra sigillata italica segnalati nell'area urbana, ai piedi del Castello[70], va considerata la cospicua quantità di ceramiche ancora inedite, che mi è stato possibile esaminare direttamente[71].

Accanto al vasellame italico – che comprende diversi pezzi aretini e puteolani – insolitamente abbondante appare quello tardo-italico.

Inoltre, vanno segnalate alcune coppe sud-galliche decorate da matrice, esposte nella vetrina delle sigillate in numero assai limitato: esse ripropongono ancora una volta l'importante problema dei rapporti commerciali tra Sicilia e centri mediterranei in età romana.

Per quanto riguarda la ceramica considerata nel mio esame, desidero sottolineare che si tratta esclusivamente di pezzi lisci, talvolta con decorazione applicata, mentre mancano esemplari decorati da matrice: gli scavi, tuttora in corso in più punti di Lipari ed anche nelle isole minori, ci diranno se questo fatto sia dovuto al caso o ad una costante nelle importazioni liparitane.

I bolli attestati nell'isola appartengono ad un buon numero di ceramisti, e coprono un ampio arco di tempo, a cominciare da quelli con contrassegni figurati e non ancora nominali, per finire col crescente lunare della tardo-italica. Tra i tipi che possiamo considerare più antichi, ne abbiamo uno rettangolare, con ramo di palma, anepigrafe (Tav. VII, 3), ed un altro, parzialmente conservato, rappresentante un cerchio raggiato con puntini tra i raggi (Tav. IX, 1): non trovo alcun confronto proponibile nell'indice delle forme dei bolli del 'Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum'.

Le fabbriche di Arezzo sono rappresentate da (P) Cornelius (Tav. IX,2), bollo in p.p., ed Hilarus di Cornelius, rettangolare (Tav. IX,3); L. Gellius Quadratus, in p.p.; A. Titius e C. Gavius in cartiglio ovale; e ancora C. Sentius; oltre a questi, alcuni figuli probabilmente aretini: Murrius, rappresentato sia in bollo rettangolare, che in p.p., Camurius, in p.p., ed infine L. Umbricius Scaurus, in bollo radiale[72].

Presenti anche i ceramisti di Pozzuoli, con marchi di L. Valerius Titus, rettangolare (Tav. X, 1); Q. Pompeius Serenus, rotondo (Tav. X, 2); Agathemerus (Tav. X, 3), attestato sia in bollo rotondo che rettangolare; Hilarus, sempre in bollo rettangolare, e due bolli Princeps, gli ultimi tre, lavoranti di Naevius[73] (Tav. XI, 1 – 2).

---

[70] Meligunìs Lipára I, p. 127.

[71] La t.s.it. conservata al Museo Eoliano proviene da diversi scavi: da quello compiuto nel 1966 nella piazza della Civita; da quello delle mura, svoltosi in diverse riprese tra gli anni '60 e '70; da uno effettuato durante la sistemazione della rete fognaria della città (1978), e dai ripetuti interventi nella contrada Diana, sia nell'antico abitato (scavo '71), che nella necropoli.
Ancora nel 1983, nel corso di uno scavo nell'abitato, si sono recuperati diversi nuovi frammenti sia di coppette che di piatti in sigillata italica, e tra essi segnalo parte di fondo di un piatto con bollo Felix-Saufei entro cartiglio ovale (tav. XII, 3).

[72] Per (P.) Cornelius vd. supra, nota 12; per Hilarus di Cornelius, CVArr, 513; per Gellius Quadratus, CVArr, 737; per A. Titius, CVArr, 2001; per C. Gavius, CVArr, 730; per C. Sentius, ibid., 1732; per Murrius, ibid., 1040; per Camurius vd. supra, nota 11; per L. Umbricius Scaurus, CVArr, 2396.

Presente è Zoilus di Ateius; più volte Xanthus, nella forma CVArr 177, sulla quale abbiamo già ricordato le notazioni di Pucci (Tav. XI, 3); diversi i bolli dei ceramisti tardo-italici[74]: ampiamente attestato, sia in p.p. che in crescente lunare, L. Rasinius Pisanus (Tav. XII, 1), inoltre Sex M(urrius), Sex M(urrius) Festus, L. Nonius Florus, *C.P()P()*: rappresentato infine Cn. Ateius Arretinus[75].

Tra i ceramisti la cui origine non è stata ancora appurata, Herm( ); Turius (Val Padana?); L. P. P(udens); Cryses di C. Valerius Tyrannus (Tav. XII, 2), e infine Successus, attivo a Pompei negli ultimi anni di vita della città[76].

Vasto è anche il repertorio delle forme, con presenza della Goudineau 37, tra cui alcuni esemplari, evidentemente abbastanza tardi, dal bordo vicinissimo alla Goudineau 40, posteriore al 15 d. C. (figg. D, a; D, b); inoltre la Goudineau 41 (fig. D, c); 38 (figg. D, e; D, f); e ancora la Dragendorff 27 (fig. D, d), e la 15 – 17 (figg. D, g; D, h) e 18.

Non senza interesse per la definizione della cronologia, la presenza di un piatto con bollo radiale di L. Umbricius Scaurus, tra i primi ceramisti aretini (Comfort lo considera „probabilmente aretino“, CVArr, 2396 e ss.; ma vedi anche Bémont, p. 154, n. 148).

Oltre ai rinvenimenti nel centro urbano e nella necropoli, voglio segnalare la presenza di terra sigillata italica, sia pure in piccole quantità, in edifici agricoli di piccola e media entità, individuati in più punti dell'isola, e di cui mi ha dato notizia Bernabò Brea. Egli aveva già fatto una prima segnalazione di tali presenze nel 1947[77], ma nei successivi decenni di quasi ininterrotte ricerche i ritrovamenti si sono moltiplicati, rivelando una quantità di insediamenti di modeste dimensioni sparsi in tutta l'isola.

I bolli presenti in Sicilia appartengono tutti a fabbricanti attivi nella penisola, ma, come vedremo dettagliatamente in seguito, in alcune località si sono effettuati interessanti rinvenimenti, che rendono sempre più concreta la possibilità di una produzione di sigillata in Sicilia.

---

[73] Per L. Valerius Titus, CVArr, 2218; per Q. Pompeius Serenus, ibid., 1354; per Agathemerus di Naevius, ibid., 1085 (per bollo rotondo), per bollo rettangolare vd. supra, nota 58; per Hilarus di Naevius, CVArr, 1084; per Princeps di Naevius, ibid., 1101 (bollo rotondo), ibid., 1102 e 1404 per il bollo rettangolare.

[74] Per entrambi vedi supra, nota 18.

[75] Per L. Rasinius Pisanus vd. supra, nota 58; per Sex M(urrius) vd. supra, nota 20; per Sex M(urrius) Festus, CVArr, 1054; per L. Nonius Florus, ibid., 1136; per *C. P() P()* vd. supra, nota 40; per Cn. Ateius Arretinus, vd. supra, nota 19.

[76] Per *HERM()*, CVArr, 783; per Turius, CVArr, 2159; per *L. P. P(udens)*, CVArr, 1194; per Cryses, CVArr, 2199; per Successus, infine, CVArr, 1865.

[77] L. Bernabò Brea, in: NSc 1947, p. 220.

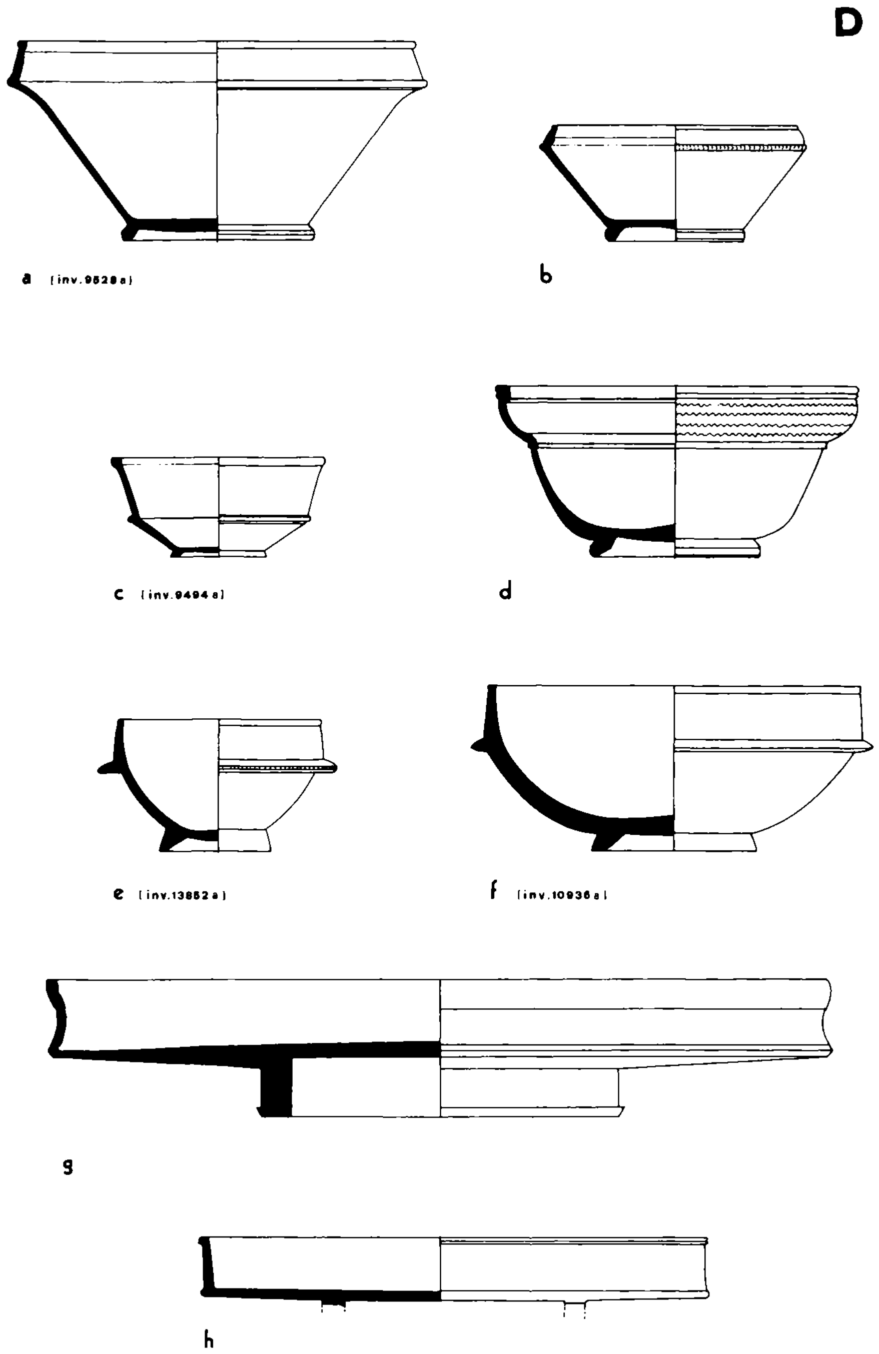

D
a [inv.9528 a]
b
c [inv.9494 a]
d
e [inv.13852 a]
f [inv.10936 a]
g
h

Fig. D. Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Lipari

Il dato che si pone subito in evidenza al termine del nostro rapido esame del materiale importato, è la quantità complessivamente limitata di sigillata italica rinvenuta sino ad oggi; tale ceramica, infatti, pur essendo estesamente rappresentata nell'isola, non raggiunge concentrazioni particolarmente elevate in nessuna delle località indagate, anche se le percentuali hanno maggiore spicco nei centri scavati sistematicamente, come Lipari o Solunto.

Detto questo, va sottolineato che tale importazione, per quanto attualmente appaia limitata, è abbastanza regolare nel tempo: la presenza di ceramisti quali L. Umbricius Scaurus ed A. Titius, tra i primi la cui attività ci sia documentata, e l'attestazione di bolli figurativi e ancora radiali, ci forniscono degli sprazzi di luce per un primo abbozzo della cronologia. E non meno importante ci pare che non si rilevino battute di arresto sostanziali nel complesso delle importazioni, per tutto il I sec. d. C.

Un altro elemento che è emerso durante la ricerca è la netta prevalenza del vasellame a superficie liscia su quello a superficie decorata – la percentuale di quest'ultimo non raggiunge il 20% del totale – ed il numero ristretto dei tipi attestati.

E' prematuro voler ricavare dai dati a disposizione un quadro puntuale del commercio di sigillate tra la penisola e la Sicilia in periodo proto-imperiale: l'indagine dei siti archeologici romani va completata, o quanto meno ampliata rispetto ad oggi, per poter effettuare un'operazione di questo tipo evitando il rischio di giungere a conclusioni affrettate.

Inoltre, la documentazione archeologica sottomarina riguardante l'età di Cesare e di Augusto non ci aiuta, poiché è estremamente scarsa, non solo per quanto riguarda i carichi naufragati in acque siciliane, ma per tutto il Mediterraneo[78]; senza contare che il rinvenimento delle navi naufragate, sulle quali pesa spesso l'incognita della primitiva destinazione, non si può a nostro avviso accogliere come dato sicuro.

Questi fattori non consentono di trovare conferme alla importazione ceramica in età romana nelle navi adibite a traffici mercantili; l'unico rinvenimento sottomarino di sigillata italica, avvenuto nelle acque liparitane, è veramente poca cosa: qualche pezzo, tra cui una tazza bollata *CAMVR*(. . .)[79]. Ma lo stato in cui ci è giunto il carico, non induce a pensare che il vasellame ne costituisse voce importante.

II. La distribuzione

Già dalla ripartizione geografica seguita nell'elencare i rinvenimenti di sigillata italica importata in Sicilia, si evince un quadro, sia pure sommario, della sua distribuzione nell'isola.

---

[78] MANACORDA, p. 4.

[79] E. CIABATTI, in: SicA XI, 1978, 36, p. 20.

I ritrovamenti si sono avuti, nella maggior parte dei casi, nelle città, sia nelle abitazioni che nei luoghi pubblici – un esempio per tutti è dato dall'*agora* di Morgantina[80] – sia in pozzi e cisterne, come ad Ortygia, durante gli scavi ORSI fra il 1890 ed il '91[81], o più recentemente a Lilibeo[82].

Le quantità più consistenti di sigillata sono ad Agrigento, Lilibeo, Lipari, Monte Iato, Siracusa, Solunto e Tindari. La concentrazione rilevabile in questi centri è dovuta, intanto, al fatto che essi, sia pure in misura diversa, sono stati oggetto di scavi abbastanza ampi nel corso del tempo, a differenza di molte altre aree, soprattutto dell'interno, nei confronti delle quali l'interesse si sta risvegliando solo oggi. E soprattutto, io credo, alle funzioni politiche, economiche, commerciali, che, su differenti piani, molti tra quegli insediamenti urbani assolsero durante il governo di Roma.

La situazione di Siracusa, dove i reperti ceramici romani non sono abbondantissimi ma uniformemente attestati negli scavi, si spiega dunque bene alla luce delle considerazioni ora esposte: i rapporti diretti con la penisola e con Roma dovettero avvenire infatti in quel centro senza scosse di grave entità, se già in periodo repubblicano Cicerone, nelle Verrine, registra la presenza nella città di *negotiatores* italici o di *conventus civium Romanorum*[83].

Come ipotesi di lavoro, in attesa degli esiti di più ampie ricerche sulle vie di penetrazione della sigillata e sulla sua diffusione nell'isola, non escluderei la possibilità che questi immigrati abbiano contribuito a diffondere in Sicilia l'uso della nostra ceramica, prodotta e largamente distribuita nelle regioni peninsulari.

Resta da spiegare, comunque, il perché della sua complessiva scarsità: oltre alla già rilevata assenza di dati archeologici risolutivi, entrano in gioco fattori di mercato legati al relativo isolamento in cui versò la Sicilia in età proto-imperiale, isolamento su cui hanno posto in vario modo l'accento tanto gli storici che gli archeologi, soprattutto in questi ultimi anni[84].

Vi è infine da tener presente l'esistenza, provata per ora almeno a Siracusa, relativamente all'età repubblicana, di fabbriche di ceramica di uso corrente, che dovettero sopperire in parte alla richiesta della clientela isolana, la cui reale consistenza ancora ci sfugge.

---

[80] R. STILLWELL – E. SJÖQVIST, in: AJA LXI, 1957, p. 153; E. SJÖQVIST, in: AJA LXVI, 1962, p. 136; R. STILLWELL, in: AJA LXVII, 1963, p. 166.

[81] P. ORSI, in: NSc 1891, p. 386.

[82] A. M. BISI, in: NSc 1966, p. 315.

[83] La stessa notizia ci viene fornita per Palermo, Lilibeo ed Agrigento. Cic. II Verr. II, 62, 153: ... *quantum ab negotiatoribus qui Syracusis, qui Agrigenti, qui Panhormi, qui Lilybaei negotiantur esset coactum* ...
Cic. II Verr. V, 5, 10: ... *testis splendidissima civitas Lilybitana, testis honestissimus maximusque conventus civium Romanorum* ...
Cic. II Verr. V, 36, 94: ... *dignitatis existimationisque communis, quod is est conventus Syracusis civium Romanorum, ut non modo illa provincia, verum etiam hac re publica dignissimus existimetur.*

[84] L. CRACCO RUGGINI, La Sicilia e la fine del mondo antico, in: Sicilia Romana, p. 484; F. COARELLI, La cultura figurativa in Sicilia, ibid., p. 373 ss.; G. CLEMENTE, in: Kokalos XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, I, p. 213 ss.; M. MAZZA, ibid., p. 338 ss.

Scarsissimi, rispetto ai rinvenimenti urbani, sono quelli effettuati in necropoli: non si ha notizia di ritrovamenti di terra sigillata italica nella vasta necropoli punico-romana di Palermo[85], né in quella di S. Placido a Messina[86], o in quella ellenistico-romana di Mineo[87]; non molto abbondanti sono i resti emersi a Lipari, nella necropoli in contrada Diana[88]; da Centuripe, LIBERTINI segnalava ritrovamenti da una sola sepoltura[89]; vi sono poi delle indicazioni isolate, una dalla necropoli ellenistico-romana del Pignolaro, presso Chiaramonte Gulfi, dove DI VITA rinvenne uno scodellino tipo DRAGENDORFF 46[90], e un'altra dalla necropoli di Montagna di Marzo[91].

Il corredo funebre, ad esempio a Lipari e a Messina, è costituito da vasetti acromi, fialette vitree, lucerne e vasi a pareti sottili. In particolare, per Lipari, BERNABÒ BREA nota che il periodo compreso tra la seconda metà del I sec. a. C. e l'inizio del I sec. d. C. sembra segnare un momento di decadenza, evidente soprattutto nell'architettura funeraria.

La medesima situazione riscontrata a Lipari si registra nella necropoli ellenistico-romana ed in quella proto-imperiale di Mineo, come appare dallo studio di A. MESSINA, dove dalla fine del I sec. a. C., e per tutto il I sec. d. C., i corredi sono prevalentemente rappresentati da unguentari bulbiformi[92].

Un'eccezione sembra costituita da un sepolcreto di periodo tiberiano individuato dall'ADAMESTEANU in contrada Petrusa, presso Gela, da cui provengono diversi piatti italici frammentari, tra i quali alcuni conservano il bollo in p.p.: ma questa scoperta resta per ora isolata, e non altera il rapporto tra i rinvenimenti di sigillata urbani e quelli in necropoli[93].

Anche nella necropoli di Agrigento si sono recuperati pochi frammenti di sigillata italica, mentre a Lilibeo, sino ad oggi, non si hanno ritrovamenti di tale ceramica dalle sepolture romane; dalla zona cemeteriale proviene infatti solo qualche pezzo sporadico. Per Monte Iato infine abbiamo la segnalazione del rinvenimento di un piatto presso una tomba saccheggiata nella necropoli orientale[94].

---

[85] I. TAMBURELLO, in: AC XVII, 1965, p. 293 ss.

[86] P. ORSI, in: MALinc XXIV, 1917 – 18, col. 9 ss. dell'estratto.

[87] A. MESSINA, in: CronAStorArt X, 1971, p. 109 ss.

[88] Meligunìs Lipára II, p. 255 ss.

[89] G. LIBERTINI, in: NSc 1947, p. 275.

[90] A. DI VITA, in: ArchStorSicilia VI, 1953, 1 – 3, p. 7.

[91] G. V. GENTILI, in: NSc 1969, II suppl., p. 72. Vd. anche le osservazioni conclusive sulla tipologia e sulla cronologia del materiale, p. 98 ss. La presenza di aretina è segnalata anche nell'abitato da L. MUSSINANO, in CronAStorArt V, 1966, p. 59.

[92] A. MESSINA, art. cit., p. 109 ss.

[93] D. ADAMESTEANU, in: FA VI, 4620; ID., in: NSc 1960, pp. 216 – 217 e fig. 8.

[94] Devo queste notizie alla cortesia della Dott.ssa C. A. DI STEFANO per Lilibeo, e del Prof. E. DE MIRO per Agrigento; per i corredi di I sec. d. C. nella necropoli agrigentina di S. Gregorio vd. ora DE MIRO, in Kokalos cit. a nota 62. Per M. Iato vd. H. P ISLER, in: SicA XV, 1982, 49 – 50, p. 7 e nota 4 a p. 25.

In base a questi dati, è logico pensare che la scarsità di aretina e in genere di italica in necropoli dipenda dalla povertà dei corredi tombali nelle sepolture di questo periodo, come è stato notato in particolare per Lipari.

Quanto ai rinvenimenti effettuati nelle fattorie e nei villaggi agricoli, essi sono superiori rispetto ai reperti recuperati nelle necropoli, ma nettamente inferiori in confronto a quelli urbani: la proporzione tra terra sigillata italica, tra cui alcuni frammenti di aretina, da una parte, e vasellame d'uso comune dall'altra, è decisamente a favore del secondo.

La situazione è abbastanza ben delineata nella parte sud-orientale della Sicilia, e cioè per Gela e il suo entroterra agricolo, studiato nell'evoluzione e nei mutamenti da età greca a età tardo-romana da D. Adamesteanu e P. Orlandini, che negli anni '50 vi compirono esplorazioni e scavi, chiarendo la situazione di quegli insediamenti: in essi, sia in quelli noti in età ellenistica dove è attestata una continuità in periodo romano, come è il caso di una fattoria presso Barrafranca, sia in quelli sorti già sotto il dominio romano, come avviene per le fattorie sulle collinette di Casciana e Bitalemi o la villa rustica su quella a Piano di Camera, si sono rinvenuti frammenti di terra sigillata in quantità limitatissime[95]. La bassa percentuale di ceramica fine è bilanciata dalla gran quantità di materiale corrente. Sempre dalla zona geloa, e precisamente dalla zona di Butera, Adamesteanu segnala il ritrovamento di alcuni frammenti di aretina in una abitazione romana[96]: l'antico centro ebbe una lunghissima vita, dall'VIII sec. a. C. sino al 1000 circa, ma proprio in corrispondenza degli strati di I sec. a. C. e d. C., si nota una considerevole decadenza del centro stesso, provata dall'estrema povertà dei rinvenimenti[97].

Nella parte sud-orientale dell'isola, presso Lentini, sono stati esplorati due villaggi agricoli sorti al termine delle guerre servili, che hanno restituito scarsi frammenti di sigillata, associati ad anforoni e *catilli*[98].

Nell'interno, dalla contrada Sofiana, presso Mazzarino, va segnalata della sigillata italica rinvenuta in un complesso romano che abbraccia varie epoche, attestando una lunga occupazione dell'area[99]. Dalla zona di Piazza Armerina, A. Li Gotti segnala un'altra fattoria con resti di sigillata italica[100].

Anche l'entroterra di Eraclea Minoa è attualmente oggetto di indagine da parte di Roger Wilson, che vi ha identificato diversi insediamenti rurali di età romana. In particolare, al Wilson si deve la segnalazione del rinvenimento di sigillata italica e tardo-italica da Castagna, presso Cattolica Eraclea, in un centro rurale nel quale ha effettuato uno scavo[101].

---

[95] Per Barrafranca: A. L. Li Gotti, in: FA XIII, 2252; Id., in: NSc 1956, pp. 199–200. Per Casciana: P. Orsi, in: NSc 1900, p. 247. Per Bitalemi: D. Adamesteanu, in: NSc 1960, p. 213. Per Piano di Camera: D. Adamesteanu, in: FA VI, 4620.

[96] D. Adamesteanu, in: NSc 1958, p. 374.

[97] D. Adamesteanu, in: MALinc XLIV, 1958, col. 586.

[98] S. Ciancio, Leontinoi-Lentini, Roma 1967, p. 30.

[99] P. Griffo, in: La Giara 1951–55 (numero speciale), pp. 281–282.

[100] A. Li Gotti, in: FA XVIII–XIX, 7447.

[101] R. J. A. Wilson, in: Kokalos XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, II, 1, p. 656 ss.; per Castagna si veda SicA XVIII, 1985, 57–58, p. 11 ss.

Sigillata anche nella Sicilia occidentale, dagli insediamenti agricoli scoperti presso Alcamo, Salaparuta, Poggioreale, e Santa Ninfa[102]; ma sono sempre frammenti sparsi, superficiali, non incidenti sulla quantità complessiva del materiale ceramico tardo-repubblicano e proto-imperiale.

Un caso a parte è costituito dai rinvenimenti in una fattoria ellenistico-romana nella zona di Sciacca: qui la sigillata è piuttosto abbondante, e comprende diversi pezzi decorati, fatto non comune per questa ceramica rinvenuta in Sicilia, almeno per quella pubblicata fino ad oggi[103]. Si tratta di vasellame totalmente importato dal nord, come provano i bolli conservatisi: P. TIRNETTA, che ha effettuato l'esplorazione della fattoria, vede nella presenza piuttosto consistente di sigillata „la divulgazione di ceramica da tavola corrente imposta dall'economia di mercato dalla fine della Repubblica in poi"[104].

Attualmente questa situazione non è stata riscontrata negli altri centri agricoli indagati, poiché, come ho precedentemente osservato, la quantità di sigillata italica rinvenuta in essi – in genere liscia – è molto scarsa: ma, soprattutto nella parte occidentale dell'isola, l'indagine archeologica di questi insediamenti ha assunto solo da pochi anni degli intenti scientifici, ed è quindi prematuro voler trarre delle conclusioni dai pochi dati a nostra disposizione. Credo comunque che non sia inesatto porre su piani diversi i vari centri rurali sorti in età romana in Sicilia: sono noti, infatti, svariati fattori diversificanti – in primo luogo le differenti condizioni della Sicilia occidentale rispetto a quella orientale – che possono aver inserito determinate aree in una corrente di traffico, ed averle allontanate da un'altra, o anche averne provocato un prolungato isolamento.

Ciò che si può dire dunque allo stato attuale degli studi è che la maggior concentrazione della sigillata italica si ha nei centri urbani, e tra di essi soprattutto in quelli costieri, mentre nei siti minori dell'interno, nelle fattorie e nelle ville rustiche, se ne hanno testimonianze più scarse e distribuite su ampie aree; una grossa lacuna è costituita dalla zona interna occidentale, grosso modo attorno a Corleone e Prizzi, da cui non abbiamo per il momento segnalazioni di rinvenimenti di terre sigillate (fig. E).

La quantità di materiale ceramico rinvenuto e la varietà dei bolli attestati a Lipari, ci inducono a ritenerla un punto importante per comprendere il meccanismo della distribuzione della sigillata: Messina, Siracusa, probabilmente anche Palermo[105], mantenevano rapporti diretti con i principali scali commerciali italiani dell'epoca – in particolare Pozzuoli, e, soprattutto da periodo claudio, Ostia – ed è logico ritenere che i prodotti ceramici dell'Italia centrale, ed anche della Padania, abbiano viaggiato lungo queste rotte. In questo quadro, Lipari appare un probabile punto di raccordo tra Italia e Sicilia; il rinvenimento, accanto a pezzi bollati di ceramica italica, di numerosi

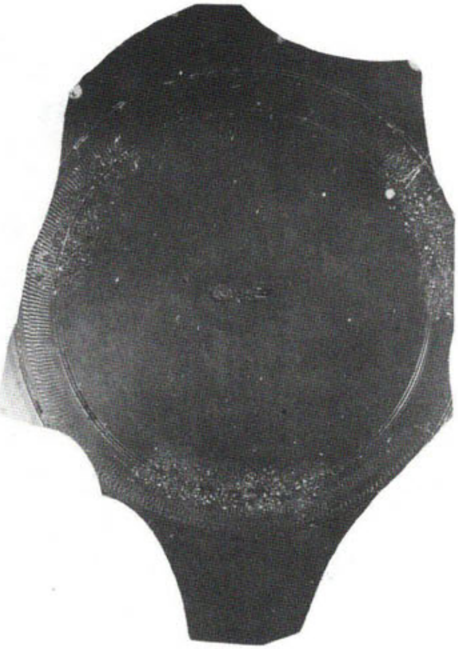
---

[102] Vd. supra, nota 55.

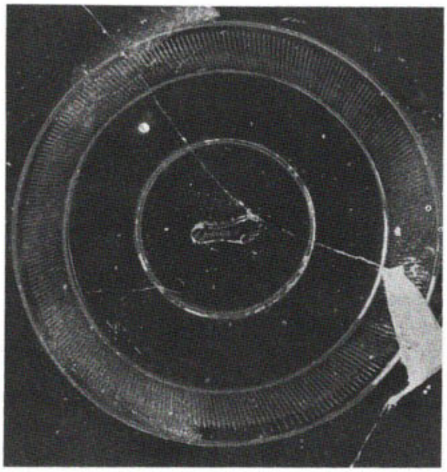
[103] Questa puntualizzazione è confermata anche dall'esame del materiale inedito.

[104] P. TIRNETTA, in: Kokalos XXIV, 1978, pp. 160–161 e fig. 2, p. 162.

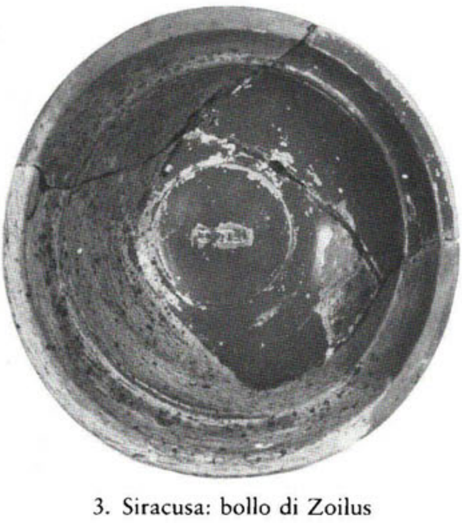
[105] ROUGÉ, p. 85 ss.



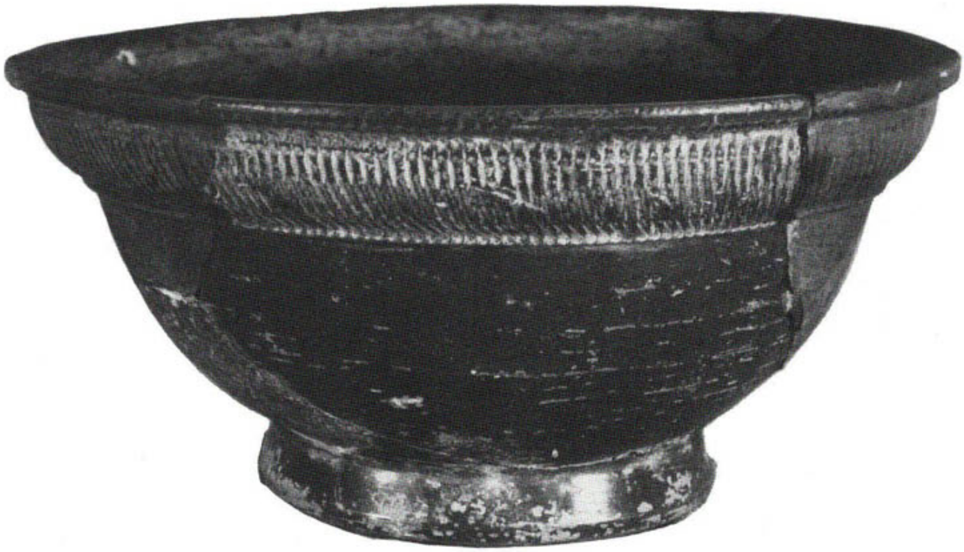
1. Siracusa: bollo di Avillius



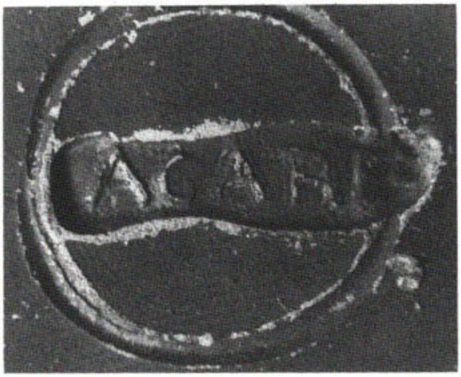
2. Siracusa: bollo di Camurius



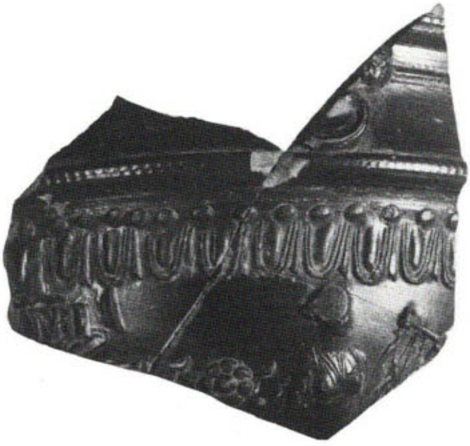
3. Siracusa: bollo di Zoilus



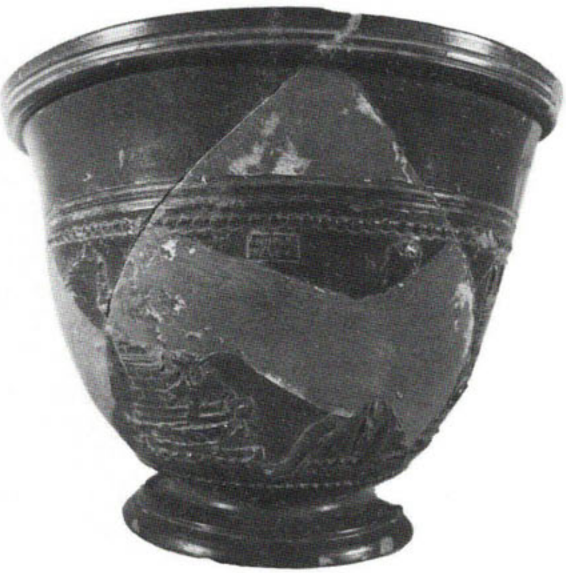
1. Siracusa: coppetta DRAGENDORFF 27



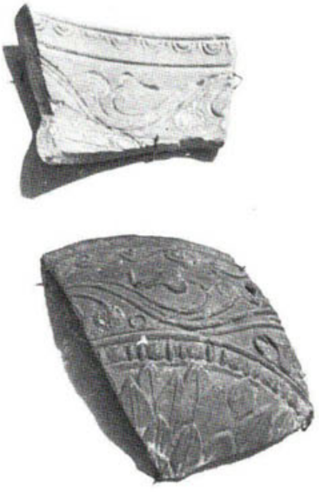
2. Lilibeo: bollo di Agathemerus



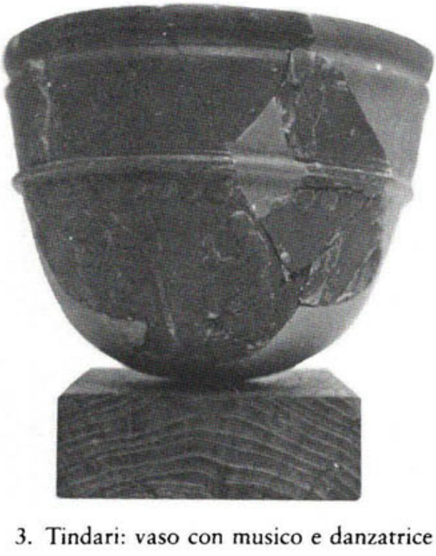
3. Siracusa: frammento con bollo di Cornelius



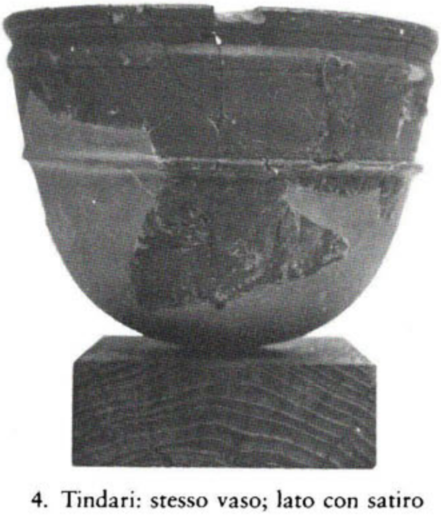
1. Siracusa: vaso di Atticus di Naevius



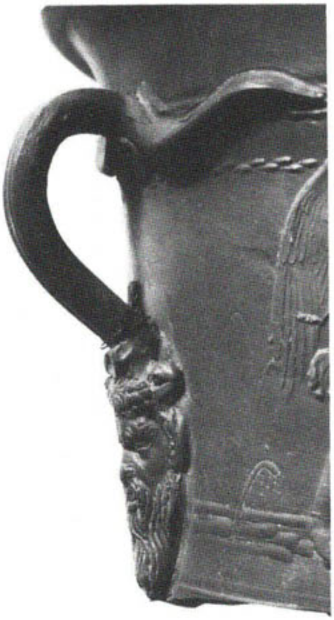
2. Tindari: parte di matrice e di vaso 'megarici'



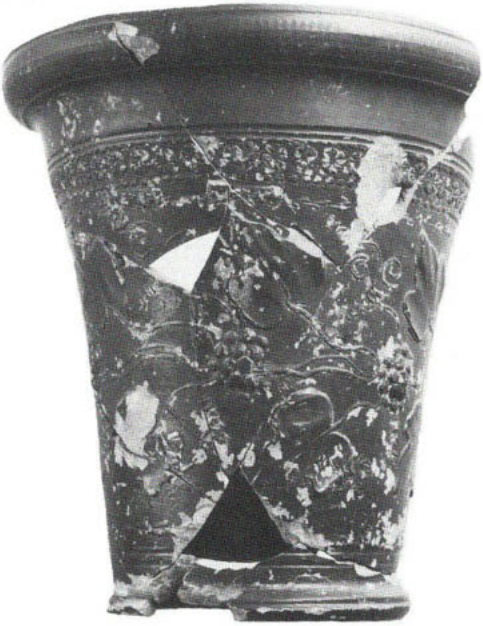
3. Tindari: vaso con musico e danzatrice



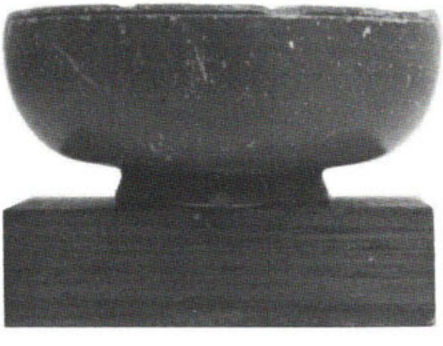
4. Tindari: stesso vaso; lato con satiro



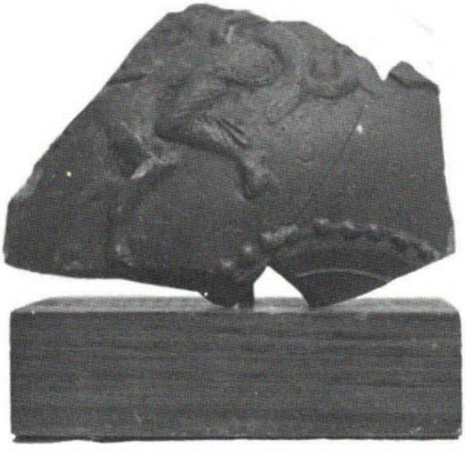
1. Solunto: particolare di vaso decorato



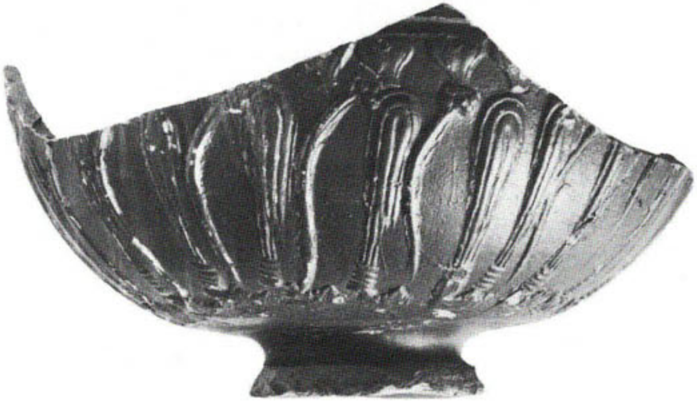
2. Monte Iato: bicchiere di M. Perennius



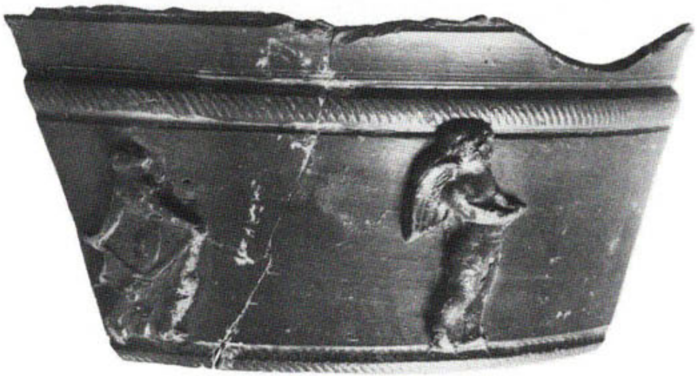
3. Tindari: coppetta GOUDINEAU 21



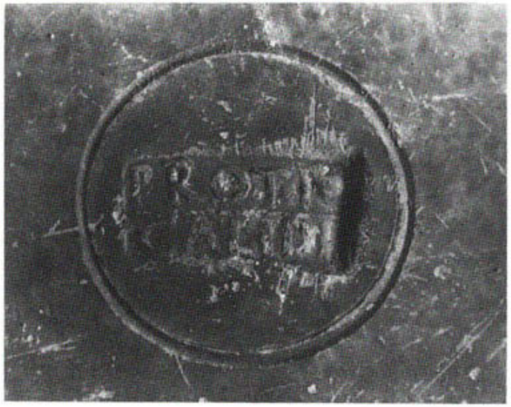
4. Tindari: frammento con Nereide



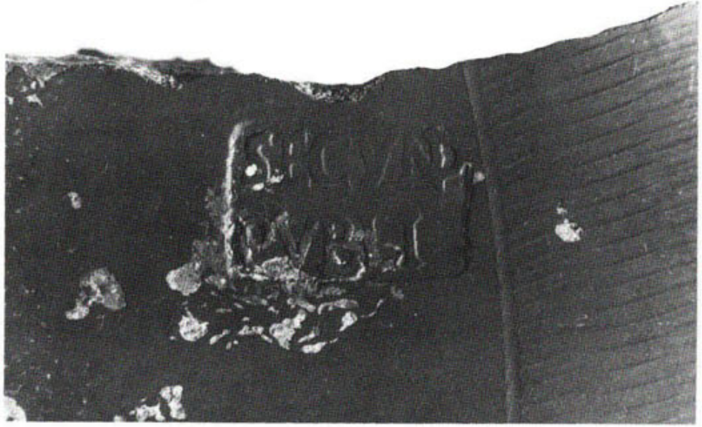
1. Monte Iato: calice con decorazione vegetale



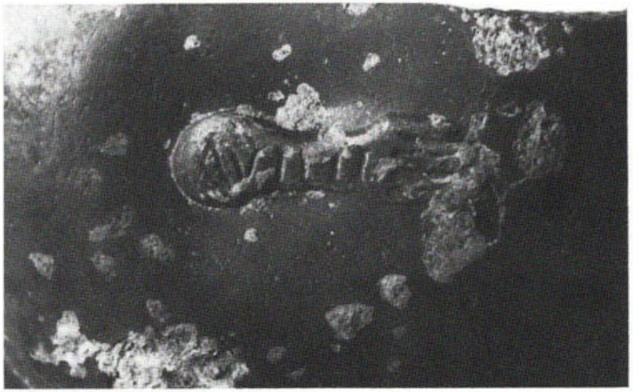
2. Monte Iato: frammento con danzatrice ed Eros



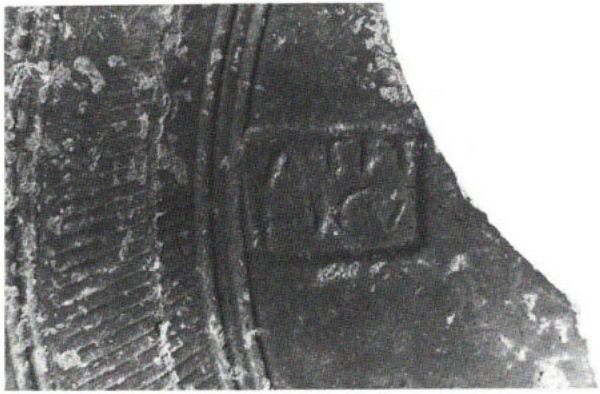
3. Soluntо: bollo di Protus di Calidius



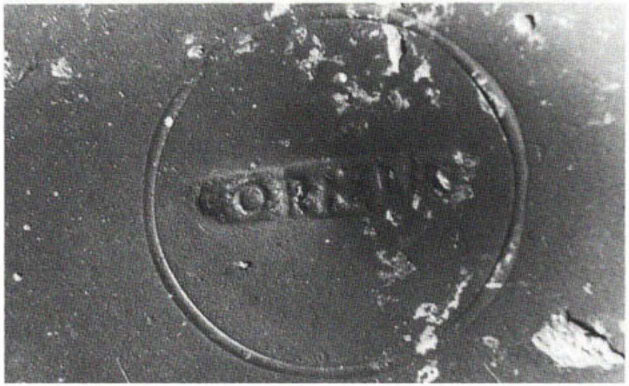
4. Solunto: bollo di Secundus di Publius



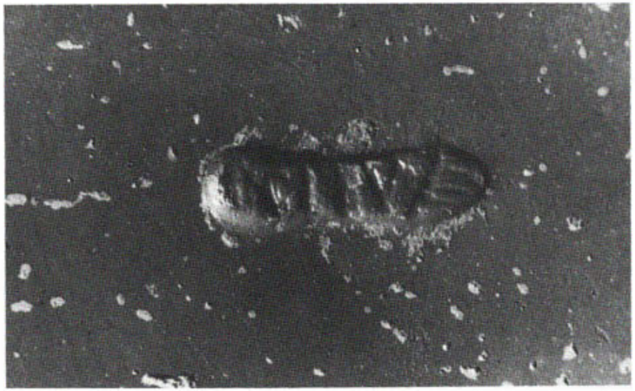
1. Solunto: bollo di Avillius



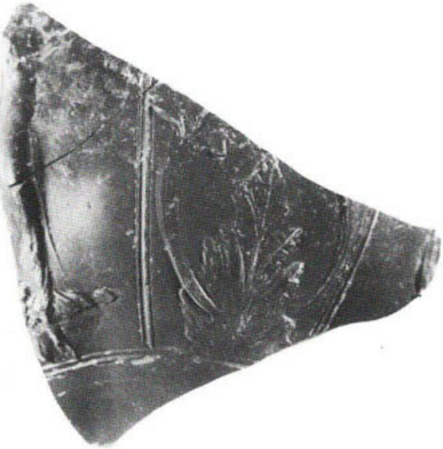
2. Solunto: bollo di A. Titius



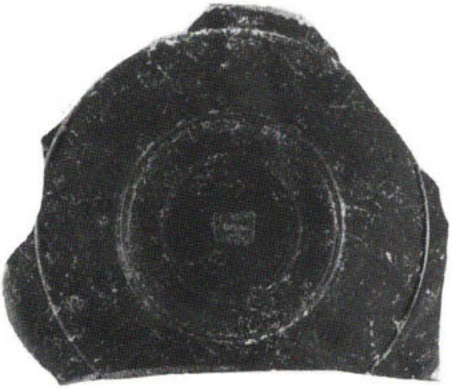
3. Solunto: bollo di Cornelius



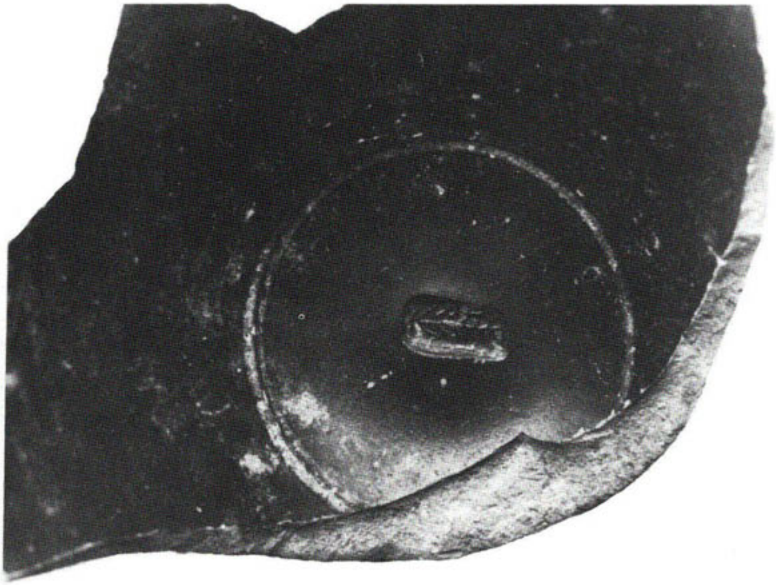
4. Lilibeo: bollo di C. Murrius



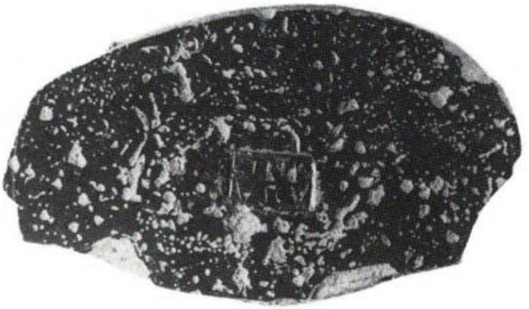
1. Agrigento: frammento di vaso decorato di Rasinius

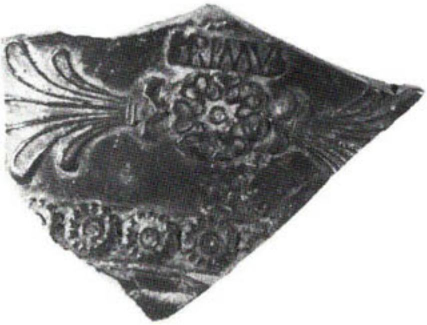


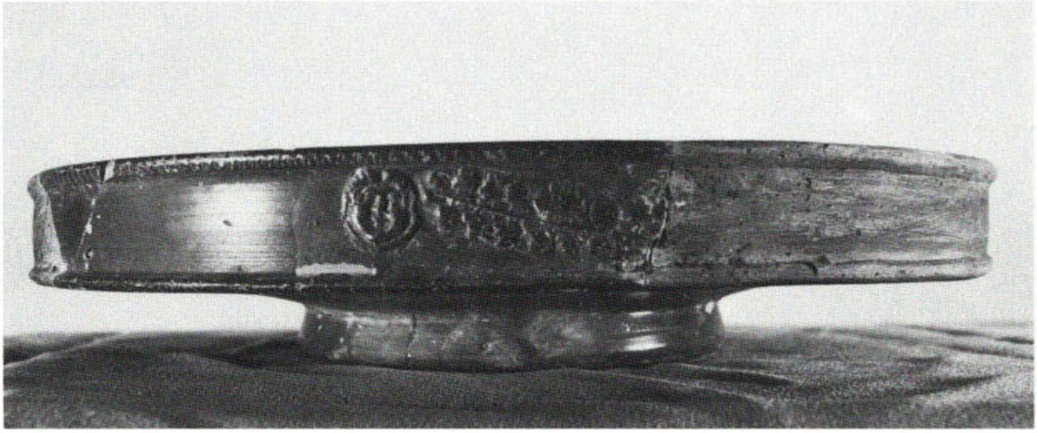
2. Agrigento: bollo di P. Messenus Menopilus



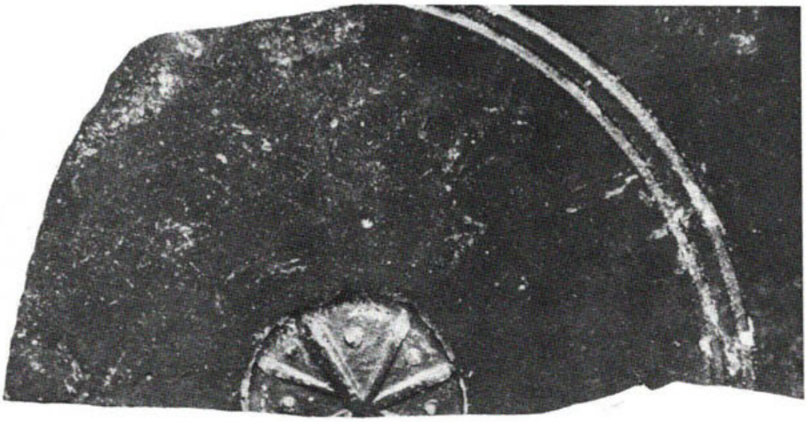
3. Lipari: bollo con figura di ramo



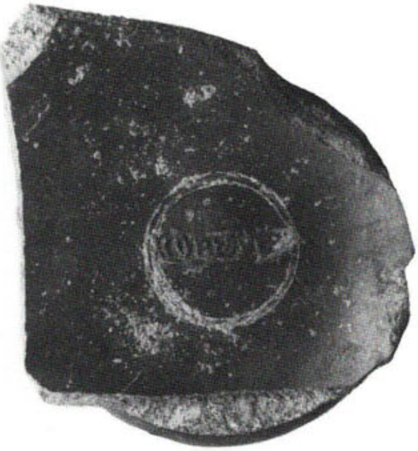




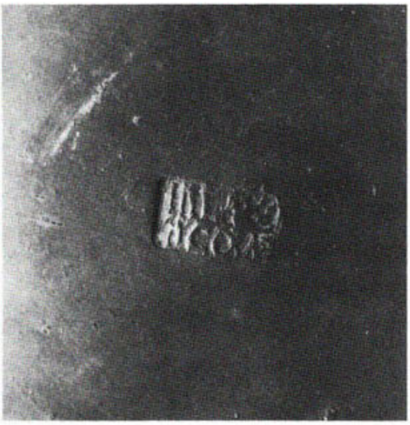
3. Siracusa: grande piatto Goudineau 39



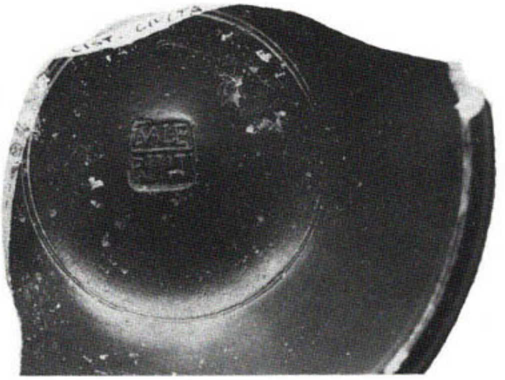
1. Lipari: bollo circolare con raggi



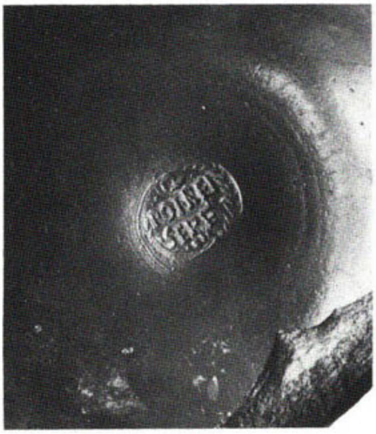
2. Lipari: bollo di Cornelius



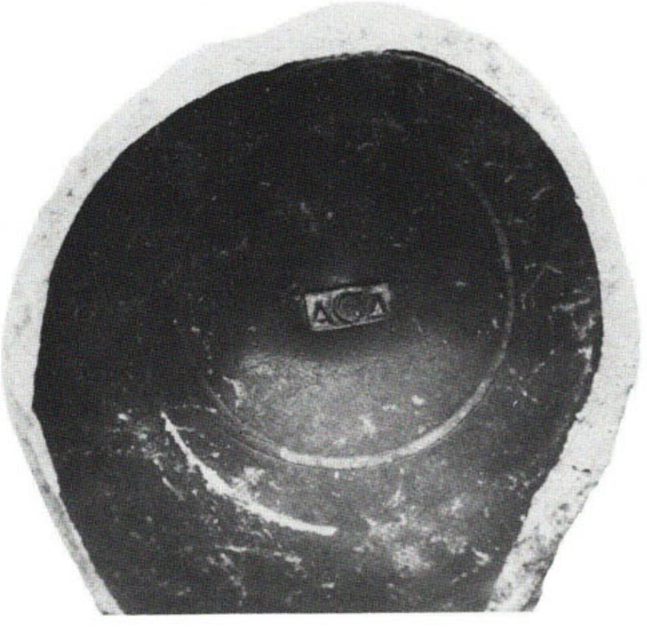
3. Lipari: bollo di Hilarus di Cornelius



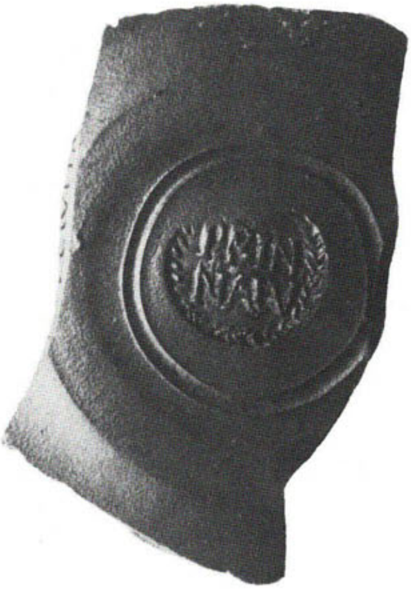
1. Lipari: bollo di L. Valerius Titus



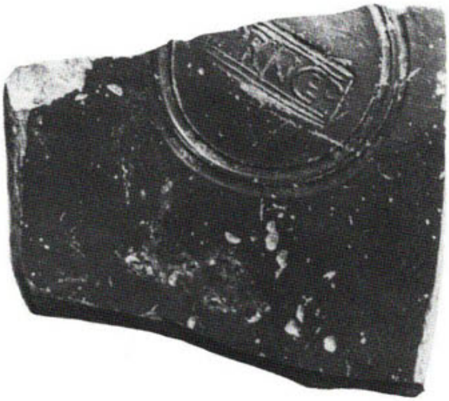
2. Lipari: bollo di Q. Pompeius Serenus



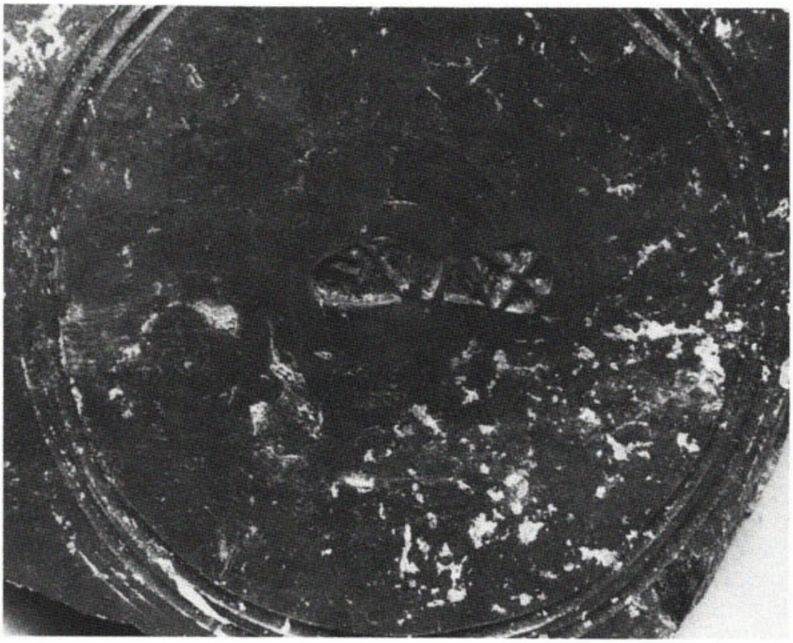
3. Lipari: bollo di Agathemerus



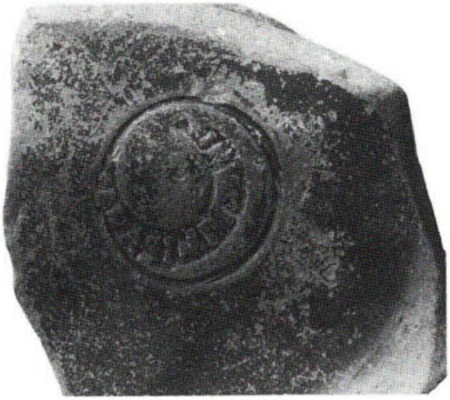
1. Lipari: bollo di Princeps di Naevius



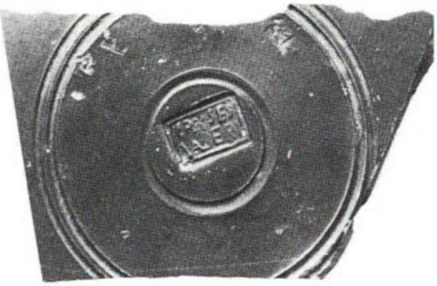
2. Lipari: bollo di Princeps (Naevi?)



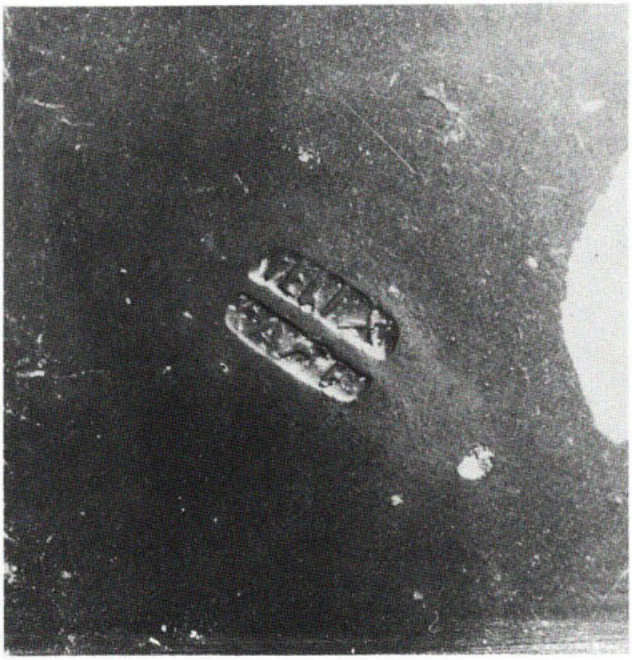
3. Lipari: bollo di Xanthus



1. Lipari: bollo di L. Rasinius Pisanus



2. Lipari: bollo di Cryses di C. Valerius



3. Lipari: bollo di Felix di L. Saufeius

E

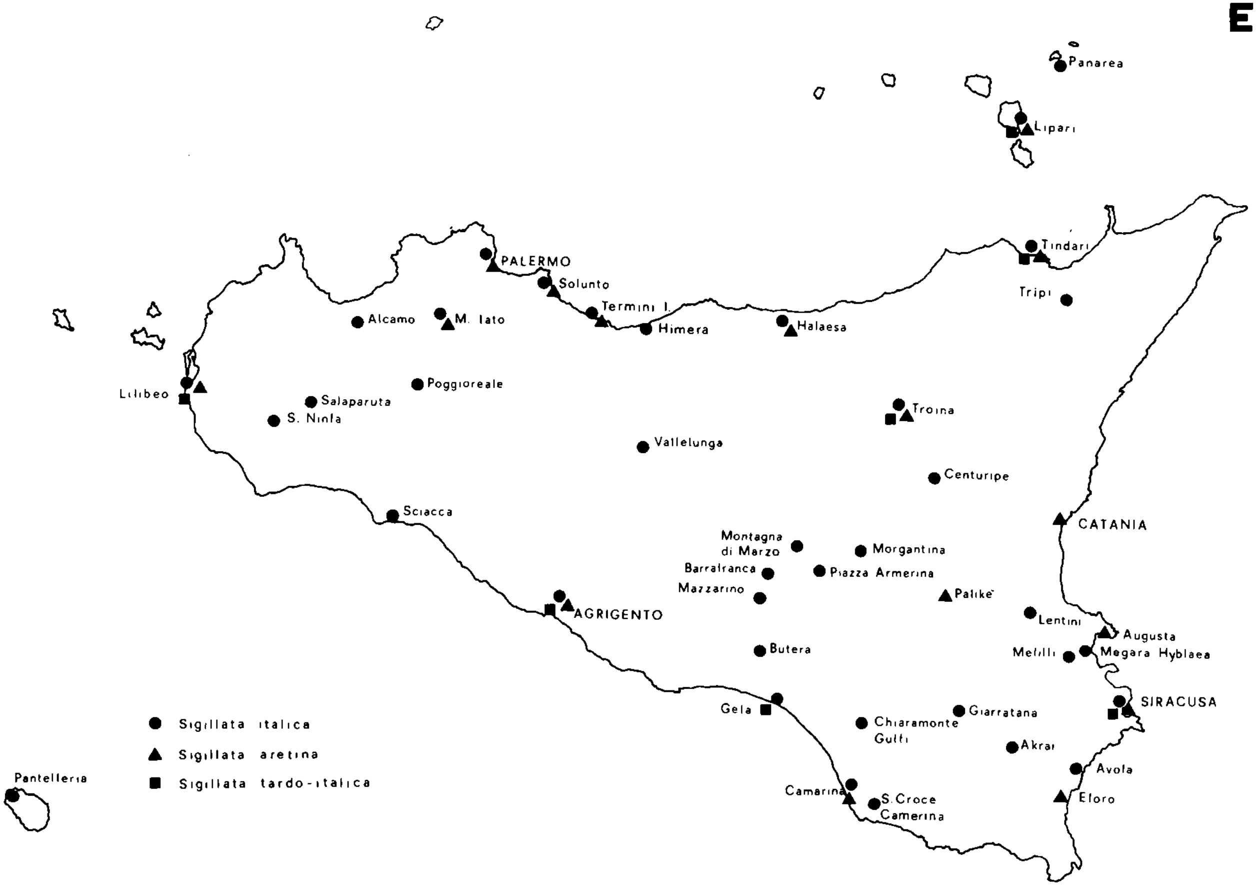

Panarea
Lipari
Tindari
Tripi
PALERMO
Solunto
Termini I.
Himera
Halaesa
Alcamo
M. Iato
Lilibeo
Poggioreale
Salaparuta
S. Ninfa
Troina
Vallelunga
Centuripe
CATANIA
Sciacca
Montagna di Marzo
Morgantina
Barrafranca
Piazza Armerina
Mazzarino
Palikè
AGRIGENTO
Lentini
Augusta
Megara Hyblaea
Melilli
Butera
SIRACUSA
Giarratana
Gela
Chiaramonte Gulfi
Akrai
Avola
Eloro
Camarina
S. Croce Camerina
Pantelleria
● Sigillata italica
▲ Sigillata aretina
■ Sigillata tardo-italica

Fig. E. Distribuzione della sigillata italica in Sicilia. Rinvenimenti effettuati nelle aree urbane o nel territorio dei centri indicati frammenti di tardo-italica, prova infatti la continuità delle importazioni nell'isola per tutto il I sec. d. C.

Dai grossi centri costieri la sigillata, come gli altri prodotti di importazione, si irradiava in quantità limitata nell'interno, dove la ritroviamo nei centri rurali e nelle ville rustiche, costituendo una trama, tenue ma estesa, che oggi non interessa più solo l'area sud-orientale dell'isola, ma comincia a delinearsi anche in quella occidentale.

In conclusione, la non grande abbondanza della sigillata italica rinvenuta, e la scarsità di pezzi di un certo rilievo, assegnabili per il momento a pochi centri fra i più importanti, si possono interpretare alla luce della modesta richiesta del mercato isolano, che, pur non restando escluso dalle grandi correnti di traffico del tempo, non vi occupa più la posizione dinamica che lo aveva caratterizzato almeno sino all'età ellenistica.

Le parole che, agli inizi degli anni '70, furono dedicate alla terra sigillata in Sicilia da PAOLA PELAGATTI, vengono dunque sostanzialmente confermate dal quadro tratteggiato sulla base delle nuove acquisizioni: esso pone una serie di interrogativi cui non può rispondere esaurientemente una ricerca settoriale, ma solo un globale sviluppo degli studi di archeologia romana in Sicilia, ancora oggi, per molti aspetti, in uno stato assai arretrato[106].

III. *La produzione locale*

L'ipotesi di una produzione di terra sigillata in Sicilia durante il I sec. d. C. venne formulata per la prima volta da NINO LAMBOGLIA negli anni '50, in base ai risultati dei suoi scavi a Tindari.

---

[106] L'archeologia romana in Sicilia non ha registrato sostanziali progressi a livello di sintesi storica e critica dal 1964, quando nella premessa al suo 'Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia' N. BONACASA rilevava, accanto a carenze obiettive, quali l'assenza di testimonianze di officine marmorarie, deficienze di carattere più generale, imputabili ad esempio all'incoerenza tra materiali mobili e strutture architettoniche (vd. in particolare p. IX), ad oggi, se, nella premessa alla sua ultima pubblicazione su Piazza Armerina, A. CARANDINI vuole ricordare che „la storia antica dell'isola non è soltanto una storia dei Greci e dei Punici" (A. CARANDINI – A. RICCI – M. DE VOS, Filosofiana. La Villa di Piazza Armerina, Palermo 1982, p. 11).
Sul problema delle difficoltà in cui tuttora si dibattono l'archeologia romana e quella medievale in Sicilia, vd. anche: N. BONACASA, Orientamenti della cultura archeologica in Sicilia, in: La presenza della Sicilia nella cultura degli ultimi cento anni, Atti del Congresso di Studi Internazionali della Società Siciliana di Storia Patria, Palermo, 20–25 ottobre 1975, Palermo 1977, p. 676ss., e ID., Programmazione archeologica e collaborazione interdisciplinare, in: I beni culturali in Sicilia, Atti Incontro-dibattito della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Palermo, 10–12 marzo 1976, Palermo 1977, p. 67ss.
Oggi assistiamo però ad un risveglio degli interessi. Si veda la ricerca sulla Sicilia medio e tardo imperiale (Città e contado fra il III ed il IV sec. d. C.), in: Kokalos XXVIII – XXIX, 1982 – 83, p. 315ss., a cura di Autori vari.

Prendendo lo spunto dal rinvenimento di parte di una matrice (Tav. III, 2) e di un vaso di tipo megarese da una matrice analoga presentati su 'Archeologia Classica'[107], lo studioso ligure propose la probabile esistenza di una fabbrica di ceramica megarica a Tindari o nelle immediate vicinanze in età repubblicana, cui avrebbe fatto seguito nel I sec. d. C. una produzione di sigillata; continuità assicurata, a suo parere, dalla frequenza negli strati protoimperiali di frammenti ceramici con un impasto uguale – il LAMBOGLIA parla di „vera coincidenza" – a quello dei pezzi di tipo megarese[108]. Le percentuali dei materiali ceramici rinvenuti nello scavo, in particolare l'esiguità dei frammenti sudgallici, infine, lo portarono a proporre una concorrenzialità della produzione tindaritana, sul mercato siciliano, persino con i raffinati prodotti di importazione della Gallia meridionale.

Successivamente LAMBOGLIA stesso tornò sull'argomento, sia pure in termini più generici, suggerendo la probabile esistenza di *ateliers* di sigillata tanto nell'Italia meridionale che in quella insulare[109].

La convinzione della presenza di una fabbrica di terra sigillata in Sicilia, scaturita dal confronto con altre aree, quali la penisola iberica, che videro il diffondersi di produzioni locali parallelo a quello dei prodotti importati, trova oggi un richiamo preciso nei rinvenimenti di altri due centri siciliani, Monte Iato e Morgantina.

A Iato sono stati recuperati i frammenti di un calice di terra sigillata simile ad un esemplare tindaritano, rinvenuti nello strato di distruzione della casa con peristilio, assieme a tre monete di cui una tiberiana; il vaso ietino viene datato orientativamente alla metà del I sec. d. C.[110]. A questo dato interlocutorio, cui la mancanza di ulteriori conferme dallo scavo non offre ancora una collocazione significativa nel quadro della sigillata di Iato, si sono recentemente aggiunti diversi rinvenimenti a Morgantina, che propongono interessanti agganci con la situazione riscontrata a Tindari.

Nel suo studio sistematico dei materiali ceramici romani di Morgantina, SHELLEY STONE ha individuato, infatti, un gruppo di frammenti che imitano le forme dell'aretina e delle altre produzioni italiche, ma che presentano strette analogie con le ceramiche tindaritane. La conclusione a cui giunge lo STONE è che la presenza di questi pezzi – sia pure in quantità ancora limitata –

---

[107] N. LAMBOGLIA, in: AC XI, 1959, p. 87ss. La matrice (Antiquarium di Tindari, inv. 4628), parzialmente ricomposta da due frammenti, è stata rinvenuta negli scarichi di una delle prime trincee di scavo; il frammento di vaso (Antiquarium di Tindari, inv. 10389), ricomposto da otto pezzi, proviene dagli scavi sul lato sud-orientale della „casa romana" presso la Basilica.

[108] A questo proposito, vd. N. LAMBOGLIA, in: AC XI, 1959, pp. 89–90. L'autore rileva, sia riguardo alla matrice ed al frammento megarese che a quelli di t.s., „la coincidenza dell'argilla, per il colore, per la granulosità e per la compattezza della pasta, con quella attuale della pianura esistente ad est del promontorio tindaritano, là dove il corso e le valli dei torrenti Elicona e Mazzarrà hanno creato vasti terreni alluvionali e banchi di argilla ancora notevolmente sfruttati".

[109] N. LAMBOGLIA, in: RStLig 1972, 3–4, p. 333.

[110] H. BLOESCH – H. P. ISLER, in: SicA IV, 1971, 15, pp. 16–17, e in NSc 1972, p. 649.

confermerebbe l'esistenza di una produzione isolana di ceramica fine durante la prima età imperiale, influenzata nella scelta dei tipi e delle forme dalle coeve fabbriche peninsulari[111].

Grazie ai contributi portati da queste nuove ricerche il quadro proposto dal LAMBOGLIA in base ai rinvenimenti di Tindari acquista dunque maggiore consistenza, ma molti interrogativi restano aperti.

Per la definizione di questo problema si impone sempre più la necessità di estendere l'indagine ad altre aree della Sicilia, con una capillare ricerca archeologica che si affianchi alla tradizionale analisi storico-filologica. E' chiaro, infatti, che l'immagine di una Sicilia centro di attività artigiane altamente specializzate, e „nettamente distinte" – con un'espressione del LAMBOGLIA – dai centri di produzione delle ceramiche italiche, potrà prendere corpo attraverso la definizione della fabbrica o delle fabbriche di sigillata siciliana, con una mappa sistematica della reale capacità di penetrazione dei loro prodotti nel mercato isolano, rispetto alle importazioni che, come abbiamo visto, sono segnalate in ogni parte dell'isola.

L'attività archeologica nei centri urbani e nel territorio ci dà per ora un'immagine molto frammentaria delle attività imprenditoriali nella Sicilia dei secoli I avanti e I d. C. Come abbiamo avuto modo di notare nel corso di quest'indagine, le indicazioni più significative vengono fornite ancora una volta dalla Sicilia sud-orientale, e in particolare da Siracusa.

Nell'antico quartiere ceramico della città sono state individuate delle fornaci attive già in età ellenistica, localizzate nei cimiteri di S. Lucia, Vigna Cassia, S. Maria di Gesù e nell'area di Villa Maria[112], che rimasero in funzione sino al I sec. d. C. Esse hanno restituito tra i loro scarti, ammassi di tegole, anfore, cumuli di tegami e lucerne, ceramica corrente. Le fornaci di Villa Maria, illustrate da A. M. FALLICO in una segnalazione su 'Notizie degli Scavi'[113], vivono in età repubblicana e protoimperiale il loro periodo di maggior fioritura, e le produzioni maggiormente testimoniate sono la ceramica di tipo S. Giuliano, la campana C e i vasetti a pareti sottili; per l'età augustea la FALLICO ipotizza, sulla base di alcuni elementi emersi durante lo scavo, una produzione sia pure limitata di 'pre-sigillata'.

Nelle fornaci di S. Lucia, pubblicate da S. L. AGNELLO e riprese da S. LAGONA[114], si assiste invece ad uno scadimento della produzione già durante il I sec. a. C., quando alla ceramica di buon livello di età tardo-ellenistica si sostituisce prevalentemente quella di uso corrente. Una situazione analoga si riscontra anche a Vigna Cassia[115].

---

[111] S. C. STONE, Roman Pottery from Morgantina cit., p. 253 ss.

[112] Per la bibliografia sull'argomento vd. A. M. FALLICO, in: NSc 1972, II, p. 592, nota 1. Un quadro sintetico del problema in: S. L. AGNELLO, Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana, Matera 1969 (1971), in particolare pp. 47–48.

[113] A. M. FALLICO, in: NSc 1971, II, p. 590 ss.

[114] S. L. AGNELLO, in: RACr 1954, 1–2, p. 54 ss.; S. LAGONA, in: ArchStorSir II, 1972–73, p. 96 ss.

[115] S. L. AGNELLO, in: NSc 1955, pp. 226–228 e pp. 242–243.

Non sono stati segnalati altri forni ceramici sicuramente attivi durante il periodo protoimperiale; abbiamo solo delle segnalazioni, peraltro molto generiche, riguardanti due centri della Sicilia orientale.

Una fornace è attestata a Megara, dove la individuò P. ORSI durante lo scavo delle mura greche; sulla base dei reperti recuperati nell'area (vasellame aretino, tegoli bollati, una moneta costantiniana) il suo editore la assegnò ad età romana, senza precisarne la cronologia[116].

Di un ultimo forno, scoperto dal MELFI presso Chiaramonte Gulfi, ci dà notizia A. DI VITA. Sempre sulla base delle informazioni del MELFI, vi si sarebbe prodotta ceramica campana. Un motivo d'interesse può essere dato dall'aver trovato tra i suoi scarti un grosso frammento ricoperto di vernice rosso vivo, forse per un difetto di cottura (?)[117].

Siracusa resta dunque, per il momento, il centro di maggior interesse per la capacità di mantenere, anche in momenti di recessione, una propria autonomia imprenditoriale. E' appena da ricordare che essa ha tenuto vivaci rapporti con la Grecia e con l'Oriente, che, almeno sino al II secolo a. C. sembra aver avuto scambi commerciali anche con Marsiglia[118], e, infine, che fu sempre centro produttore e propagatore nell'isola dei prodotti dell'artigianato, tra i quali le ceramiche, occupando un ruolo preminente nella storia dell'economia isolana. SEBASTIANA LAGONA ricorda, a questo proposito, nel suo articolo sulle fornaci di S. Lucia[119], una nota di ORSI riguardante una scoperta da lui effettuata negli ipogei dei Grotticelli, nel 1913[120]: qui lo studioso rinvenne alcuni vasetti, calici e boccaletti, la cui forma avvicinava – parla anzi di „precisa coincidenza“ – a quella di ceramiche diffuse sin nella valle del Reno e pubblicate dal LOESCHCKE.

E ancora siracusana è la produzione dei vasi a pareti sottili, probabilmente esportati sui mercati della costa iberica e delle coste galliche, che ebbe il suo periodo di massima attività proprio fra il I sec. a. C. ed il I sec. d. C.[121].

In definitiva, è ragionevole supporre che proprio da questo centro o dal suo entroterra, così vitali nel corso della storia dell'isola, possano venirci novità e precisazioni utili a dare un inquadramento reale, se non definitivo, al problema di una produzione di terra sigillata in Sicilia.

Gli esiti di questa indagine si possono sintetizzare in una serie di punti, dai quali muovere in futuro per un esame capillare della sigillata italica in Sicilia.

In primo luogo, non mi sembra inutile insistere sul carattere di continuità nelle importazioni, dallo scorcio del I sec. a. C. a tutto il I sec. d. C., di cui abbiamo avuto la riprova nei bolli dei ceramisti rinvenuti nell'isola. Questa caratteristica è – attualmente – accompagnata da una certa scarsità dei prodotti ceramici, quasi sempre a superficie liscia, molto raramente decorati da matrice, che appaiono concentrati nelle aree urbane costiere. Per questi dati si sono avanzate delle ipotesi – indirizzi della domanda del mercato isolano, posizione politico-economica più o meno saliente delle città – che attendono una verifica dalle nuove scoperte nelle zone di scavo.

---

[116] P. ORSI, in: MALinc I, 1890, col. 762.

[117] DI VITA, p. 22.

[118] S. LAGONA, in: ArchStorSir II, 1972–73, p. 96, nota 25.

[119] S. LAGONA, in: ArchStorSir II, 1972–73, p. 96 ss.

[120] P. ORSI, in: NSc 1913, p. 261 ss., nota 1.

[121] RICCI, p. 127ss.

Il perno del problema è, infatti, ancora e sempre, la scarsa conoscenza archeologica che abbiamo della Sicilia romana, soprattutto di quella protoimperiale, ma i dati che sino ad oggi sono emersi in altri settori della ricerca sull'età romana dell'isola, sembrano confortare il panorama che abbiamo potuto ricostruire per la sigillata. La limitata quantità di italica presente in molti degli insediamenti rurali dell'interno si collega con una prevalenza socioeconomica, oltre che politica, delle città costiere, quali Siracusa, Termini, Tindari, o Lilibeo.

In questo quadro comincia ad inserirsi un elemento relativamente nuovo nella storia degli studi dell'isola, e cioè quello della produzione locale. Su questo versante autentici progressi si avranno non solo alla luce di nuove scoperte, ma anche dal riesame attento e sistematico dei materiali, ancora troppo spesso inediti, da scavi già effettuati.

E' chiaro che la presenza di fabbriche di ceramica fine da mensa nell'isola presuppone, oltre a delle tradizioni nella produzione di ceramiche, un ambiente dinamico da un punto di vista imprenditoriale, ancora nella tarda repubblica e nella prima età imperiale. Ed è questo il punto che richiede oggi maggiori riflessioni e verifiche.

Si ringraziano i Soprintendenti Prof. E. DE MIRO, Prof. V. TUSA, Dott. G. VOZA; inoltre il Prof. L. BERNABÒ BREA, la Dott.ssa G. BACCI SPIGO, la Dott.ssa M. CAVALIER, la Dott.ssa C. A. DI STEFANO, la Dott.ssa G. FIORENTINI, il Dott. U. SPIGO, la Dott.ssa I. TAMBURELLO e la Dott.ssa TRANCHINA, per la benevola attenzione prestata, che ha reso possibile la realizzazione di questa ricerca. Si ringraziano altresì il Prof. H. COMFORT per i suoi suggerimenti, il Prof. H. P. ISLER per le preziose informazioni sui risultati degli scavi di Monte Iato, il Prof. G. CARETTONI, per aver consentito l'esame della sigillata di Halaesa, ed il Prof. N. BONACASA, per i suoi consigli assidui durante la stesura di questo lavoro.

Abbreviazioni e bibliografia

AC	Archeologia Classica.
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology.
ArchStorSir	Archivio Storico Siracusano.
ArchStorSicilia	Archivio Storico per la Sicilia orientale.
AttiIIICStR	Atti del III Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani, Bologna 1934.
BArte	Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.
BEFAR	Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.

Bémont	C. Bémont, Recherches méthodologiques sur la céramique sigillée. Les vases estampillés de Glanum, BEFAR CCXXVII, Rome 1976.
Columba	G. M. Columba, I porti della Sicilia, Roma 1906 (Estratto).
CronAStorArt	Cronache di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.
CVArr	A. Oxé – H. Comfort, Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum, Bonn 1968.
Di Vita	A. Di Vita, Ricerche archeologiche in territorio di Chiaramonte Gulfi, Catania 1954.
Dragendorff – Watzinger	A. Dragendorff – C. Watzinger, Arretinische Reliefkeramik, Reutlingen 1948.
FA	Fasti Archaeologici.
Goudineau	Ch. Goudineau, La céramique aretine lisse. Fouilles de l'École Française de Rome à Bolsena (Poggio Moscini), Tomo IV, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, suppl. 6, Paris 1968.
Heichelheim	F. Heichelheim, Storia economica del mondo antico (trad. it.), Bari 1979.
Himera II	Himera II. Campagne di scavo 1966 – 1973, Roma 1976.
Kokalos	ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di Storia Antica dell'Università di Palermo.
MALinc	Monumenti Antichi dell'Accademia dei Lincei.
Manacorda	D. Manacorda, Relitti sottomarini di età repubblicana: stato della ricerca con appendice bibliografica. (Relazione svolta a Macerata nel 1978), in: Seminario Internazionale di Studio: Forma di produzione schiavistica e tendenze della società romana: II sec. a. C. – II d. C. Un caso di sviluppo precapitalistico. Istituto Gramsci, Pisa 1979. (In ciclostilato.)
Mél	Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (École Française de Rome).
Meligunìs Lipára I	L. Bernabò Brea – M. Cavalier, Meligunìs Lipára I, Palermo 1960.
Meligunìs Lipára II	L. Bernabò Brea – M. Cavalier, Meligunìs Lipára II, Palermo 1965.
NSc	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
OA	Oriens Antiquus.
Oxé	A. Oxé, Arretinische Reliefgefässe vom Rhein, Frankfurt 1933.
Pucci, Instrumentum	G. Pucci, Le terre sigillate italiche, galliche e orientali, in: Quaderni di cultura materiale 1: L'instrumentum domesticum di Ercolano e Pompei nella prima età imperiale, Roma 1977.
RACr	Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana.
ReiCretRomFautActa	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta.
Ricci	A. Ricci, I vasi potori a pareti sottili, in: Società romana e produzione schiavistica, vol. II: Merci, mercato e scambi nel Mediterraneo (a cura di A. Giardina ed A. Schiavone), Bari 1981.
Rougé	J. Rougé, Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Mediterranée sous l'Empire romain, Paris 1966.
RStLig	Rivista di Studi Liguri.

SicA	Sicilia Archeologica.
Sicilia Romana	La Sicilia Romana, in: La Sicilia Antica (a cura di E. Gabba e G. Vallet), II,2, Napoli 1980.
Stenico, Cer.Arr. I	A. Stenico, La ceramica arretina – I. Museo di Arezzo. Rasinius I, Milano – Varese 1960.
Stenico, Cer.Arr. II	A. Stenico, La ceramica arretina – II. Collezioni diverse. Punzoni, modelli, calchi, Milano – Varese 1966.
In p.p.	in planta pedis.
T.s.it.	terra sigillata italica.

Indice delle illustrazioni

I. Tavole:

I 1 Siracusa: bollo di Avillius.
2 Siracusa: bollo di Camurius.
3 Siracusa: bollo di Zoilus.
II 1 Siracusa: coppetta Dragendorff 27.
2 Lilibeo: bollo di Agathemerus.
3 Siracusa: frammento con bollo di Cornelius.
III 1 Siracusa: vaso di Atticus di Naevius.
2 Tindari: parte di matrice e di vaso 'megarici'.
3 Tindari: vaso con musico e danzatrice.
4 Tindari: stesso vaso; lato con satiro.
IV 1 Solunto: particolare di vaso decorato.
2 Monte Iato: bicchiere di M. Perennius.
3 Tindari: coppetta Goudineau 21.
4 Tindari: frammento con Nereide.
V 1 Monte Iato: calice con decorazione vegetale.
2 Monte Iato: frammento con danzatrice ed Eros.
3 Solunto: bollo di Protus di Calidius.
4 Solunto: bollo di Secundus di Publius.
VI 1 Solunto: bollo di Avillius.
2 Solunto: bollo di A. Titius.
3 Solunto: bollo di Cornelius.
4 Lilibeo: bollo di C. Murrius.
VII 1 Agrigento: frammento di vaso decorato di Rasinius.
2 Agrigento: bollo di P. Messenus Menopilus.
3 Lipari: bollo con figura di ramo.
VIII 1 Agrigento: bollo di L. Titius Iusculus.
2 Agrigento: frammento di vaso decorato da Primus.
3 Siracusa: grande piatto Goudineau 39.
IX 1 Lipari: bollo circolare con raggi.
2 Lipari: bollo di Cornelius.
3 Lipari: bollo di Hilarus di Cornelius.
X 1 Lipari: bollo di L. Valerius Titus.
2 Lipari: bollo di Q. Pompeius Serenus.
3 Lipari: bollo di Agathemerus.
XI 1 Lipari: bollo di Princeps di Naevius.
2 Lipari: bollo di Princeps (Naevi?).
3 Lipari: bollo di Xanthus.

XII 1 Lipari: bollo di L. Rasinius Pisanus.
2 Lipari: bollo di Cryses di C. Valerius.
3 Lipari: bollo di Felix di L. Saufeius.

Referenze fotografiche:

Tavola I: nn. 1 – 3, Studio ZOOM di G. L. Carnera.
Tavola II: nn. 1 e 3, Studio ZOOM di G. L. Carnera; n. 2, Istituto di Archeologia, Palermo.
Tavola III: n. 1, Studio ZOOM di G. L. Carnera; nn. 2 – 4, foto Museo.
Tavola IV: n. 1, Istituto di Archeologia, Palermo; n. 2, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich; nn. 3 – 4, foto Museo.
Tavola V: nn. 1 – 2, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Zürich; nn. 3 – 4, Istituto di Archeologia, Palermo.
Tavola VI: nn. 1 – 4, Istituto di Archeologia, Palermo.
Tavola VII: nn. 1 – 2, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Agrigento; n. 3, foto Cavalier.
Tavola VIII: nn. 1 – 2, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Agrigento; n. 3, Studio ZOOM di G. L. Carnera.
Tavola IX: nn. 1 – 3, foto Cavalier.
Tavola X: nn. 1 – 3, foto Cavalier.
Tavola XI: nn. 1 – 3, foto Cavalier.
Tavola XII: nn. 1 – 3, foto Cavalier.

II. Figure:

Fig. A (p. 420): Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Siracusa.
Fig. B (p. 423): Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Tindari.
Fig. C (p. 426): Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Solunto.
Fig. D (p. 435): Terra sigillata italica. Forme presenti a Lipari.
Fig. E (p. 441): Distribuzione della sigillata italica in Sicilia. Rinvenimenti effettuati nelle aree urbane o nel territorio dei centri indicati.

La provincia romana di Sardegna,
I. I secoli I – III*

di Piero Meloni, Cagliari

Sommario

I. Dal dominio punico al dominio romano 451
II. La Sardegna nel conflitto fra Roma e Cartagine 454
III. La Sardegna nel II e I secolo a. C. 458
IV. Società ed economia durante la repubblica 461
V. La Sardegna da Augusto a Diocleziano 466
VI. La viabilità 472
VII. Le forze armate di stanza in Sardegna 479
VIII. Divinità e culti 482
Carta: Centri e vie di communicazione nella Sardegna romana . . . . dopo 540

I. Dal dominio punico al dominio romano

Il primo esplicito ricordo dei rapporti fra Roma e la Sardegna è contenuto in una delle clausole del primo trattato fra Roma e Cartagine del 508/7, secondo il sistema cronologico di Polibio che ci dà il testo: il commercio viene consentito ai Romani solo nella Libia – ossia nei territori attorno al golfo di Tunisi – ed in Sardegna, purchè alla presenza di un pubblico ufficiale, un κῆρυξ o un γραμματεύς, dando così carattere ufficiale al contratto di compravendita[1]. Questa clausola, e tutto il testo del trattato, mettono bene in luce il virtuale controllo cartaginese della Sardegna, ricordata alla stessa stregua del territorio metropolitano, quindi sostanzialmente sottomessa. In realtà, dopo una sfortunata campagna condotta da Malco negli anni fra il 545 e il 535, Cartagine aveva affidato qualche decennio più tardi la sottomissione dell'isola ai fratelli Asdrubale ed Amilcare i quali l'avevano felicemente condotta a termine[2]. La potente città africana raccoglieva così le sorti e l'eredità delle colonie fenicie.

---

* Per l'approfondimento dei problemi trattati in questo articolo vedi il mio volume La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975; cfr. anche L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958. [I rimandi all'art. di G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., in questo stesso volume di ANRW (pp. 552–739) non sono dell'autore, Piero Meloni, ma aggiunti a cura della redazione.]

[1] Pol. III,22,4 sgg. (H. Bengtson, Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr., Monaco – Berlino, 1962, pp. 16 sgg., nr. 121). Il valore del riferimento alla

Una notizia di Diodoro, variamente intesa dagli storici moderni, ci porterebbe a supporre l'invio in Sardegna di cinquecento coloni nel 378/7 (o 386 secondo la cronologia liviana); tuttavia, gli interessi di Roma sul mare ed il suo affacciarsi alle grandi correnti del commercio mediterraneo sono da riportare ad un periodo più tardo e la città, per la quale l'isola era fuori dal suo quadro politico ed economico, non aveva nè la volontà nè i mezzi per dedurre una colonia di tale entità[3]. Questa considerazione ci consente di vedere sotto una luce particolare la menzione della Sardegna nel secondo trattato fra Roma e Cartagine del 348. Nessun romano avrebbe commerciato o fondato città in Sardegna ed in Libia, nè vi avrebbe preso terra per un tempo più lungo di quanto fosse necessario per fare provviste o riparare la nave; se poi vi fosse stato spinto dalla tempesta, avrebbe dovuto ripartirne entro lo spazio di cinque giorni. E' evidente che la Sardegna e la Libia, le quali nel primo trattato erano aperte al commercio romano, se pure sotto particolari limitazioni, in questo erano decisamente chiuse; ormai Cartagine era in una fase di cosciente imperialismo nel quale i suoi interessi, economici e politici, venivano affermati e difesi con vigore contro ogni eventuale minaccia da parte di Roma[4].

Sardegna è stato ridimensionato da F. W. Walbank, A historical commentary on Polybius, I, Oxford, 1957, pp. 342 sg.

[2] Sulle campagne di Malco, P. Meloni, La cronologia delle campagne di Malco, Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 105 sgg. e V. Merante, Malco e la cronologia cartaginese fino alla battaglia di Imera, Κώκαλος, XIII, 1967, pp. 105 sgg. Le campagne di Asdrubale e Amilcare sono in Giustino XIX,1,3 sgg., il quale, più avanti, parla della spedizione di Dorieo in Sicilia, da porre intorno al 510.

[3] I. Didu, Il supposto invio di coloni romani in Sardegna nell'anno 378/7 a. C., Athenaeum, L, 1972, pp. 31 sgg. Non può essere citata a conferma la notizia di una supposta colonizzazione romana in Corsica tramandata da Teofrasto, Hist. plant. V,8,2. E' probabile che nel testo di Diodoro al posto della Sardegna sia da leggere *Satricum*, colonia che fu veramente dedotta nel 385 secondo Livio VI,16,6. Ammette, invece, una colonizzazione in Sardegna, nella costa orientale, a Feronia, da parte della plebe romana, M. Torelli, Colonizzazioni etrusche e latine di epoca arcaica: un esempio, in: Gli Etruschi e Roma. Incontro di Studi in onore di M. Pallottino. Roma 1979, Roma, 1981, pp. 71 sgg.

[4] Pol. III,24,3 sgg. (H. Bengtson, Verträge, pp. 306 sgg., nr. 326); la clausola riguardante la Sardegna è al § 11. La proibizione di fondare colonie è da considerarsi non come reazione alla supposta colonizzazione del 378/7 o 386, ma come una clausola di valore più generale inserita nei trattati fra Cartagine e città marittime. Nell'anno precedente la supposta colonizzazione, quindi nel 379/8 è ricordata da Diodoro XV,24,2 sg. una rivolta di Sardi che sarebbe stata soffocata nello stesso anno; nel 368 la colloca S. Mazzarino, Introduzione alle guerre puniche, Catania, 1947, p. 91.

Con l'inizio della lunga contesa fra Roma e Cartagine, cioè durante la prima guerra punica, le fonti ricordano con una certa ampiezza la Sardegna e la posizione che essa ebbe nel conflitto. Nel 262, dopo che erano state aperte le ostilità, Cartagine avrebbe ammassato nell'isola la maggior parte del suo esercito per minacciare le posizioni di Roma e Roma stessa, secondo una testimonianza di Zonara, certamente esagerata[5]. Nel 259 il console L. Cornelio Scipione, conquistate Aleria ed altre località in Corsica, si volse verso la Sardegna; mentre alcune fonti parlano di una conquista di Olbia, altre affermano che il console si sarebbe ritirato per la presenza di una flotta cartaginese: al rientro egli celebrò un trionfo *de Poeneis et Sardin(ia)*[6]. Nel successivo 258 il console C. Sulpicio Patercolo, dopo aver compiuto scorrerie nell'isola, sorprese sul mare e sconfisse duramente l'ammiraglio cartaginese Annibale che a Sulci aveva la base della sua flotta; al rientro a Roma gli fu concesso un trionfo *de Poeneis et Sardeis*, quasi a marcare la distinta entità etnica di questi ultimi[7]. Della Sardegna, infine, nessuna menzione fu fatta nelle trattative di pace condotte dopo la vittoria di Adys e la conquista romana di Tunisi, nell'inverno del 256/5[8], nè certamente era contemplata la sua cessione nel trattato del 241 che pose fine alla prima punica, nonostante l'attestazione contraria di buona parte della tradizione annalistica[9].

Nella primavera del successivo 240, mentre in Africa infuriava la rivolta delle truppe mercenarie contro Cartagine già duramente provata dalla guerra con Roma appena conclusa, i mercenari stanziati in Sardegna si ribellarono anch'essi, attaccarono le forze cartaginesi, chiusero nella rocca della città il loro comandante e lo misero a morte con i suoi. Nuovi contingenti vennero inviati nell'isola dall'Africa, ma anche questi si unirono ai rivoltosi, presero prigioniero il loro generale e lo crocifissero. Tuttavia, di fronte alla reazione dei Sardo-punici, i mercenari, verso la fine della stagione operativa del 239, vedendo declinare le loro fortune, chiesero l'intervento di Roma la quale rifiutò, forse nella speranza che una forma di autonomia più o meno larvata, concessa eventualmente alla Sardegna da Cartagine, avrebbe garantito un equilibrio a lei più favorevole nel Tirreno e nel Mediterraneo centrale in genere. Tuttavia, nel 238, quando ormai la rivolta africana veniva soffocata nel sangue, una seconda richiesta dei mercenari di Sardegna venne accolta di fronte al timore che Cartagine riprendesse le sue posizioni nell'isola e disponesse nuovamente delle sue riserve di uomini, di minerali, di granaglie, accentuandone anche il valore strategico[10]. Contro lo spirito e la lettera del trattato del 241, il console del 238, Ti. Sempronio Gracco passò nell'isola e se ne impadronì „senza combattere", come afferma Zonara, quindi o senza incontrare resistenza da parte delle città sardo-puniche o senza che Cartagine decidesse di impegnarsi in una nuova guerra con Roma. La città africana, infatti, aveva già accettato un'aggiunta al trattato del 241 che prevedeva la cessione della Sardegna[11].

---

[5] VIII,10. La notizia risale direttamente a Dione Cassio e, più addietro, a Filino, utilizzato anche da Polibio, o ad una fonte annalistica.

[6] I documenti ufficiali sono due: l'elogio di Scipione, scritto intorno al 200: Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, ed. A. DEGRASSI (= ILLRP), 310; l'annotazione dei Fasti Triumphales Capitolini, in: Inscriptiones Italiae, XIII,1, ed. A. DEGRASSI, pp. 76 sg. Per le fonti letterarie, Zonara VIII,11 e, per le annalistiche sulla presa di Olbia, Floro I,18,15; Valerio Massimo V,1,2; Silio Italico, Pun. VI, vv. 671 ss.; Orosio IV,7,11; Frontino, Strat. III,9,4 e 10,2. Vedi G. DE SANCTIS, Storia dei Romani, III^2,1, Firenze, 1967, pp. 128 sg. e n. 81.

[7] Zon. VIII,12 (cfr. Frammento 43 di Dione Cassio 32 b); vedi anche la Periocha XVII di Livio; Polibio I,24,6; Orosio IV,8,4. Il trionfo è nei Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 76 sg.: O. LEUZE, Die Kämpfe um Sardinien und Korsica im ersten punischen Kriege, Klio, II, 1910, pp. 406 sgg.

[8] Di diverso avviso è Dione Cassio nel Frammento 43,22; per la sua valutazione, H. H. SCHMITT, Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr., Monaco, 1969, pp. 153 sgg., nr. 483, ove è la relativa bibliografia.

[9] Per questa tradizione vedi Orosio IV,12,2; Pseudo Aurelio Vittore, De viris ill. 41,2; Eutropio III,2,2; Ampelio, Liber mem. 46,2; due diverse tradizioni in Livio XXI,1,5 e 40,5; XXII,54,11: vedi, però, Polibio III,28,1 sgg. Per il trattato H. H. SCHMITT, Verträge, pp. 173 sgg., nr. 493.

II. La Sardegna nel conflitto fra Roma e Cartagine

Occupate le città della costa e preso possesso dell'immediato retroterra ove Cartaginesi e Sardi erano stati portati da una lunga convivenza ad una profonda integrazione culturale, Roma divenne la garante dell'ordinato sviluppo sociale ed economico di queste zone nelle quali erano già sviluppate colture cerealicole su base latifondista. Nel centro montuoso, invece, popolazioni fiere e bellicose che vivevano su pascoli comuni conducendo un'economia pastorale la quale offriva i mezzi di sussistenza e nutriva gli scambi con le città e le pianure, diedero vita a numerose rivolte che le fonti ricordano. Alla base di queste stavano la minaccia continua che l'economia cerealicola in espansione rappresentava per i loro pascoli e lo spirito di indipendenza che anche Cartagine si era vista costretta a riconoscere.

---

[10] La rivolta dei mercenari è in Polibio I,79,1 sgg., che non sappiamo se risalga ancora a Filino o ad una nuova fonte filocartaginese; il primo invito a Roma è in 83,11 ed è posto verso la fine della stagione operativa da G. de Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, III^{2},1, p. 386 e n. 33; vedi anche F. W. Walbank, Commentary on Polybius, I, pp. 144 (a 79,5) e 146 (a 83,11); la seconda richiesta di intervento è in 88,8. Un giudizio molto severo dello storico sull'intervento romano in Sardegna è in III,28,1 sgg.

[11] La spedizione di Ti. Sempronio Gracco è in Zonara VIII,18; vedi anche Sinnio Capitone presso Festo pp. 428 sgg. ed. Lindsay s. v. *„Sardi venales"* (per questa espressione vedi più avanti agli anni 177 e 176). L'aggiunta riguardante la Sardegna al trattato del 241 è in Polibio I,88,8 sgg.; vedi anche III,10,1 sgg. e 27,8; Eutropio III,2,2 all'anno consolare 237: H. H. Schmitt, Verträge, pp. 185 sgg., nr. 497. Il racconto di Polibio è stato, in un suo passo (III,10,1), chiarito da M. Dubuisson, Procédés de la diplomatie romaine. L'annexion de la Sardaigne et le sens de συγκαταβαίνειν, Rev. Ét. Lat., LVII, 1979, pp. 114 sgg.

La prima rivolta si ebbe nel 236 e terminò con la sconfitta dei fieri montanari[12]. Nel successivo 235, dietro sobillazione di Cartagine, le ostilità furono riaperte: a condurre le operazioni di repressione fu lo stesso console T. Manlio Torquato il quale ebbe l'onore del trionfo *de Sardeis*, il terzo[13]. Tuttavia, l'isola era ben lontana dall'essere, anche momentaneamente, pacificata. L'anno dopo, il 234, il pretore P. Cornelio trovò la morte in Sardegna con buona parte delle sue truppe, colpito da un'epidemia, forse la malaria, mentre era al comando delle operazioni; lo sostituì il console Sp. Carvilio Massimo il quale ebbe l'onore di un trionfo *de Sardeis*[14]; poco sappiamo delle operazioni condotte nell'isola dal console del successivo 233, M'. Pomponio Matone, anche se egli potè celebrare un quinto trionfo *de Sardeis*. L'opera di sobillazione di Cartagine doveva aver assunto proporzioni talmente ampie che i Romani inviarono un'ambasceria alla città africana ingiungendole di cessare da iniziative di questo genere e di richiamare le sue navi dai porti sardi e corsi; la risposta cartaginese sarebbe stata fredda e perfino sprezzante[15].

Di tale gravità era il pericolo minacciato, che nel successivo 232 entrambi i consoli vennero inviati nell'isola: M. Emilio Lepido e M. Publicio Malleolo; dopo essersi impadronito di abbondante preda, l'esercito romano si vide costretto a lasciarla ai Corsi nei quali si era imbattuto sulla via del ritorno. Nonostante si discuta sull'identità di questa popolazione, è preferibile pensare ai Corsi della Sardegna settentrionale, la Gallura, piuttosto che non a quelli di Corsica[16]. Anche il 231 vide in Sardegna entrambi i consoli: C. Papirio Masone, al quale fu dato l'incarico di combattere i Corsi, si addentrò nelle zone montuose e boscose della Gallura e vide cadere molti dei suoi per gli agguati del nemico e per la mancanza d'acqua fino a che fu trovata una sorgente; alle fine si vide costretto a negoziare una pace con i Corsi. M. Pomponio Matone combattè contro i Sardi del Nuorese e delle Barbagie giungendo perfino a stanarli con segugi addestrati[17]. Intanto nel 227 Sardegna e Corsica venivano ordinate in una provincia – analoga condizione giuridica era fatta alla Sicilia – ed un pretore era inviato per governarle[18]. L'istituzionalizzazione dell'aspetto fiscale e vessativo della conquista romana spinse ancora una volta i Sardi alla rivolta, come è documentato per il 226 ed il 225[19].

---

[12] Sulle prime rivolte P. Meloni, Sei anni di lotte di Sardi e Corsi contro i Romani (236–231 a. C.), Studi Sardi, IX, 1949, pp. 121 sgg. Più in generale S. L. Dyson, Native revolt patterns in the Roman Empire. II: Sardinia and Corsica, Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW), II, 3, Berlino–New York, 1975, pp. 144 sgg. e R. J. Rowland Jr., Numismatics and the military history of Roman Sardinia, Akten XI. Intern. Limeskongresses. Székesfehérvár, 1976, Budapest, 1978, pp. 87 sgg. Per gli avvenimenti del 236 Zonara VIII, 18 (cfr. Dione Cassio, Frammento 45); vedi anche Valerio Massimo VI,3,3 e Ammiano Marcellino XIV,11,32.

[13] Zonara VIII,18; Eutropio III,3; Orosio IV,12,2; Periocha XX di Livio; Velleio II,38,2; l'annotazione sul trionfo è nei Fasti Triumph. Cap., in Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 76 sg. all'anno 234.

[14] Zonara VIII,18 e Fasti Triumph. Cap., in Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 76 sg. all'anno 233.

[15] Zonara VIII,18 e Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 78 sg. all'anno 232.

[16] Zonara VIII,18. I Corsi sono intesi come abitanti della Corsica da E. Pais, Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano, Roma, 1923, p. 49 e n. 2; come Corsi di Sardegna da G. de Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, III^2,1, p. 274 e n. 42. Le fonti relative a questi ultimi sono Plinio III,7,85; Pausania X,17,8 sg.; Tolomeo III,3,6.

[17] Zonara VIII,18; un trionfo sul monte Albano e con corona di mirto fu celebrato *de Corseis*: Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 78 sg. all'anno 230. Per la vittoria

Nel 216, mentre si svolgeva, travolgente, l'inizio della seconda guerra punica, il governatore della Sardegna, A. Cornelio Mammula, segnalava al senato i gravi problemi economici e di vettovagliamento che egli doveva affrontare: gli veniva risposto che pensasse egli stesso, per quanto possibile, a raddrizzare la situazione[20]. Nella primavera del 215 molte città sardo-puniche, vessate da una pesante politica fiscale ed ancora legate da forti interessi economici con Cartagine, si schierarono a fianco di quest'ultima defezionando dai Romani; i personaggi più in vista in questo disegno furono il cartaginese Annone ed il grande latifondista sardo-punico Ampsicora; teatro della rivolta la pianura dell'Oristanese, ove fiorivano centri quali Othoca, Neapolis, Tharros soprattutto. Ad una delegazione di *principes* delle città sardo-puniche Cartagine rispose con l'invio nell'isola di un corpo di spedizione affidandolo ad Asdrubale il Calvo; da parte sua Roma arruolò una legione i cui contingenti, assieme a quelli della legione già in Sardegna, assommarono, probabilmente, a 22.000 fanti e 1.200 cavalieri; il comando fu assegnato al console del 235, T. Manlio Torquato[21]. Ampsicora, in attesa degli aiuti di Asdrubale il quale, mentre si dirigeva verso un porto della Sardegna centro-occidentale, forse Tharros, era stato costretto da una tempesta a rifugiarsi nelle Baleari, si rivolse in cerca di aiuti agli indigeni dell'interno, i Sardi Pelliti, come li chiama Livio, nel tentativo di legare gli interessi dell'economia agraria capitalistica delle grandi pianure a quelli dell'economia pastorale comunitaria delle zone interne. Le forze romane avanzarono fino all'Oristanese e, attaccata battaglia, sconfissero duramente i rivoltosi guidati dal giovane Osto, figlio di Ampsicora, il quale con i superstiti si chiuse in Cornus (S. Caterina di Pittinuri). A riaccendere la lotta fu decisivo lo sbarco nell'isola di Asdrubale e delle forze

---

sui Sardi anche Cicerone, De nat. deor. III,20,52; Festo p. 131 ed. LINDSAY, sotto voce „*Murtea corona*".

[18] Solino, Coll. rerum mem. 5,1, pp. 47 sg. ed. MOMMSEN^2; Periocha XX di Livio; Livio XXIII,24,4; XXXIII,42,8; Zonara VIII,19; vedi anche più avanti.

[19] Le operazioni del 226 sono in Zonara VIII,19; quelle del 225 in Polibio II,23,6.

[20] Livio XXIII,21,1 sgg., in particolare § 6; alcune monete romane rinvenute in Sardegna con le lettere MA e C sono state intese come coniazione di A. Cornelio Mammula per far fronte alle necessità del momento e, pertanto, andrebbero lette *Ma(mmula)* e *C(arales)*: L. BREGLIA, Spunti di politica monetale romana in Sicilia e in Sardegna, Rend. Accad. Napoli, XXIV–XXV, 1949–50, pp. 13 sgg. e le riserve di L. FORTELEONI, Riconiazioni romane di monete puniche in Sardegna, Ann. Ist. Ital. Numism. Napoli, XVIII–XIX, 1971–72, pp. 113 sgg.

[21] La rivolta del 215 è in Livio XXIII,40,1 – 41,7; vedi anche Silio Italico, Pun. XII, vv. 342 sgg. Per la posizione di Ampsicora e di Annone, rispettivamente Livio XXIII,32,10 e 41,2; Cornus viene definita capitale – *caput* – della regione dove divampò la rivolta in 40,5. Sulle forze a disposizione dei Romani ha avanzato riserve G. DE SANCTIS, Storia dei Romani, III^2,2, p. 241, n. 90; vedi anche P. A. BRUNT, Italian manpower: 225 B.C. – A.D. 14, Oxford, 1971, p. 679.

ai suoi ordini; T. Manlio si ritirò a Carales, inseguito dalle forze nemiche che avanzavano nel Campidano razziando e depredando fino a che, accettata battaglia, riportò una grande vittoria: Asdrubale ed Annone furono fatti prigionieri, Osto morì in combattimento ed Ampsicora, poco dopo, si uccise. Cornus, dopo un breve assedio, fu presa e duramente punita. Era così fallito il tentativo di rimettere l'isola in mano cartaginese[22].

Le due legioni continuarono a restare in Sardegna, anche dopo che la rivolta era stata domata, fino a tutto il 207[23]; la minaccia di un improvviso attacco cartaginese non era scomparsa. Nel 210 Amilcare sbarcò nella pianura di Olbia ma, costretto a reimbarcarsi, raggiunse Carales, razziando bottino di ogni genere nel suo retroterra[24]. Ritirate le due legioni dall'isola, ne fu inviata nel 206, al loro posto, una nuova, di truppe fresche, mentre un contingente di cinquanta navi da guerra era posto al comando del governatore[25]. Così, nel 205 si potè intercettare una flotta cartaginese che recava aiuti ad Annibale chiuso nel Bruzio ed infliggerle gravi perdite[26]. Intanto l'avvicinarsi della conclusione della guerra con Cartagine costringeva l'autorità romana a premere sull'isola con richieste di uomini e di vettovaglie da inviare all'esercito in Africa. Questo avvenne nel 204[27], nel 203[28] e nel 202. Quest'anno, che doveva essere quello decisivo, un grosso convoglio partì per l'Africa, guidato dal governatore sardo P. Cornelio Lentulo, il quale raggiunse le forze romane negli stessi giorni della battaglia di Zama o Naraggara, quindi in ottobre[29]. Un altro convoglio, partito dall'Italia e diretto in Africa, incappò in una tempesta al largo della costa orientale, all'altezza dei *montes Insani* – forse quelli fra Dorgali e Baunei – e dovette riparare nel porto di Carales rimanendovi tutto l'inverno[30]. Alla fine dell'anno, cessate le ostilità, il grano sardo e siciliano fu destinato all'approvvigionamento di Roma e della penisola: esso fu tanto abbondante che i commercianti preferirono lasciarlo agli armatori per coprire almeno le spese di nolo[31].

---

[22] Non sembra aver fondamento il duello fra Osto ed Ennio descritto da Silio Italico, Pun. XII, vv. 393 sgg. (M. SECHI, Nota a un episodio di storia sarda nelle 'Puniche' di Silio Italico, Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 153 sgg.). Che la battaglia decisiva fu combattuta in Campidano, e non nei pressi di Cornus, ha mostrato A. TARAMELLI, Cuglieri. Ricerche ed esplorazioni nell'antica Cornus, Notizie Scavi, 1918, pp. 289 sgg. Un accenno alla rivolta del 215 è in Eutropio III,12,4 e 13,2 ed in Zonara IX,4.

[23] Vedi il racconto liviano per il 214 (XXIV,11,2), il 213 (XXIV,44,5), il 212 (XXV,3,5 sg.), il 211 (XXVI,1,11), il 210 (XXVI,28,11), il 209 (XXVII,7,14), il 208 (XXVII,22,6) e il 207 (XXVII,36,12).

[24] Livio XXVII,6,13 sg.

[25] Sulla nuova legione Livio XXVIII,10,14; essa è attestata anche per il 204 (XXIX,13,5), il 202 e il 201 (XXX,41,2); nel 208 era stato disposto l'invio del contingente navale (XXVII,22,6 sg.).

[26] Appiano, Liber Hann. LIV,226; anche Livio XXVIII,46,14, che cita le opinioni contrastanti degli annalisti Celio Antipatro e Valerio Anziate. Un'altra flotta cartaginese fu sorpresa nel 203: Livio XXX,19,5.

[27] Livio XXIX,36,1 sgg.

[28] Livio XXX,24,5. Vedi anche 2,4 e 3,2.

[29] Livio XXX,36,2; per la data dell'avvenimento G. DE SANCTIS, Storia dei Romani, III^2,2, p. 540 e n. 173.

[30] Livio XXX,39,2. Le fonti sui *Montes Insani* sono: Silio Italico, Pun. XII, vv. 372 sg.; Claudiano, De bello Gild. I, vv. 511 sgg.; Tolomeo III,3,7; Pausania, X,17,10 sg. Per la loro localizzazione B. R. MOTZO, La posizione dei Montes Insani della Sardegna, Atti

III. La Sardegna nel II e I secolo a.C.

Bisogna scendere fino al 181 per trovare notizia di un'altra rivolta di Sardi; il pretore M. Pinario Rusca, dopo aver condotto operazioni in Corsica, passò in Sardegna e vinse la popolazione degli Iliensi stanziata nel Nuorese e nelle Barbagie: ... *gente ne nunc quidem omni parte pacata*, conclude Livio confermando un'analoga testimonianza di Diodoro[32]. Alla fine del 178 gravi notizie furono portate a Roma: continuava la rivolta degli Iliensi rafforzata dai Bàlari, stanziati nel Logudoro e nell'Anglona; perdute ormai le ricche pianure, non restava che difendere le città anch'esse minacciate. Si decise di arruolare due legioni più i relativi contingenti di alleati e latini e di affidare il comando in Sardegna al console Ti. Sempronio Gracco[33]. Nel 177 e 176 questi riportò notevoli successi uccidendo 27.000 uomini, come afferma Livio dietro una fonte annalistica; al suo rientro a Roma celebrò un trionfo *[ex Sa]rdinia* e dedicò nel tempio della Mater Matuta una tavola con la carta dell'isola ed un'iscrizione nella quale celebrava le sue vittorie parlando di 80.000 Sardi uccisi o fatti prigionieri. Forse la cifra è eccessiva, ma molto probabilmente nacque in questa circostanza l'espressione *Sardi venales* – „Sardi da vendere" – tanto il mercato degli schiavi fu alimentato da quelli sardi[34].

II Congr. Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1930, I, Roma, 1931, pp. 379 sgg. e M. GRAS, Les «Montes Insani» de la Sardaigne, in: Mélanges offerts à R. Dion, Parigi, 1974, pp. 349 sgg.

[31] Livio XXX,38,5.

[32] Livio XL,19,6 sgg. e 34,12 sgg., ove il giudizio sugli Iliensi, confermato da quello di Diodoro, V,15,6. Le sedi degli Iliensi si ricavano da quelle dei Bàlari, per le quali vedi la n. succ.

[33] Per le notizie della fine del 178, Livio XLI,6,5 sgg.; anche le città sarde inviarono poco dopo un'ambasceria a Roma: 8,2 sgg.; per i provvedimenti presi, 9,2 e 8. Il cippo terminale dei Bàlari, al confine fra i territori di Berchidda e di Monti, è in P. MELONI, Stato attuale dell'epigrafia in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta Vth Intern. Congr. of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge, 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 241 sgg. = A.E. 1972, 224. Le fonti sugli Iliensi e i Bàlari oltre a Livio sono: Plinio III,7,85; Pomponio Mela, De Chorographia II,123; Pausania X,17,9; Strabone V,2,7.

[34] Per gli avvenimenti Livio XLI,12,4 sgg. e Floro I,22,35 (anno 177); XLI,17,1 sgg. (anno 176). Il trionfo in Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 80 sg. all'anno 175. La dedica alla Mater Matuta sempre in Livio XLI,28,8 sgg. Per l'espressione *Sardi venales,* riferita ai risultati di queste operazioni, Pseudo Aurelio Vittore, De viris ill. 57,2. Per un'altra tradizione che collegava *Sardi* con la città di Sardi nella Lidia, Plutarco, Romulus, 24,2 sg. e Quaest. Rom. LIII; essa è difesa da J. HUBAUX, Sardes, Sardiens et Véiens, Bull. Acad. Belg., XXXIX, 1953, pp. 696 sgg.

Nuove operazioni di repressione si svolsero in Sardegna nel 162, come dimostra la presenza nell'isola del proconsole Ti. Sempronio Gracco[35]; esse furono riprese negli anni dal 126 al 122 per opera del console del 126, L. Aurelio Oreste, il quale, a conclusione, nel 122, condusse un trionfo *ex Sardinia*[36]. Negli anni dal 115 al 111, il proconsole M. Cecilio Metello, inviato in Sardegna come console nel 115, continuò la repressione concludendola con un trionfo *ex Sardini[a]*[37]. Infine, probabilmente nel 104, il propretore T. Albucio celebrò di sua iniziativa un trionfo in Sardegna, nonostante Cicerone dica che le operazioni furono condotte da una sola coorte di ausiliari e contro *mastrucati latrunculi*, banditi coperti di un giaccone di pelle, la *mastruca*[38]. Subito dopo la morte di Silla, il console M. Emilio Lepido, sconfitto nel suo tentativo di restaurazione popolare, passò in Sardegna, attaccò le città, ma fu sconfitto dal governatore sillano morendo poi nell'isola mentre le sue forze venivano condotte in Ispagna e poste al comando di Sertorio[39]. Durante la guerra contro i pirati, nel 67, Pompeo venne in Sardegna rafforzandovi le guarnigioni[40]. Dieci anni più tardi, nel 57 e nel 56, lo stesso Pompeo ritornò nell'isola per organizzare più efficacemente le operazioni di vettovagliamento di Roma e dell'Italia colpite da una grave carestia[41].

Il 12 gennaio del 49 Cesare passava il Rubicone ed apriva le ostilità contro Pompeo; per assicurarsi i rifornimenti granari egli decise l'occupazione dell'Africa, della Sicilia e della Sardegna. Qui, Carales, alla notizia che il legato Q. Valerio Orca stava per sbarcare nell'isola con una legione, abbracciò la causa di Cesare cacciando il governatore pompeiano[42]. Nel 47 e 46 la guerra che si combattè in Africa toccò da vicino la Sardegna; nel 47 i pompeiani vi compirono incursioni frequenti con saccheggi e pesanti richieste di aiuto; Sulci si lasciò persuadere ad abbandonare la causa di Cesare, aprendo il suo porto ad una flotta pompeiana. Alla fine dello stesso anno Cesare, sbarcato in Africa, chiedeva insistentemente alle città sarde vettovaglie e grano[43]; più tardi, nel 46, sconfitti i nemici a Tapso, durante il suo viaggio di ritorno a Roma si fermò a Carales dal 16 al 28 aprile giuliani, prendendo duri provvedimenti contro Sulci[44]. Forse in questa circostanza Carales fu elevata al rango di *municipium civium Romanorum* e fu presa la decisione di dedurre una colonia a Turris Libisonis, Porto Torres.

---

[35] Valerio Massimo I,1,3; Cicerone, Ad Q.fr. II,2,1; De divin. I,17,33 e 36; De nat. deor. II,4,10 sg.; Pseudo Aurelio Vittore, De viris ill. 44,2; Plutarco, Marcellus 5,1 sgg.; vedi anche la Periocha XLVI di Livio.

[36] Periocha LX di Livio; vedi anche Plutarco, C. Gracchus 1,4; Pseudo Aurelio Vittore, De viris ill. 72,3; per il trionfo del 122, Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 82 sg., sotto questo anno.

[37] Vedi ancora i Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 84 sg.; anche Velleio II,8,2 ed Eutropio IV,25,1. Il magistrato romano operò anche una definizione di confini: CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947, ll. 7 sg.

[38] Per la data del governo di Albucio, T. R. S. BROUGHTON, The magistrates of the Roman republic, I, New York, 1951, pp. 556 e 560; per la testimonianza di Cicerone, De prov. cons. VII,15 sg.; anche In Pis. XXXVIII,92.

[39] Esuperanzio 6; vedi anche Sallustio, Hist. I, Frammenti 74 sgg. ed. MAURENBRECHER; fra le città attaccate è probabile che vi fosse Tharros (Framm. II,12, fuori posto); Asconio, In Scaur. p. 19 ed. CLARK; Appiano, Bella civilia I,13,107; Floro II,11,5; Plutarco, Pompeius 16,1 sgg.; Periocha XL di Livio.

[40] Cicerone, De imp. Cn. Pompei 12,34.

[41] Per il 57 Plutarco, Pompeius 50, 2 (J. VAN OOTEGHEM, Pompée le Grand, Bruxelles, 1954, p. 173); per il 56 Cicerone, Ad fam. I,9,9; ad Q.fr. II,5,4.

[42] Cesare, Bell. civ. I,30,2 sg. e 31,1; Cicerone Ad Att. X,16,3; Dione Cassio XLI,18,1; Orosio VI,15,7; Appiano, B.c. II,6,40; Lucano, Bell civ. III, v. 64. Per i rapporti fra Cesare e la Sardegna vedi B. R. MOTZO, Cesare e la Sardegna, in: Sardegna Romana, I, Roma, 1936, pp. 23 sgg.

Negli avvenimenti successivi alla morte di Cesare la Sardegna è ricordata a proposito delle varie spartizioni di province con le quali si tentò di comporre il dissidio fra Ottaviano ed Antonio[45]. Sesto Pompeo, il figlio di Pompeo Magno, ne fu tenuto fuori fino a che, presa l'iniziativa per mare e dato inizio, alla fine del 43, alla conquista della Sicilia, non cominciò a minacciare direttamente il vettovagliamento di Roma e della penisola con azioni di pirateria. Le sue posizioni migliorarono notevolmente con la presa di possesso della Sardegna e della Corsica che fu condotta a termine nel 40 dal suo legato Menodoro il quale solo a Carales, sempre legata alla causa cesariana, incontrò qualche difficoltà. Un improvviso attacco da parte di forze di Ottaviano portò alla riconquista dell'isola, ma per poco tempo; la Sardegna rimase sotto Sesto Pompeo fino agli inizi del 38 quando Menodoro tradì passando ad Ottaviano[46]. L'isola era economicamente prostrata e, per il lungo isolamento, tagliata fuori dalle grandi correnti di traffico del Mediterraneo. E' probabile che in questa occasione siano state coniate le monete di M. Azio Balbo con l'effige della divinità eponima dei Sardi e la leggenda *Sard(us) Pater* nel verso[47]. Il periodo di pace che Ottaviano assicurò all'isola fu di breve durata; nel 32 essa, assieme alle province occidentali, giurava fedeltà ad Ottaviano che stava per chiudere, ad Azio, la partita contro Antonio[48]. Ma non dovevano tardare ad accendersi nell'isola azioni di guerriglia e di resistenza da parte delle popolazioni del centro montuoso, al punto da persuadere Augusto, come diremo, a prendere nelle sue mani il governo della Sardegna.

---

[43] Per gli attacchi del 47, Dione Cassio XLII,56,3; per la posizione di Sulci, Bell. Afr. 98,1 sg. Per le richieste di Cesare, sempre Bell. Afr. 8,1.

[44] Il ritorno di Cesare e la sosta a Carales sono in Bell. Afr. 98,1 sg. In questa occasione Cicerone pronunciò un duro giudizio contro l'isola: Ad fam. IX,7,2.

[45] Per la posizione della Sardegna nelle varie spartizioni, Appiano, B.c. IV,1,2; Dione Cassio XLVI,55,4; ancora Dione Cassio XVIII,1,3; Appiano, B.c. V,3,12 sg.; Plutarco, Antonius, 23 sg.

[46] L'occupazione da parte di Menodoro è in Appiano, B.c. V,56,238 e in Dione Cassio XLVIII,30,7 sg.; il fallito tentativo delle forze di Ottaviano ancora in Appiano B.c. V,66,277 e in Dione Cassio XLVIII,30,8 e 45,5. Il tradimento di Menodoro in Appiano B.c. V,78,230 e 80,337, Dione Cassio XLVIII,45,4 sgg. e Orosio VI,18,21. Non si riferiscono a Menodoro l'iscrizione sarda CIL X,8072,7 e quella corsa 8034: P. B. SERRA, Reperti tardoantichi e altomedioevali nella Nurra, in: Quaderni Soprintendenza Antichità Sassari e Nuoro, Nr. III, 1976, pp. 11 sgg. Per la ricostruzione, dubbia, di questi avvenimenti, M. HADAS, Sextus Pompey, New York, 1930, pp. 87 sgg.

[47] P. MELONI, Sardegna Romana, pp. 89 sg. e I. DIDU, La cronologia della moneta di M. Azio Balbo, Centro Studi Doc. Italia Romana, Atti, VI, 1974–75, pp. 107 sgg.

[48] Augusto, Res Gestae XXV,2; anche Dione Cassio L,6,4.

IV. Società ed economia durante la repubblica

Nel 227, decisa l'occupazione permanente della Sardegna e della Corsica, l'autorità romana inviò un pretore, M. Valerio (Levino?) ad amministrarle[49]. Negli anni successivi, quando si trattò di soffocare le rivolte più pericolose, venne inviato al posto di un pretore un console e, nei casi di particolare gravità, come nel 232 e 231, entrambi i consoli[50]. Inoltre, anche il governo della Sardegna conobbe la procedura della *prorogatio imperii*, come è attestato soprattutto per i consoli L. Aurelio Oreste, che rimase nell'isola dal 126 al 122, e M. Cecilio Metello, dal 115 al 111[51]. La riduzione a provincia segnò per la Sardegna una dura pressione fiscale ed una utilizzazione delle sue risorse in funzione delle necessità di Roma e della penisola italiana. I Sardi, assieme agli Africani ed agli Spagnoli, furono multati nelle loro terre, come dice Cicerone, ossia con la *decima* e, al tempo stesso, col tributo, lo *stipendium*[52]; da quest'ultimo nessuna città sardo-punica fu esentata, giacchè nel 54 non ve ne era alcuna fra loro che fosse amica del popolo romano e libera, come aggiunge sempre Cicerone[53]. Non conosciamo l'entità della decima; se la si considera un terzo circa di quella siciliana, che era di 3.000.000 di moggi circa, allora è possibile supporla, al tempo del processo di Verre, in 1.000.000 di moggi c. (8.733.000 litri c.)[54]; se si parte, invece, dal calcolo delle razioni di grano per l'esercito in Etolia nel 189 a.C., forte di 75.000 uomini circa, approvvigionati con una decima sarda ed una siciliana, si arriva ad un totale, per entrambe, di 2.700.000 moggi c.[55], inferiore, di gran lunga, a quella attestata poco più di un secolo dopo. Certo la pressione fiscale fu pesante, giacchè essa è posta da Zonara alla base della rivolta dei Sardi del 226[56], da Livio alla base di quella del 215[57]. Non è documentata la sorte delle terre sarde divenute agro pubblico del popolo romano al momento della conquista, anche se è possibile intravvederla; sappiamo solo che il fertile retroterra di Porto Torres conobbe, probabilmente sotto Cesare, la deduzione di una colonia, Turris Libisonis[58].

---

[49] Solino, Coll. rerum mem. 5,1 pp. 47 sg. ed. MOMMSEN²; Periocha XX di Livio; Livio XXIII,24,4; Zonara VIII,19; per l'identificazione di M. Valerio, T. R. S. BROUGHTON, Magistrates, I, p. 229 all'anno 227; per l'unione alla Corsica Asconio, In Scaur. p. 19 ed. CLARK; anche Festo, Brev. 4.

[50] Zonara VIII,18.

[51] Per il primo, Periocha LX di Livio; Fasti Triumph. Cap., in: Inscr. Ital. XIII,1, pp. 82 sg. all'anno 122; per il secondo, ancora i Fasti Triumph. Cap. pp. 84 sg. all'anno 111: W. F. JASHEMSKI, The origins and history of the proconsular and the propraetorian imperium to 27 B.C., Chicago, 1950, soprattutto pp. 119 sgg.

[52] Pro Balbo 18,4; anche 9,24; sulla definizione di *stipendium*, Cicerone, In Verrem II,3, 6, 12.

[53] Pro Scauro 22,44 cfr. G. I. LUZZATTO, In tema di organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, Studi in onore di G. Grosso, I, Torino, 1968, p. 299.

[54] T. FRANK, An economic survey of ancient Rome, I: Rome and Italy of the republic, Baltimora, 1933, pp. 80 e 140.

[55] P. A. BRUNT, Italian manpower, p. 274.

La conquista romana aveva trovato la Sardegna divisa con un taglio ben definito in due diverse realtà economiche e sociali: da una parte le città sardo-puniche, in particolare quelle delle coste con il loro fertile retroterra, dall'altra le zone montuose del Nuorese, delle Barbagie, della Gallura. Nelle prime viveva una popolazione ormai commista di Punici e di Sardi, di vincitori e di vinti, profondamente integrati sotto le istituzioni, la lingua, la religione di Cartagine le quali avrebbero continuato a sussistere ancora per molti secoli dopo la conquista romana. In queste città, a fianco dei grandi commercianti, accrebbero la loro importanza i grandi proprietari terrieri, i latifondisti, i quali finirono per costituire la forza economicamente più viva e valida; erano loro ad avere la sostanziale disponibilità delle fertili pianure, se pure soggetti al versamento di una percentuale del grano prodotto, destinato all'approvvigionamento di Cartagine e dei suoi eserciti. L'elemento sardo partecipava a questo sfruttamento, caratterizzato da una sostanziale monocoltura, a livello di mano d'opera servile, ma anche di piccola proprietà e di proprietà latifondista[59]. Portata a termine la conquista dell'isola si venne creando un latifondo romano che si affiancò a quello punico, in parte mantenuto in vita, col quale sempre più si confonderà per l'importanza e l'estensione degli interessi comuni. L'esistenza del nuovo latifondo è documentata, fin dal periodo repubblicano, da quei cippi di confine i quali ricordano etnici che non possono essere considerati di vere e proprie *civitates*, di comunità, cioè, non urbanizzate, ma piuttosto di popolazioni rurali che prendevano il nome dal latifondo nel quale prestavano la loro opera. Ci sono pervenuti, in agro di Cuglieri, cippi della fine del II o degli inizi del I secolo a. C. i quali attestano gli *Euthiciani* o *Eutychiani* ed i loro confinanti, i *Giddilitani* o *Ciddilitani*, gli *Uddadhaddar* (?)

---

[56] VIII,19.

[57] XXIII,32,9; vedi anche 21,4 sgg.

[58] Plinio III,7,85; Anonimo Ravennate V,26; P. MELONI, Turris Libisonis romana alla luce delle iscrizioni, Epigraphica, XI, 1949 (1951), pp. 88 sgg. e in Dizionario Epigrafico, IV, 1958, pp. 947 sgg. s. v. Libisonis Turris.

[59] L'integrazione sardo-punica è ampiamente attestata dai dati archeologici: S. M. CECCHINI, I ritrovamenti fenici e punici in Sardegna, Roma, 1969; per il problema in generale, G. LILLIU, Rapporti fra la civiltà nuragica e la civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna, Studi Etruschi, XVIII, 1944, pp. 323 sgg.; S. MOSCATI, La penetrazione fenicia e punica in Sardegna, Mem. Accad. Naz. Lincei, XII, 1965 – 66, pp. 215 sgg.; Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, Milano, 1968, pp. 71 sgg.; G. PESCE, Sardegna punica, Cagliari, 1961, pp. 29 sgg.; F. BARRECA La Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., Sassari, 1979, pp. 82 sgg. Interessanti i dati numismatici: L. FORTELEONI, Le emissioni monetali della Sardegna punica, Sassari, 1961, pp. 47 sgg.

delle Numisie, padrone del latifondo, e gli *[– – –]uthon* (?); inoltre anche i *[– – –]rarri*, gli ultimi due sempre del latifondo delle Numisie[60].

Come già era avvenuto per Cartagine, il grano sardo risolse spesso situazioni di emergenza, anche dopo la conquista della fertile valle padana (224 – 222) per le difficoltà che il costo del trasporto del frumento per terra fino ai porti dell'Adriatico e da qui, per mare, fino alla foce del Tevere. Infatti il grano sardo è ricordato durante la seconda guerra punica, nel 212, 204, 203 e 202[61], nella guerra contro Antioco III di Siria, nel 191, 190 e 189[62], infine alla vigilia della guerra contro Perseo di Macedonia nel 171[63], soprattutto per l'esazione nell'isola di una seconda decima. Più tardi, nel 77 è ugualmente ricordato durante la rivolta di Lepido[64], nel 67 durante la guerra contro i pirati[65], nel 57 e 56 in occasione di una grave carestia che travagliava Roma e la penisola[66], nel 46 durante la guerra in Africa fra Cesare e i pompeiani[67], nel 42 mentre si svolgevano le azioni di pirateria di Sesto Pompeo[68], infine nel 40 – 38 quando quest'ultimo occupò la Sardegna minacciando di affamare Roma[69]. La fama della fertilità del suolo sardo era ben nota nel mondo romano; oltre alle testimonianze di Polibio, di Varrone, di Strabone e di Cicerone[70], ricorderemo che un gruppo di cittadini di Faleri, oggi Civita Castellana in provincia di Viterbo, qualche decennio dopo la ribellione della loro città avvenuta nel 241 e seguita dalla sua distruzione e dal conseguente trasferimento degli abitanti in un centro vicino, ritenne opportuno tentare la sorte e passare nell'isola, come si può dedurre dalla dedica posta a Giove, Giunone e Minerva dai *Falesce quei in Sardinia sunt*[71]. Tuttavia, per tutto il periodo repubblicano si insistette, in una economia in funzione degli interessi romani, sulla monocoltura del grano; non abbiamo, infatti, alcun accenno alla coltura dell'olivo, così come siamo certi che la Sardegna non doveva andare famosa per i suoi vigneti se molte persone del seguito di C. Gracco che nel 126 vi veniva come questore, portavano con sè anfore piene di vino[72].

---

[60] CIL X,7930 (= ILS 5983 = ILLRP 478 e add. II, p. 378) ed EE VIII,732, entrambi anche in CIL I^2,2,2227; Iscrizioni Latine della Sardegna, ed. G. Sotgiu (= ILSard.) 233; CIL X,7931 e 7932; A. Mastino, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, p. 124 nr. 25. La continuità del vecchio latifondo sardo-punico sembra documentata dall'esistenza di *stipendiarii veteres* nel 176 secondo Livio XLI,17,2.

[61] Gli invii di grano sardo sono tutti documentati in Livio: 212 (XXV,20,3); 204 (XXIX,36,2); 203 (XXX,24,5); 202 (XXX,36,2 e 38,5).

[62] Sempre Livio: 191 (XXXVI,2,12 sg.); 190 (XXXVII,2,12); 189 (XXXVII,50,10).

[63] Livio XLII,31,8.

[64] Esuperanzio 6.

[65] Cicerone, De imp. Cn. Pompei XII,34.

[66] Plutarco, Pompeius 50,2 (per il 57); Cicerone, Ad fam. I,9,9 e Ad Q. fr. II,5,4 (per il 56).

[67] Bellum Afr. 8,1 e 24,3.

[68] Appiano, B.c. IV,16,117.

[69] Appiano, B.c. V,67,280; Dione Cassio XLVIII,31,1 sgg. e Plutarco, Antonius 32,1.

[70] Polibio I,79,6 con il commento di F. W. Walbank, Commentary on Polybius, I, p. 144; Varrone, De re rust. II, Introduzione 3; Strabone V,2,7; Cicerone, De imp. Cn. Pompei 12,34, che definisce Sardegna, Sicilia e Africa . . . *tria frumentaria subsidia.*

[71] ILLRP 192, col commento dell'ed. A. Degrassi; vedi anche G. Giacomelli, La lingua falisca, Firenze, 1963, pp. 264 sg. nr. XIV.

Se questa era la situazione delle città e del loro retroterra, soprattutto delle pianure, le zone montuose, coperte di boschi, erano abitate da popolazioni indigene, da quegli stessi Sardi che avevano dato vita alla gloriosa civiltà dei nuraghi, i quali praticavano l'allevamento del bestiame su pascoli comuni, si vestivano di pelli, si nutrivano di latte e di carne e scambiavano i loro prodotti con quelli delle pianure, quando non si gettavano su queste con rapide scorrerie per fare bottino delle messi mature o del frumento ammassato nelle aie[73]. Per questo nelle rivolte dei Sardi non è da ricercare solo un contenuto nazionalistico, ma anche, e forse preferibilmente, una reazione alle colture latifondiste che andavano sempre più erodendo i pascoli di collina a danno dell'economia pastorale e comunitaria del centro montuoso; lo sappiamo con sicurezza da una testimonianza di Varrone che parla di attacchi in Sardegna da parte di popolazioni vicine a terre fertili[74], dalla grande scorreria del 178 che aveva depredato i campi e che, ormai, si dirigeva verso le città[75], infine da una sistemazione di confini fra popolazioni della montagna e popolazioni della pianura, operata dal console M. Cecilio Metello negli anni dal 115 al 111[76]. Se il taglio fra le due aree era, quindi, abbastanza netto, non è da credere che fra loro non esistessero scambi e relazioni economiche in genere: lo dimostrano l'esistenza di piccoli insediamenti cartaginesi lontano dalle coste, molti lungo il corso di fiumi; il ritrovamento di monete puniche, singole o in gruzzoli nelle zone centrali dell'isola; infine il disegno di Ampsicora, il più grande latifondista del basso Tirso di poter avere, come abbiamo detto, l'aiuto dei Sardi Pelliti nella rivolta contro Roma del 215[77].

Alle dure imposizioni e requisizioni delle quali la Sardegna fu oggetto, si aggiunsero, talvolta, l'azione senza scrupoli di privati uomini di affari romani ed il malgoverno di amministratori. Anche l'isola deve aver conosciuto l'attività dei capitalisti romani: *publicani*, impegnati nella riscossione di tasse e tributi dalle terre costituenti l'agro pubblico e dai porti, nell'appalto di miniere e trasporti e soprattutto *negotiatores*, banchieri ed usurai accanto ai quali operavano mercanti, industriali, fornitori per l'esercito. Per la Sardegna conosciamo una compagnia di appaltatori di saline, probabilmente quelle di Carales, nella prima metà del II secolo a. C.[78]. Per quanto poi riguarda l'azione disonesta di governatori, ricorderemo, accanto agli esempi di spiccata onestà sul piano personale ed amministrativo di M. Porcio Catone, governatore dell'isola nel 198[79], e di Gaio Gracco, questore prima e poi con la magistratura prorogata, dal 126 al 124[80], quelli di violenza e di concussione di tre governatori ai quali i Sardi intentarono un processo. I primi due, un certo Megabocco, prima del 54[81], e T. Albucio, forse nel 104[82], furono condannati; il terzo, M. Emilio Scauro, illustre membro della nobiltà che nel 54 era arrivato ad esigere dai Sardi una terza decima illegale, fu assolto per l'abile difesa di Cicerone[83].

---

[72] Gellio XV,12,4 e Plutarco, C. Gracchus 2,5: M. ROSTOVTZEV, Storia economica e sociale dell'impero romano, trad. ital., Firenze, 1933, p. 23 e n. 17. Come è noto, al momento della conquista i Cartaginesi avevano ordinato il taglio degli alberi da frutta: Pseudo Aristotele, De mir. ausc. 100.

[73] Per la popolazione preromana, A. TARAMELLI, Chi i Romani trovarono in Sardegna? Sardegna Romana, II, Roma, 1939, pp. 5 sgg.; sulle condizioni di vita Diodoro IV,29,6 e V,15,4 a proposito degli Iolei; anche Cicerone, De prov. cons. 7,15; Pro Scauro 20,45; Strabone V,2,7; Quintiliano I,5,8; Varrone, De re rust. II,11,11; Livio XXIII,40,3.

[74] De re rust. I,16,2: ... *prope Oeliem*; per altre lezioni vedi l'apparato critico al passo nell'ed. J. HEURGON, Parigi, 1978. E. PAIS, La „formula provinciae" della Sardegna nel I secolo secondo Plinio, in: Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, pp. 586 sgg., ha accostato questo toponimo a quello medioevale di Dolia – oggi Olla – ed a quello odierno di Planu 'e Olla presso Isili. Per la curatoria di Parte Olla o Dolia o Bonavolia (corruzione per Bona Dolia) vedi F. C. CASULA, Giudicati e curatorie, in: Atlante della Sardegna, Fasc. II, Roma, 1980, Commenti p. 100 e Tavole, nr. 39.

[75] Livio XLI,6,5 sgg.

[76] CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947, ll.7 sg.

[77] Per i dati archeologici, F. BARRECA, Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., pp. 82 sgg.; per i ritrovamenti monetali, L. FORTELEONI, Emissioni monetali, pp. 11 sgg.; il riferimento ad Ampsicora ed alla sua potenza economica è in Livio XXIII,32,10.

I Sardi dell'interno furono ridotti in condizioni di inferiorità con il progressivo restringimento delle loro sedi, la fissazione dei loro confini col latifondo confinante, l'imposizione di una economia in funzione di quella di Roma. Per gli altri, gli abitanti delle città sardo-puniche, la conquista assicurò un lungo periodo di pace e di prosperità che non sappiamo fino a quali strati della popolazione si estese, ma che produsse, certamente, fenomeni di sottosviluppo tipici dei domini coloniali. Così non è chiara l'ampiezza del fenomeno che vide i Sardi chiamati, se pure individualmente, a godere della cittadinanza romana, il che appare documentato in almeno due circostanze: nel 77, quando il governatore di parte sillana, L. Valerio Triario, trovò appoggi nell'isola contro M. Emilio Lepido e nel 57 e 56 quando Pompeo vide agevolata la sua azione tendente ad intensificare gli invii di vettovaglie sarde verso Roma e la penisola[84]. Sembra difficile credere che questi Sardi siano stati chiamati a posti di responsabilità tali da incidere sulla conduzione economica e sociale della loro isola; pare più probabile che essi furono soltanto più strettamente legati al carro degli interessi dei conquistatori. Ultimo problema è quello del numero degli abitanti della Sardegna, ben lungi dall'essere risolto giacchè connesso, in qualche modo, con quello di tutta la popolazione dell'impero; le stime più attendibili si discostano notevolmente fra loro e vanno da un minimo di 150.000 ad un massimo di 300.000 abitanti[85].

---

[78] CIL X,7856 = ILS 1874 = ILLRP 41 e add. = M. G. Guzzo Amadasi, Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente, Roma, 1967, Sardegna, 9. Vedi anche E. Badian, Publicans and sinners, Ithaca, N.Y., 1972.

[79] Livio XXXII,27,4.

[80] Gellio XV,12 e Plutarco, C. Gracchus 2,5.

[81] Cicerone, Pro Scauro 18,80; per la cronologia, T. R. S. Broughton, Magistrates, II, p. 481.

[82] Cicerone, De prov. cons. 7,15 sg.; In Pis. 38,92; per il processo, Divinatio in Q. Caec. 19,63; De off. 2,14,50; Tusc. disp. 5,37,108; Pro Scauro 18,40; Svetonio, Divus Iulius 55,2.

[83] Cicerone, Pro Scauro, 3ª ed. di A. Ghiselli, Bologna, 1972. Vedi, anche, il commento di Asconio, In Scaurianam, pp. 18 sgg. ed. Clark. Che una delle tre accuse fosse *de decimis tribus* attesta Marziano Capella, De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae 469, p. 234 ll.22 sg. ed. Dick. Per la magistratura di Scauro in Sardegna vedi CIL I^2,2,811 = ILLRP 393.

[84] Cicerone, Pro Scauro rispettivamente 13,29 e 19,43.

V. *La Sardegna da Augusto a Diocleziano*

Nella divisione delle province fra Augusto ed il senato del 27 a. C., la Sardegna e la Corsica, in quel momento tranquille, furono lasciate a quest'ultimo e governate, quindi da un *proconsul* ex pretore[86]; tuttavia, nel 6 d. C., di fronte a torbidi scoppiati nell'isola e ad azioni di pirateria nel Tirreno da parte di popolazioni sarde, Augusto intervenne inviando un distaccamento di truppe legionarie ed assumendone il governo per mezzo di un magistrato col titolo di *pro legato*, necessario per un funzionario equestre al quale venisse affidato un comando su forze legionarie[87]; queste ultime è probabile che siano state ritirate nel 19 d. C., quando furono inviati in Sardegna 4.000 liberti di religione giudaica *coercendis illic latrociniis,* per la repressione, cioè, del brigantaggio[88]. Qualche anno più tardi, un gruppo di popolazioni delle zone centrali dell'isola, la Barbària, come diremo, pose una dedica all'imperatore; il titolo di *praefectus* che nell'iscrizione è dato al governatore, mette bene in luce il carattere militare del suo incarico[89]. Evidentemente, qualche risultato si era ottenuto nella repressione delle scorrerie che avevano costretto l'autorità a prendere provvedimenti di eccezione: la separazione del governo della Corsica da quello della Sardegna[90] e l'affidamento della direzione delle operazioni al comandante di una delle coorti ausiliarie di stanza nell'isola, giacchè è di questo periodo un *praefectus I cohortis Corsorum et civitatum Barbariae in Sardinia*[91]. Ad una data che possiamo porre entro il principato di Claudio (41 – 54), cessò la dura occupazione militare: nel 67 troviamo, infatti, attestato per la prima volta al governo dell'isola un *procurator*[92].

---

[85] La cifra più alta è stata fatta da K. J. BELOCH, Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt, Lipsia, 1886, pp. 444 sg.; vedi anche E. PAIS, Sardegna e Corsica, pp. 556 sgg. La cifra più bassa parte dall'accostamento di una testimonianza di Diodoro (V,14,3) che dà, per gli indigeni della Corsica, 30.000 persone, ad una di Seneca (Ad Helv. matr. VI,5), per il quale ai suoi tempi i cittadini romani continuavano ad essere inferiori ai primi, per un totale, quindi, di 50.000 abitanti circa. Il rapporto fra popolazione corsa e popolazione sarda può porsi, approssimativamente, in 1:3.

[86] CIL X,7581; vedi anche Strabone XVII,3,25 e Dione Cassio LIII,12,40.

[87] Per il torbidi Dione Cassio LV,28,1, all'anno 6 d. C., e Strabone V,2,7; il titolo di *pro legato* appare in EE VIII,742 = ILS 105 del 13/14 d. C.; in altro senso esso è inteso da J. ŠAŠEL, Pro legato, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 467 sgg.

[88] Tacito, Ann. II,85,5; vedi anche Dione Cassio, Frammento LVII,18,5 a; Giuseppe Flavio, Antiq. Iud. XVIII,65 sg. e Svetonio, Tiberius 35,1.

[89] A. TARAMELLI, Un omaggio delle „civitates Barbariae" ad Augusto, Atti I Congr. Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1928, I, Roma 1929, pp. 269 sgg.; l'iscrizione è in AE 1921, 86 = ILSard. 188.

[90] Un *praef. Corsicae* è attestato per questo periodo da CIL XII,2455; in altro senso è inteso da H.-G. PFLAUM, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, I, Parigi, 1960, pp. 27 sg. e da B. E. THOMASSON, Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der Provinz Sardinia, Eranos, LXX, 1972, pp. 72 sgg.

Dal primo luglio del 67 la Sardegna mutava per la seconda volta condizione giuridica e passava alle dipendenze del senato in cambio della „libertà" concessa alla Grecia[93]; non per molto, però, perchè probabilmente nel 73 Vespasiano riaffidava la Grecia all'amministrazione del senato e così la Sardegna, ridivenuta provincia imperiale, cominciava a ricevere come governatori *procuratores Augusti et praefecti*[94]. L'isola ebbe un triste primato in questi mutamenti di stato giuridico; il quarto di essi è da porre probabilmente verso la fine del regno di Traiano quando appare ancora, come governatore, un *proconsul*[95]; il quinto – ed ultimo – durante il regno di Commodo o, al più tardi, sotto Settimio Severo, quando riappare un *proc. Aug. et praef.*[96]. A questo titolo comincerà ad affiancarsi quello di *praeses*, dapprima timidamente, in formule non ufficiali, fino ad essere inserito nella titolatura vera e propria; nel 227, infatti, è documentato per la prima volta un *proc. Aug. praeses prov. Sardiniae.* Alla fine di questa evoluzione, durante il regno di Aureliano (270 – 275), il governatore sardo apparirà col titolo di *praeses* usato in senso assoluto ed il suo rango sarà elevato col passaggio da *egregius* a *perfectissimus*[97].

Notevole interesse riveste il posto occupato dal governo della Sardegna nello sviluppo delle carriere equestri. Essa fu sempre, per i procuratori, un posto di grado ducenario, generalmente quello iniziale, talvolta il secondo, in un caso il terzo[98]. Inoltre, la scelta cadde spesso su ex ufficiali superiori[99], talvolta già comandanti di una coorte pretoria o di reparti della guarnigione di Roma o assimilati, come appare normale in momenti che richiedevano notevoli esperienze militari[100]. In altre occasioni furono inviati anche funzionari che non avevano rivestito comandi di truppa, ma avevano avuto, per lo più, incarichi amministrativi negli uffici centrali di Roma[101]. Pochi i funzionari inferiori noti; per il governo senatorio, più precisamente per il 69, conosciamo la formazione del *consilium* del governatore: il *legatus pro praetore*, il *quaestor pro praetore*, gli *officiales* o *comites*, lo *scriba quaestorius*[102]; inoltre un altro legato[103] ed altri due questori: il futuro imperatore Settimio Severo ed un anonimo[104]. Per il periodo di governo imperiale conosciamo tre funzionari addetti agli uffici fiscali centrali della provincia, a Carales: un *tabularius* fra la fine del II e gli inizi del III secolo e due a lui subordinati, i *dispensatores*, uno per lo stesso periodo, uno fra la fine del I e gli inizi del II secolo[105].

---

[91] CIL XIV,2954 = ILS 2684.

[92] Un prefetto continua ad essere documentato nel 46: EE VIII,744 e ILSard. 378; il primo procuratore governatore è in CIL X 7852 = ILS 5947.

[93] Pausania VII,17,3; il primo proconsole del 67/8 è in CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947.

[94] Il primo *proc. Aug. et praef.* è attestato per il 74: CIL X,8023 e 8024.

[95] Il primo proconsole sotto Traiano è in CIL III,6813 = ILS 1038.

[96] Sotto Commodo, intorno al 190 è documentato, probabilmente, un *procurator*: Ippolito, Ref. omn. haer. IX,12; lo è, certamente, in CIL X,7580 = ILS 1358 sotto Settimio Severo; vedi anche EE VIII,792. Diversa ricostruzione dei passaggi di stato giuridico, supponendo un periodo di amministrazione imperiale da Adriano a Marco Aurelio, in A. E. Astin, The status of Sardinia in the second century A.D., Latomus, XVIII, 1959, pp. 150 sgg.; vedi anche W. Eck, Zum Rechtsstatus von Sardinien im 2. Jahrh. n. Chr., Historia, XX, 1971, pp. 510 sgg. e B. E. Thomasson, Verwaltungsgeschichte, pp. 75 sgg. Nel senso esposto nel testo, invece, G. Clemente, La presunta politica di scambio dei governi provinciali fra imperatore e senato nel I e II secolo, Parola del Passato, XX, 1965, pp. 195 sgg.

[97] Per l'evoluzione del titolo di *praeses* vedi: *praeses rarissimus* in CIL X,7580 = ILS 1358; *optimus et rarissimus praeses* in CIL X,7583; *proc. Aug. praeses prov. Sard.* in CIL VIII,20996 = ILS 1356; *praeses* in senso assoluto per la prima volta in EE VIII,787 e 747. Il primo *vir perfectissimus* è forse da porre nel 271: EE VIII,796.

La Sardegna presenta, per il periodo da Augusto a Diocleziano, una tipica documentazione relativa alla coesistenza di due termini ben noti agli studiosi del mondo romano e di quello romanzo: Romània, il territorio intensamente romanizzato e, in contrapposizione, la Barbària, il territorio abitato dagli indigeni. Il primo appare tramandato dalla curatoria medioevale di Romània e dal toponimo attuale di Romangia ed è caratteristico che sia attestato per il retroterra di quella che Plinio conosce come l'unica colonia romana nell'isola, Turris Libisonis, Porto Torres, retroterra intensamente urbanizzato, come risulta da abbondante documentazione epigrafica ed archeologica[106]. Il secondo è documentato da due iscrizioni già citate: quella di

---

[98] Posto iniziale: quattro carriere. Per la prima CIL III,5776 = ILS 1369; per la seconda CIL X,7583; 7584 (cfr. p. 995) = ILS 1359; per la terza CIL VI,1636 = ILS 1361; per la quarta EE VIII,739 = ILS 511; 743; 772. Secondo posto: quattro carriere. Per la prima CIL X,7580 = ILS 1358; per la seconda CIL X,7585 = ILS 1360; per la terza IGRRP IV,1057; per la quarta CIL X,7946 = ILS 5526; 7996 = 5870; 7999; 8009; 8027. Terzo posto: una carriera: CIL VIII,20996 = ILS 1356.

[99] Due carriere: per la prima CIL III,5776 = ILS 1369; per la seconda CIL X,7583; 7584 (cfr. p. 995) = ILS 1359; 7860.

[100] Quattro carriere. Per la prima CIL X,7952; 7863; Tacito, Ann. XIII,15,5; per la seconda CIL VIII,20996 = ILS 1356; per la terza CIL VI,1636 = ILS 1361; per la quarta CIL XVI,146; EE VIII,739 = ILS 511; 743; 772.

[101] Due carriere. Per la prima CIL X,7580 = ILS 1358; per la seconda CIL X,7585 = ILS 1360.

[102] Per il *consilium* CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947.

[103] CIL XI,6009 = ILS 981.

[104] Rispettivamente Vita Severi 2,4 sg. e AE 1939, 164.

[105] Per il *tabularius* CIL X,7584 (cfr. p. 995) = ILS 1359; molto dubbio il titolo del funzionario in CIL X,7590. Per i due *dispensatores*, rispettivamente EE VIII,720 e CIL X,7588; vedi G. SOTGIU, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X,7588, in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di Studi Classici in onore di E. Manni, VI, Roma, 1980, pp. 2023 sgg.

[106] La colonia di Turris Libisonis, l'unica, come egli dice, in Sardegna è ricordata da Plinio III,7,85. Per la curatoria di Romània vedi il Condaghe di S. Pietro di Silki, ed. BONAZZI, Cagliari, 1900, nrr. 27, 45, 56, 61, 74–76, 80, 97, 98, 120, 147, 154, 180, 186, 205, 221,

Fordongianus, Forum Traiani, la quale ricorda *[--- civ]itates Barb[ariae ---]* che pongono una dedica all'imperatore, forse Tiberio, e quella di Preneste di Sesto Giulio Rufo, *praefectus I cohortis Corsorum et civitatum Barbariae in Sardinia*[107]. Se poi i Sardi della Barbària siano da identificare con i Barbaricini di cui parla Procopio il quale li definisce Mauri deportati nell'isola dai Vandali, è questione ancora aperta fra gli studiosi[108].

La località di rinvenimento dell'iscrizione ora ricordata, Forum Traiani ed il termine di Barbagia che continua quello romano e che è rimasto alle odierne Barbagie di Ollolai a nord, di Belvì al centro, di Seulo a sud ed a quelle delle quali ci è giunta notizia di Bitti e di Ogliastra, ci fanno porre le comunità della Barbària nel centro montuoso, ossia nei monti del Gennargentu e nelle loro propaggini[109]. E' da queste zone che partivano le incursioni contro le fertili pianure ai loro piedi le quali minacciavano l'economia cerealicola che vi si conduceva in funzione dell'esportazione a Roma e nella penisola. Abbiamo già accennato ai torbidi del 6 d. C. che portarono Augusto alla revoca dell'amministrazione senatoria[110]. Un episodio ben conosciuto è quello che si ricava dalla nota tavola di Esterzili nella quale l'imperatore Otone ordinava, ancora una volta, nel marzo dell'anno 69, ai Galillenses della zona del Gerrei di sgomberare le zone pianeggianti che appartenevano ai Patulcensi Campani, a meno che non potessero documentare i loro diritti con la carta esistente a Roma nell'archivio imperiale[111]. Evidentemente, la lotta fra pastori e contadini, fra un'economia comunitaria pastorale della montagna ed una latifondista cerealicola delle pianure non conobbe soste. E questo anche se fra il I secolo a. C. ed il I d. C. è probabile che si siano andate affermando nell'isola anche le colture dell'olivo e della vite; per i vigneti sembrano esplicita prova i cippi a botte attribuiti a vignaioli o bottai, datati nel II secolo d. C. e nella prima metà del III[112].

243, 254, 271, 421; F. C. Casula, Giudicati e curatorie, in: Atlante della Sardegna, Fasc. II, Roma, 1980, Commenti, p. 108 e Tavole, nr. 39.

[107] Rispettivamente ILSard. 188 e CIL XIV,2954 = ILS 2684.

[108] Procopio, Bell. Vand. II,13,41 sgg.; li ricorda anche la costituzione del Codice Teodosiano I,27,2, 3 del 13 aprile 534. Per le opinioni avanzate dagli storici moderni vedi Chr. Courtois, Les Vandales et l'Afrique, Parigi, 1955, pp. 188 sgg., ove è la bibliografia precedente.

[109] Per la localizzazione della Barbària, A. Taramelli, Un omaggio delle „civitates Barbariae“, pp. 269 sgg. Per l'attestazione medioevale basterà rimandare al Condaghe di S. Maria di Bonarcado, edd. Besta-Solmi, Milano, 1937, nrr. 83, 122, 146, 155, 163.

[110] Dione Cassio LV,28,1 e Strabone V,2,7.

[111] La tavola di Esterzili è in CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947: Th. Mommsen, Decret des Proconsuls von Sardinien L. Helvius Agrippa, Hermes, II, 1867, pp. 102 sgg. (= Id., Gesammelte Schriften, V, Berlino, 1908, pp. 325 sgg.) ed E. de Ruggiero, L'arbitrato pubblico presso i Romani, Boll. Ist. Dir. Rom., V, 1892, pp. 350 sg. e 403 sgg. Sulle sedi teatro della contesa vedi M. Bonello, Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di Galillenses e Patulcenses Campani, Studi Sardi, XXV, 1978–80, pp. 29 sgg.

[112] Riserve sull'importanza della Sardegna nella produzione di grano nei primi secoli dell'impero ha avanzato G. Rickman, The corn supply of ancient Rome, Londra – Oxford, 1980, p. 107. Per i cippi a botte di Cagliari e dintorni CIL X,7615; 7631; 7653;

Il centro montuoso non fu mai interamente controllato da Roma che pure lo circondò di presidi e lo attraversò, come diremo, con una strada a carattere tipicamente militare; anche la romanizzazione procedette incontrando difficoltà e resistenze fino a subire una battuta d'arresto nel II secolo d. C., come dimostrano ampiamente i dati linguistici[113]. Le zone pianeggianti del Campidano, della Marmilla, della Trexenta, del Logudoro, della Nurra, conobbero invece un'economia di tipo latifondista; i dati a nostra disposizione ci consentono di identificare tre tipi di latifondi: quelli pubblici, quelli privati, quelli imperiali. I primi erano nelle zone montuose e boscose, soprattutto della Barbària e qui le *civitates* esercitavano la pastorizia in forme comunitarie; ci sono pervenuti alcuni nomi in cippi di confine, ma solo accurate ricerche linguistiche e topografiche ci consentiranno di dar loro una certa identità[114]. Fra i latifondi privati sono tipici quelli di Atte, la liberta e concubina di Nerone, che aveva grandi proprietà a coltura intensiva soprattutto nel retroterra di Olbia e fors'anche nei dintorni di Mores, entro le quali fiorivano officine ceramiche, come resti di mattoni e di embrici col suo bollo attestano[115]. Inoltre, il latifondo privato ha lasciato il suo nome legato a popolazioni rurali che in esso vivevano; a quelle già ricordate dai cippi repubblicani rinvenuti in

---

7680; 7700; 7703; 7821; ILSard. 67; per quelli di Busachi CIL X,7867; 7868; 7869; 7871; 7873; per la loro datazione ed i raffronti con la Spagna, vedi A. Balil, En torno a las relaciones de Cerdeña e Hispania en la epoca romana, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 57, parte II, pp. 132 sg. Preferisce pensare, per i cippi a botte, ad un simbolismo funerario, R. J. A. Wilson, Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire. Aspects of the archaeological evidence, Atti V Congr. Int. Studi Sicilia Antica. Palermo – Etruria meridionale – Sardegna 1980, Κώκαλος, XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, tomo I, pp. 237 sg. Contro l'esistenza di vigneti in Sardegna nei primi secoli dell'impero, vedi M. Rostovtzev, St. econ. e soc. dell'imp. rom., p. 23 e n. 17.

[113] Vedi A. Sanna, La romanizzazione del centro montano in Sardegna, Filol. Romanza, IV, 1957, pp. 30 sgg.; in altro senso, a favore di una romanizzazione „notevolmente accentuata", M. Pittau, La romanizzazione linguistica della Sardegna e del centro montano, in: Id., Questioni di linguistica sarda, Brescia, 1956, pp. 11 sgg. Sull'elemento indigeno protosardo, L. Wagner, La lingua sarda, Berna, 1951, pp. 273 sgg.

[114] Per il risultati finora raggiunti vedi: B. Terracini, Osservazioni sugli strati più antichi della toponomastica sarda (anno 1926), ora in: Id., Pagine e appunti di linguistica storica, Firenze, 1957, pp. 93 sgg.; C. Battisti, Ricostruzioni toponomastiche mediterranee, Studi Sardi, II,1, 1936, pp. 5 sgg.; V. Bertoldi, Sardo-punica, Parola del Passato, II, 1947, pp. 5 sgg.; G. D. Serra, Etruschi e Latini in Sardegna, in: Mélanges M. K. Michaëlsson, Göteborg, 1952, pp. 407 sgg.; M. L. Wagner, Die Punier und ihre Sprache in Sardinien, Die Sprache III, 1954, pp. 27 sgg. e 78 sgg.; A. Sanna, Introduzione agli studi di linguistica sarda, Cagliari, 1957; M. Pittau, Studi sardi di linguistica e storia, Pisa, 1958; J. Hubschmid, Paläosardische Ortsnamen, Atti VII Congr. Int. Sc. Onomastiche. Firenze 1961, vol. II: Toponomastica, parte II, Firenze, 1963, pp. 145 sgg.; M. Sznycer, Recherches sur les toponymes phéniciens en Méditerranée occidentale, in: La toponymie antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1975, Leida, 1977, pp. 163 sgg.

[115] Per iscrizioni di liberti di Atte, CIL X,7984; ILS 2595 = ILSard. 313; fors'anche CIL X,7640; il suo bollo è documentato in mattoni ed embrici raccolti da G. Sotgiu, La Sardegna e il patrimonio imperiale nell'alto impero, Epigraphica, XIX, 1957, pp. 44 sg. nr. 2.

agro di Cuglieri[116], possiamo aggiungere i Patulcensi Campani, noti dalla tavola di Esterzili, i quali prendevano il loro nome dalla gens Patulcia[117], i *Maltamonenses* ed i *Semilitenses* attestati da un cippo, forse del III secolo venuto alla luce nei pressi di Sanluri[118] et i *Moddol*(?) del cippo già murato nella chiesa diruta di S. Michele di Villasor[119]. I latifondi imperiali, poi, sono attestati da iscrizioni ove appaiono i nomi di numerosi liberti imperiali e di alcuni schiavi addetti alla loro manutenzione e, al tempo stesso, da bolli di embrici, lucerne, vasi, i quali attestano, anche in questo caso, l'esistenza di officine imperiali di laterizi[120].

Le fonti letterarie ricordano le ricchezze minerarie della Sardegna[121], piombo argentifero soprattutto, ferro, rame: ricchezze che contribuirono a rendere l'isola interessante già agli occhi dei Fenici e dei Cartaginesi dai quali esse furono sistematicamente sfruttate, come dimostrano il pane di piombo rinvenuto nei pressi di Monastir assieme a materiale dell'VIII – VII secolo[122] e l'intensa frequentazione punica della regione sin dalla fine del VI secolo. Sotto i Romani lo sfruttamento riguardò soprattutto le località dell'Iglesiente di Monteponi, Malacalzetta, S. Giovanni e S. Giorgio presso Gonnesa, in misura minore quella di Montevecchio presso Guspini; esse ci hanno restituito cumuli di scorie, pozzetti spesso allineati nella direzione del giacimento, resti di fonderie delle quali oggi non è rimasta traccia, infine attrezzi per scavo, picconi, scalpelli, accanto a lampade, a stampi in steatite per scalpelli, a tubi di piombo[123]. Nessuna testimonianza letteraria sulla condizione giuridica delle miniere sarde, ma possiamo supporre che durante l'impero esse facessero parte dei beni della corona; ci sono pervenuti due pani di piombo con l'indicazione del proprietario della fonderia e, quindi, della miniera: uno, da Fluminimaggiore, ha, infatti, CVII – il peso in libbre – e *Caesaris Aug.*, l'altro, da Carcinadas, nei pressi del primo, ha *Imp. Caes. Hadr(iani) Aug.*[124].

---

[116] Vedi n. 60.

[117] CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947. Per l'etimologia proposta, G. D. SERRA, Etruschi e Latini in Sardegna, p. 443 n. 95 e B. TERRACINI, Gli studi linguistici sulla Sardegna preromana (anno 1936), ora in: ID., Pagine e appunti di linguistica storica, Firenze, 1957, p. 113; vedi anche M. BONELLO, Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di Galillenses e Patulcenses Campani, pp. 29 sgg.

[118] EE VIII,719; i *Maltamonenses* sono di un *Cens(orius?) Secundinus, v(ir) c(larissimus)*, quindi un senatore; i *Semilitenses* di una *Quarta, h(onesta) f(emina)*, un titolo forse senza una particolare significazione giuridica.

[119] ILSard. 168.

[120] G. SOTGIU, La Sardegna e il patrimonio imperiale, pp. 26 sgg.; altro nuovo materiale in G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 58 sg. nr. 78 = AE 1971, 129 e Iscrizioni di S. Antioco (Sulci), Ibid., XXXVI, 1973, pp. 99 sgg. nrr. 3 e 4 = AE 1974, 354 e 355.

[121] Sidonio Apollinare, Carmina V (Panegyricus Maioriano) v. 49; Rutilio Namaziano, De red. suo I, vv. 351 sgg.; Solino, Coll. rerum memor. 4,3, pp. 46 sg. ed. MOMMSEN^2.

[122] E' inedito: F. BARRECA, Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., pp. 186 sg.

[123] S. VARDABASSO, L'industria mineraria in Sardegna al tempo della dominazione romana e R. BINAGHI, La metallurgia in età romana in Sardegna, entrambi in: Sardegna Romana, II, Roma, 1939, rispettivamente pp. 17 sgg. e 39 sgg.

Se Sulci era il porto per lo smistamento del materiale greggio e lavorato della zona mineraria dell'Iglesiente, altri porti costituivano lo sbocco delle ricche pianure dell'entroterra: Carales e Turris Libisonis. Per Carales potrebbe essere attestato un *proc(urator) ad ripam* di Adriano, per Turris lo è certamente un *[proc(urator)] ripae Turr(itanae)*[125], intendendosi per *ripa* un tratto di costa dove un funzionario imperiale esercitava i suoi poteri con incarichi vari, fra i quali l'esazione dei dazi doganali, l'ammasso delle merci e l'amministrazione di proprietà imperiali. Inoltre, nel grande edificio di Ostia che conteneva gli uffici delle corporazioni locali e forestiere al servizio dell'annona imperiale e che raggiunse un notevole sviluppo edilizio nell'ultimo decennio del II secolo (193 – 200), sono attestati gli uffici delle due città: *navicul(arii) et negotiantes Karalitani* e *navic(ularii) Turritani*[126]. Infine, ricorderemo Olbia, il cui retroterra conobbe continue cure relativamente alla strada che portava al porto le merci destinate all'imbarco, come dimostra il gran numero di miliari giunti fino a noi[127].

VI. La viabilità

La scarsa urbanizzazione della Sardegna, soprattutto delle zone centrali, non favorì certo la sua romanizzazione; quest'ultima, tuttavia, progredì, se pure lentamente, per altre vie ben note agli studiosi: anzitutto per la fitta rete stradale. Noi la conosciamo dall''Itinerario Antoniniano', dai miliari e dai tratti di massicciata e resti di ponti che ci sono pervenuti; validi elementi offrono i toponimi che talvolta indicano stazioni di sosta, guadi, punti di incrocio[128]. Una strada, che calcava sostanzialmente il tracciato di quella che è ancor oggi la più importante, la statale 131, congiungeva Carales con i centri dell'Oristanese e si divideva, all'altezza dell'odierna Campeda, in due tronchi che avevano, come stazioni terminali, Turris Libisonis ed Olbia[129]. Doveva essere la più antica delle strade sarde: il primo miliario è di Augusto del 13/4 d. C.[130], mentre lavori sono attestati sotto Claudio nel 46, Nerone nel 67/8, Vitellio nel 69; la prima esplicita menzione di lavori di restauro si ha sotto Vespasiano nel 74[131]. Per i secoli successivi, mentre non abbiamo alcun miliario appartenente al II e solo pochi al IV, la maggior parte di essi è del III secolo, per lo più dei decenni intorno alla metà[132]. Inoltre ricorderemo che i miliari conoscono la strada come *a Turre Karalis* o *a Karalibus Turrem*; la prima denominazione appare la più antica e possiamo presumere che abbia coesistito con la seconda per un certo periodo, fino ad essere sostituita, probabilmente nella seconda metà del III secolo[133].

---

[124] CIL X,8073,1 (cfr. addenda p. 1002) e 2.

[125] Per quello di Carales CIL X,7587 = ILS 1402; per quello di Turris Libisonis ILSard. 245. Sui dubbi avanzati sulla *ripa* di Carales e sulla nuova iscrizione di Porto Torres sulla *ripa* di Turris Libisonis torneremo nell'art. sui centri abitati, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11,1), infra, pp. 501 sg., 506 sg. Vedi anche CIL XIV,4142 di Ostia che ricorda i *domini navium Afrarum universarum item Sardorum*; al posto di *Sardorum* ci saremmo attesi *Sardarum*; inoltre *item Sardorum* è stato aggiunto in un secondo momento.

[126] CIL XIV,4549, rispettivamente 21 (Carales) e 19 (Turris); vedi anche G. Becatti, Scavi di Ostia. IV: Mosaici e pavimenti marmorei, Roma, 1961, pp. 71 sgg., rispettivamente nrr. 102 e 100.

[127] Essi erano, per buona parte, nella chiesa di S. Simplicio ad Olbia: P. Meloni, I miliari sardi e le strade romane in Sardegna, Epigraphica, XV, 1953, pp. 42 sgg. Per i porti sardi, J. Rougé, Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain, Parigi, 1966, p. 145 (anche pp. 73, 95, 304).

[128] Per i miliari, P. Meloni, I miliari sardi, pp. 20 sgg.; per i ponti, F. Fois, I ponti romani in Sardegna, Sassari, 1964. Buona parte delle ricostruzioni della rete stradale risale ancora ad A. La Marmora, Viaggio in Sardegna (ed. francese, Torino, 1839 – 40), trad. ital., II, Cagliari, 1927, pp. 339 sgg.; di interesse anche K. Miller, Itineraria romana,

La posizione di Turris nel quadro della viabilità sarda è confermata dalla 'Tabula Peutingeriana' la quale conosce la città, unica nell'isola, col segno delle doppie torrette, interpretato oggi come riferito a località particolarmente importanti nel servizio del *cursus publicus*[134]. Il primo tratto del tracciato è dato dalla località di rinvenimento di alcuni miliari; uno ai piedi della cosiddetta Scala di Giocca, sotto Sassari, due nei pressi di Bonnanaro, due a sud di Torralba[135]. La strada, dopo la diramazione per Olbia ancora sulla Campeda, come diremo, attraversava l'altopiano, come dimostrano numerosi miliari venuti alla luce a non molta distanza fra loro ed un tratto di massicciata, fino a raggiungere la stazione di Molaria, oggi Mulargia[136]. Da qui, attraver-

---

Stoccarda, 1916, coll. 406 sgg. E' doveroso, inoltre, ricordare il rilevamento fatto da A. Taramelli di alcuni fogli della Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia ai quali rimanderemo.

[129] Itin. Anton. pp. 11 sg. ed. Cuntz; i miliari sono CIL, X,8010–8014; 8016–8025; EE VIII,742–745; ILSard. 375–383.

[130] EE VIII,742 = ILS 105.

[131] EE VIII,744; vedi anche ILSard. 378 (Claudio); CIL X,8014 (Nerone); 8016 = ILS 243 (Vitellio); 8023 e 8024 (Vespasiano).

[132] I due miliari del IV secolo sono CIL X,8021 del 335–337 e quello di Uras del 337–361, sul quale torneremo.

[133] Vedi, al riguardo, i miliari CIL X,8011 = ILS 530 e ILSard. 383, entrambi posti dallo stesso governatore degli anni 253–257. Il primo ha la denominazione della strada *a Kar(alibus) Turr(em)* e la numerazione delle miglia da Carales, il secondo *a Tu(rre) K(arales)* senza numerazione delle miglia.

[134] Segmento III,1; per l'interpretazione del segno, A. e M. Levi, Itineraria picta, Roma, 1967, pp. 66 sgg.; in altro senso Th. Mommsen, in CIL X, p. 826; vedi anche O. Baldacci, La Sardegna nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Studi Sardi, XIV–XV, 1955–57, parte II, pp. 144 sg.

[135] CIL X,8014 (Scala di Giocca); EE VIII,743 e 745 (Bonnanaro); CIL, X,8016 = ILS 243 e ILSard. 383 (Torralba).

[136] Per i miliari CIL X,8017 (loc. Rebeccu, ai piedi della Campeda, ma di dubbia localizzazione: vedi la nota del Mommsen); ILSard. 381 e 382 (loc. Berraghe, 1 km. a nord-est della cantoniera Tilipera); CIL X,8018–8021 (loc. Pedra Lada, punto culminante dell'od. statale 131, al km. 156,300); CIL X,8022 (loc. Padru Mannu). Per il tratto di massicciata, A. Taramelli, Foglio 193. Bonorva, pp. 61 sg. nr. 4 e carta del foglio (loc.

sando Macopsisa (oggi Macomer), toccava Ad Medias, nei pressi Abbasanta e, più avanti, Forum Traiani, Fordongianus, giungendo così ad una posizione militare di estremo interesse allo sbocco della valle del Tirso[137]. Da Forum Traiani la strada toccava Othoca, alla periferia dell'odierna S. Giusta[138], Acque Neapolitane, identificato concordemente con le Terme di Sardara[139], infine Carales, Cagliari[140].

Un problema tuttora aperto è quello del punto in cui dalla *a Karalibus Turrem* si diramava la strada per Olbia, la *a Karalibus Olbiae*[141]; alcuni punti fermi chiariranno i termini del problema. Dei quattro miliari rinvenuti nel punto culminante della statale 131, all'odierno km. 156,300, in località Pedra Lada, uno ha il numero delle miglia in partenza da Carales, CVIIII, mentre un altro conosce la strada come *Karalib(us) Tu[rrem]*[142]. Una serie di fortunati ritrovamenti a nord-est di Bonorva ci consente di seguire il tracciato iniziale della diramazione. Un gruppo di miliari è stato rinvenuto in località Mura Menteda; uno di essi ha il numero delle miglia: CXV[143]; un altro gruppo a Monte Cujaru e documenta il CXVII miglio e la denominazione della strada

---

Salamestene), Per l'identificazione di Molaria, A. TARAMELLI, Foglio 206. Macomer, p. 55 nr. 28.

[137] Per Macopsisa, Tolomeo III,3,7 e, per la sua localizzazione, già A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio, II, p. 291. La localizzazione di Ad Medias nei pressi di Abbasanta è proposta da A. TARAMELLI, Foglio 206. Macomer, p. 123 nr. 85; a Ghilarza pensa K. MILLER, Itineraria romana, col. 409. Al tratto Molaria – Ad Medias appartengono i tre miliari CIL X,8023 – 8025. Per il tratto Ad Medias – Forum Traiani abbiamo resti del ponte sul Tirso (F. FOIS, Ponti romani, p. 38 e figg. 52 – 54), resti di massicciata (A. TARAMELLI, Foglio 206. Macomer, p. 81 nr. 9; anche p. 123 nr. 83; pp. 86 sg. nr. 31; p. 88 nr. 1 a), miliari (CIL X,8011 = ILS 530; 8012; 8013; EE VIII,742 = ILS 105; 744; ILSard. 377 – 380.

[138] Per il tratto Forum Traiani – Othoca abbiamo il miliario di Villanova Truschedu (ILSard. 376; vedi anche G. SOTGIU, Un miliario di Gallo e Volusiano 'riscoperto' a Villanova Truschedu, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 72, pp. 290 sgg. Sui dati archeologici relativi ad Othoca, R. ZUCCA, Il centro fenicio-punico di Othoca, Riv. Studi Fenici, IX, 1981, pp. 99 sgg. e G. TORE – R. ZUCCA, Testimonia antiqua Uticensia, Arch. St. Sardo, XXXIV, 1983, fasc. I, pp. 11 sgg.

[139] Al tratto Othoca – Aquae Neapolitanae è da riferire il miliario rinvenuto nei pressi di Uras del 337 – 361: C. PUXEDDU, La romanizzazione, in: Diocesi di Ales-Usellus-Terralba, Cagliari, 1975, pp. 181, 213 nr. 6 e tav. LVI. Per l'identificazione che è nel testo, vedi già G. SPANO, Aquae Neapolitanae, ossia Bagni di Sardara, Bull. Arch. Sardo, V, 1859, pp. 20 sgg.; vedi anche A. TARAMELLI, Sardara. Scoperta di una necropoli di età romana in regione „Masone Oneddu", Notizie Scavi, 1909, pp. 332 sgg.

[140] All'ultimo tratto Aquae Neapolitanae – Carales appartengono il miliario di Monastir (CIL X,8010) e quello di Sestu (ILSard. 375: P. MELONI, Un nuovo miliario di Settimio Severo, Studi Storici in onore di F. Loddo Canepa, II, Firenze, 1959, pp. 269 sgg.).

[141] I suoi miliari sono: CIL X,8015 = ILS 720; 8027 – 8033; EE VIII,747 – 798; ILSard. 385 – 389; più avanti parleremo di quello di Berchidda, recentemente scoperto.

[142] Rispettivamente CIL X,8020 e 8019; gli altri sono 8018 e 8021.

[143] P. B. SERRA, Miliari romani del Basso Impero (Bonorva, loc. Mura Menteda), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 103 sgg., nrr. 550 e 551; il primo di questi ha il numero delle miglia.

a Karalib(us) Olbiae[144]; un altro a Code con CXVIII miglia[145]; un altro ancora a Silvaru con CXVIIII miglia[146]; infine un miliario a Su Cotigone, non lontano da monte Pedrosu, senza numero di miglia ma, probabilmente, data la distanza, CXX[147]. Attraversato il rio Mannu, fra i territori di Mores e di Ittireddu, con su un ponte del quale permangono due arcate[148], la strada raggiungeva poco dopo Hafa, ormai collocata dai più non lontano da Mores. Il problema del punto in cui dalla *a Karalibus Turrem* si staccava la a Karalibus Olbiae sembra, così, avviato a soluzione; esso dovrebbe porsi fra la località di Pedra Lada (CVIIII miglia) e quella di Mura Menteda (CXV miglia), un tratto in cui la strada, con un percorso di 6 miglia, km. 9 circa, quindi molto breve, discendeva rapidamente l'altopiano della Campeda; sembra preferibile, perciò, pensare ad una diramazione già nell'altopiano. Lasciata Hafa, la strada proseguiva in territorio di Ozieri, come indica il miliario rinvenuto presso la chiesa di S. Antioco di Bisarcio[149], attraversava la posizione di Luguido, ai piedi del Limbara, nei pressi della chiesa di N. Signora di Castro, non lontano da Oschiri[150]. Da Luguido una diramazione volgeva a nord per raggiungere Tibula, probabilmente S. Teresa di Gallura, come diremo, un'altra si snodava verso Olbia, attraverso i territori di Oschiri, Berchidda, che ha restituito un miliario[151], Monti e Telti, con un tracciato che è possibile ricostruire nell'ultimo tratto per i resti della massicciata e per i numerosi miliari che vi sono stati rinvenuti[152].

Un'altra strada attraversava le regioni centrali della Sardegna collegando Carales con Olbia; è quella che l'Itinerario conosce come *alio itinere ab Ulbia Caralis.* ricordandone, purtroppo, solo tre stazioni intermedie[153]. La prima, Caput Tyrsi, alle sorgenti del Tirso, è stata identificata con i resti in località

---

[144] V. Tetti, Appunti sulle strade romane nella zona di Bonorva (Sassari), Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973–74, pp. 191 sgg. e A. U. Stylow, Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales-Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 515 sgg.

[145] A. Boninu, Torralba, località Code (Sassari), in: Nuove testimonianze, pp. 98 sgg., nrr. 547, 548, 549; il primo ha la denominazione della strada; il primo e il secondo la numerazione delle miglia; L. Campus, Nuovi miliari della Sardegna, Arch. Classica, XXIX, 1977, pp. 411 sgg. nrr. 1 e 2.

[146] A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliari nuovi e vecchi della Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 29 sgg. nrr. 1, 2 e 3; tutti hanno la denominazione della strada, i nrr. 1 e 3 la numerazione delle miglia.

[147] ILSard. 385, dato per smarrito, ma al Museo Nazionale G. A. Sanna, Sassari.

[148] Per il ponte Ezzu, F. Fois, Ponti romani, p. 52 e figg. 96–97; F. Galli, Archeologia del territorio: il comune di Ittireddu (Sassari), Sassari, 1983, pp. 42 sg., nr. 33.

[149] CIL X,8015 = ILS 720. Come località del rinvenimento è citata anche S. Luca.

[150] Per l'identificazione di Luguido, già A. La Marmora, Viaggio, II, pp. 365 sg.; A. Taramelli, Foglio 181–182. Tempio Pausania. Terranova Pausania, pp. 25 sg. nrr. 3–3 d, ove altra bibliografia; anche G. Maetzke, Oschiri (Sardinia. Sassari), Fasti Archeologici, XIV, 1959 (1962), p. 277 nr. 4232.

[151] P. Meloni, Un nuovo miliario di Magno Massimo rinvenuto in territorio di Berchidda (Sassari), Nuovo Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1984, in corso di stampa.

[152] Vedi A. Taramelli, Fogli 181–182, pp. 6 sgg. e D. Panedda, L'agro di Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1954, pp. 36 sgg.

[153] P. 11 ed. Cuntz.

Sos Muros in territorio di Buddusò[154]. Da qui, attraverso i territori di Bitti, Orune, Nuoro, Mamoiada, la strada raggiungeva la seconda stazione, Sorabile, comunemente identificata con le rovine in località Sorabile, due km. circa a nord del paese di Fonni, nel quale è stata rinvenuta una dedica al dio Silvano, protettore del *nemus Sorabense*[155]. Una diramazione, poi, raggiungeva Austis – *Augustis* – una posizione tipicamente militare che ha restituito notevole materiale epigrafico[156]. Da Sorabile, attraverso i territori di Ovodda, Tiana, Sorgono, Meana, Laconi, la strada giungeva a Valentia, nei pressi di Nuragus ove è stato rinvenuto uno dei due miliari della strada[157]; più avanti era la terza stazione ricordata dall'Itinerario, Biora, da identificarsi con le rovine presso Serri che ci ha restituito il secondo miliario[158]. Infine, con un percorso che toccava i territori di Mandas, Suelli, Senorbì, Ussana, non sappiamo se passando per Sestu, si raggiungeva la stazione terminale, Carales[159].

Una terza strada seguiva, grosso modo, la costa occidentale giungendo a Turris Libisonis e, più avanti, a Tibula, stazione terminale. L'Itinerario non la dà come un'unica strada, ma la divide in tre tratti[160]; anche i miliari ricordano tre tratti, se pure due di essi differenti[161]. Evidentemente i Romani mantennero denominazioni già esistenti prima della loro conquista, ricalcando, quindi, quelle che già erano state date dai Cartaginesi, non avendo interesse ad inserire in un'unica concezione la viabilità di tutta la costa occidentale. Uscendo da Turris Libisonis, la strada si dirigeva verso la prima stazione, Nure, fra Porto Ferro ed il lago Baratz, attraversando una regione, la Nurra, che ancora continua l'antico toponimo[162]; da qui scendeva verso Porto Conte e raggiungeva Carbia, nei pressi di Alghero, non lontano dalla chiesetta di S. Maria di Calvia[163]. La stazione successiva era Bosa, da dove la strada continuava verso sud attraversando i centri fiorenti dell'Oristanese che l'Itinerario ricorda: Cornus, presso S. Caterina di Pittinuri, Tharros, all'estremità meridionale della penisoletta del Sinis, Othoca, alla periferia di S. Giusta, Neapolis, nelle vicinanze dello stagno di S. Giovanni ove è la chiesetta di S. Maria de Nàbui che ne conserva il nome[164]. Da qui toccava i centri dell'Iglesiente passando nei pressi di Guspini, di Arbus, di Fluminimaggiore e raggiungeva Metalla, in pieno bacino carbonifero, nei pressi di Antas, per arrivare a Sulci dopo essersi innestata, a nord di Mazzacara, con la strada che collegava direttamente Carales con Sulci lungo la valle del Cixerri[165]. Le ultime stazioni erano Tegula, presso Teulada, che ne continua il nome, nella pianura dominata dalla chiesetta di S. Isidoro[166], Bitia, nei pressi della torre di Chia, Nora[167], infine Carales[168].

---

[154] A. Taramelli, Foglio 194. Ozieri, p. 11 nr. 16; cfr. anche pp. 9 sgg. nrr. 5, 11, 17, 18, gli ultimi due in territorio di Bitti; a pp. 11 sg. nrr. 18 e 19 un tratto di massicciata nei pressi di questo paese. Per il materiale epigrafico ILSard. 222, sempre di Bitti.

[155] ILSard. 221; per l'identificazione, A. Taramelli, Fonni. Iscrizione votiva a Silvano della foresta Sorrabense rinvenuta entro l'abitato, Notizie Scavi, 1929, pp. 319 sgg. e Id., La penetrazione militare e politica romana nel centro della Sardegna, in: Atti II Congr. Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1930, I, Roma, 1931, pp. 363 sgg.

[156] G. Fiorelli, Austis, Notizie Scavi, 1887, pp. 336 sg., dietro relazione di F. Vivanet; A. Taramelli, Austis. Nuovo titolo funerario nella necropoli romana in regione 'Perda Litterada', sempre in Notizie Scavi, 1930, pp. 269 sgg.; per il materiale epigrafico CIL X,7884 – 7888; ILSard. 218 – 220; A. Mastino, Un'iscrizione funeraria inedita proveniente da Austis (Nuoro), Arch. St. Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 51 sgg.

[157] CIL X,8026; Valeria è da correggere in „Valentia" in Tolomeo, III,3,7; i Valentini sono ricordati da Plinio III,7,85 e da Tolomeo III,3,6. Per il materiale epigrafico CIL X,7850 e 8324; ILSard. 174 – 176. Per gli scarsi resti archeologici, G. Lilliu, Per la topografia di Biora (Serri. Nuoro), Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 43 sg. e n. 23.

[158] ILSard. 384; l'identificazione è sicura: G. Lilliu, Per la topografia di Biora, pp. 27 sgg.

[159] A Sestu è stato rinvenuto il già citato miliario ILSard. 375, senza denominazione della strada; esso, però, potrebbe anche appartenere alla *a Karalibus Turrem*.

[160] Pp. 11 sg.: *a Tibulas Sulcis*; *a Sulcis Nura*; *a Karalis Nura*.

[161] Più precisamente: *a Nora Karalibus* (CIL X,7999 – 8001); *a Nora Bitiae* (CIL X,7996 – 7998; EE VIII,739 – 741; ILSard. 370); *a Tharros Cornus* (CIL X,8009).

[162] A. La Marmora, Viaggio, II, pp. 369 sg. e S. M. Cecchini, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, p. 68. Per il ponte di Turris Libisonis, F. Fois, Ponti romani, p. 15 e figg. 4 e 5.

Una quarta strada collegava Carales con Tibula lungo la costa orientale, quella che l'Itinerario conosce come *a Portu Tibulas Caralis*. Lasciando, per il momento, la parte più settentrionale e partendo da Olbia, troviamo come prima stazione Coclearia, che può essere posta presso l'odierno S. Teodoro[169]; seguiva Portus Liguidonis, un toponimo che si è preferito correggere in Luguidonis, il quale si potrebbe porre nei pressi di Posada, o a La Caletta oppure nelle località più interne di S. Michele o S. Paolo; inoltre Portus Luguidonis viene, con una certa probabilità, identificato con la città di Feronia che Tolomeo pone fra Olbia e la foce del Cedrino[170]. La strada continuava toccando Fanum Carisi, per il quale si è pensato ai resti presso Irgoli[171], Viniola, nei dintorni di Dorgali[172], Sulci, che suole porsi nei pressi di Tortolì[173]; risaliva poi l'erta salita di Genna Silana, discendeva in direzione di Urzulei, Baunei, raggiungendo Porticenses nei pressi di Tertenia[174] e Sarcapos, alla foce del Flumendosa, nei pressi di S. Maria di Villaputzu[175]. Da qui lasciava la costa, attraversava il Sarrabus toccando Ferraria, forse l'odierno S. Gregorio[176], e raggiungeva la stazione terminale, Carales.

---

[163] A. La Marmora, Viaggio, II, p. 288. Per il ponte sullo stagno di Calich, F. Fois, Ponti romani, p. 17 e fig. 11.

[164] Resti del tracciato da Cornus a Tharros sono stati rilevati da F. Fois, Ponti romani, pp. 41 sg.; vedi lo stesso autore per il ponte sul Tirso (p. 17 e figg. 15 e 16) e quello sul Palmas (p. 18 e figg. 17–19). Per Neapolis, R. Zucca, Neapolis, Studi Etruschi, XLIX, 1981, pp. 524 sg. e Id., Neapolis, in: Autori vari, I Sardi. La Sardegna dal paleolitico all'età romana, Milano, in corso di stampa.

[165] Per la massicciata in territorio di Arbus, G. Spano, Strade antiche della Sardegna, Bull. Arch. Sardo, II, 1856, p. 18. Torneremo più avanti sui resti del tempio del Sardus Pater nei pressi di Antas. Nelle vicinanze, a Grugua, sono state rinvenute due iscrizioni funerarie di militari, forse di presidio a Metalla (CIL X,7537 e 8321). La strada che passa nei pressi della chiesa di S. Maria di Flumentepido è, ancora, quella *a Karalibus Sulcos* (CIL X,8006).

[166] F. Barreca, Monte Sirai, II, Roma, 1965, pp. 166 sgg. e 174; per la continuità toponomastica, E. de Felice, Le coste della Sardegna. Saggio toponomastico storico-descrittivo, Cagliari, 1964, pp. 113 sg.

[167] Fra Bitia e Nora, in località Nuraxeddus, presso la torre di Cala d'Ostia, sono stati rinvenuti sette miliari appartenenti al tronco *a Nora Bitiae*: CIL X,7996 = ILS 5870; 7999 e 8000 che sono indicati, dagli editori, come esistenti nell'abitato di Pula.

[168] Al tratto Nora-Carales appartiene il miliario di Villa d'Orri CIL X,8001; vedi anche 7999 e 8000 che sono descritti, dagli editori, come esistenti nell'abitato di Pula.

[169] A. Taramelli, Fogli 181–182, pp. 45 sg. nr. 2 e D. Panedda, Agro di Olbia, p. 47.

[170] Per La Caletta, A. Taramelli, Foglio 195. Orosei, p. 7 nr. 4. A Budoni ha pensato, su basi linguistiche, M. Pittau, Questioni di lnguistica sarda, pp. 27 sgg. Feronia è ricordata da Tolomeo III,3,4; per la sua identificazione con Portus Luguidonis, vedi già A. La Marmora, Viaggio, II, pp. 321 sg.

Una parola a parte deve essere fatta della viabilità nella Sardegna settentrionale, più precisamente nel triangolo Porto Torres – Olbia – S. Teresa di Gallura, soprattutto per lo stato corrotto della tradizione manoscritta dell'‹Itinerario Antoniniano'[177]. Una soluzione relativamente soddisfacente sarebbe quella di porre Tibula ed il suo porto nei pressi di S. Teresa di Gallura, alla quale avrebbero fatto capo tutte le strade sarde che abbiamo ricordato, anche se questo costringe a correggere qualcuna delle cifre dell'Itinerario. Olbia e Tibula erano collegate da due strade: una, *per compendium*, una „direttissima", cioè, la cui distanza è dubbia, ed una lungo la costa le cui stazioni andrebbero così identificate: Turublum Minus, oggi golfo di Arzachena; Elefantaria, oggi Porto Pollo: a meno che le due identificazioni non siano da invertire. Una strada si dirigeva verso sud per raggiungere Luguido, N. Signora di Castro, come si è detto, presso Oschiri: la stazione intermedia di Gemelle andrebbe allora posta presso Tempio. Una quarta strada raggiungeva Turris Libisonis passando per Viniola che sarebbe oggi il porto di Vignola, Erucium, forse nei pressi di Perfugas, Ad Herculem non lontano da Osilo, presso S. Vittoria[178].

Fra le altre strade di minor importanza ricorderemo quella, alla quale già abbiamo accennato, che collegava per la valle del Cixerri Carales con Sulci, la *a Karalibus Sulcos* o *a Sulcis Karales*. Uscita da Carales, toccava i territori di Elmas e di Assemini, proseguiva in direzione di Siliqua, nei cui pressi superava il Cixerri, il Sulcis flumen dell'Anonimo Ravennate, di Villamassargia, scendeva alle falde del monte S. Miali, attraversava la pianura di Piolanas, toccava la chiesa di S. Maria di Flumentepido, passava nei pressi di Carbonia, infine si dirigeva verso la costa e, a nord di Mazzacara, si congiungeva con la litoranea occidentale per raggiungere, a breve distanza, Sulci[179].

---

[171] A. TARAMELLI, Foglio 195, p. 17 nr. 10; pp. 24 sg. nrr. 49, 51, 54. Ha pensato a S. Maria 'e Mare, nei pressi della foce del Cedrino, A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio, II, p. 361.

[172] A. TARAMELLI, Foglio 208. Dorgali, pp. 22 sg. nr. 13 a e Dorgali. Esplorazioni archeologiche nel territorio del Comune, Notizie Scavi, 1933, pp. 378 sg.; resti di edifici punici, seguiti da una fase romana, sono stati identificati a tre km. circa a sud-ovest di Cala Gonone: F. BARRECA, Monte Sirai, IV, Roma, 1967, pp. 121 sgg.

[173] Ruderi punici e resti romani sono stati identificati presso il castello di Medusa: F. BARRECA, Monte Sirai, IV, pp. 118 sgg.

[174] I resti nei pressi di Tertenia sono stati rilevati sempre da F. BARRECA, Monte Sirai, IV, pp. 116 sgg.

[175] Resti punici sono stati rinvenuti presso S. Maria di Villaputzu: F. BARRECA, Monte Sirai, IV, p. 114; a Muravera pensava A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio, II, p. 363.

[176] A S. Isidoro ha, invece, pensato K. MILLER, Itineraria romana, col. 408.

[177] Pp. 11 sg. ed. CUNTZ.

[178] Per le opinioni che sono state avanzate sulla viabilità nella Sardegna settentrionale, sostanzialmente tre, discordi fra loro, vedi A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio, II, pp. 342 sgg. e 367 sg.; K. MILLER, Itineraria romana, col. 409; infine D. PANEDDA, Agro di Olbia, pp. 48 sgg., ove la bibliografia precedente (egli pone Tibula nei pressi di Castelsardo, in località Frigiano).

VII. *Le forze armate di stanza in Sardegna*

Un altro potente veicolo di romanizzazione fu l'occupazione militare; attraverso gli stanziamenti delle forze di terra, le coorti ausiliarie, e di reparti della flotta di Miseno, la civiltà romana ed il mondo dei Sardi vissero per secoli a stretto contatto e la prima potè esercitare un potente influsso, modificando profondamente la vita economica e sociale dell'isola. La Sardegna ebbe un presidio stabile di truppe legionarie solo per un periodo molto breve, probabilmente a partire dal 6 d.C., quando al suo governo appare, come si è detto, un *pro legato*[180], e fino al 19 giacchè a questa data furono arruolati ed inviati in Sardegna 4.000 liberti di religione giudaica col compito di reprimere le azioni di brigantaggio, i quali molto probabilmente consentirono il ritiro delle forze legionarie[181]. Per tutto il periodo imperiale il presidio dell'isola fu costituito da coorti ausiliarie; per il I secolo d.C. sono attestate numerose coorti: una I di Corsi[182], una I di Sardi[183], una di Liguri equitata, mista, cioè, di fanti e cavalieri[184]. Fra il regno di Nerone e l'88 la I coorte di

---

[179] I miliari di questa strada sono: CIL X,8002–8007; ILSard. 371–374. La denominazione della strada in 8006. La denominazione in partenza da Sulci è da supporre perchè i miliari pervenuti col numero delle miglia le numerano da Sulci: ILSard. 372, 373 e 374. Il ponte di Siliqua è stato studiato da F. Fois, Ponti romani, pp. 33 sg. I dati archeologici relativi alla strada sono stati raccolti da A. Taramelli, Iglesias. Frammento di un nuovo miliario della via romana da Carales a Sulcis rinvenuto in regione Corongiu, Notizie Scavi, 1916, pp. 187 sgg. Il Sulcis flumen è ricordato dall'Anonimo Ravennate V,26.

[180] Dione Cassio LV,28,1; anche Strabone V,2,7; EE VIII,742.

[181] Tacito, Ann. II,85,5; Svetonio,. Tib. 36,1; Giuseppe Flavio, Antiq. Iud. XVIII,3,4 sg. Anche Dione Cassio, Framm. LVII,18,5 a. E' probabile che gli Ebrei siano stati autorizzati a rientrare a Roma poco dopo la morte di Seiano, nel 31: Filone, Ad Gaium 24,159 sgg.; In Flaccum 1,1.

[182] CIL X,2954 = ILS 2684.

[183] CIL X,7591; 7594; 8321; G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscr. ined. sarde, pp. 63 sg. nr. 86 = AE 1971, 133; cf. Ead., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11,1), infra, p. 589, nr. B 47; vedi anche le tegole CIL X,8046 (1) col commento di Th. Mommsen e la sua nota a p. 998: *coh(o)r(tis) p(rimae) S(ardorum)*. Una iscrizione inedita della coorte I dei Sardi, oggi al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari, proveniente, con molta probabilità dalla necropoli di Bonaria, sempre a Cagliari, è in corso di pubblicazione ad opera di R. Zucca: Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum, Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984, pp. 237 sgg.

[184] ILSard. 313: *dec. coh. Ligurum, princeps equitum.*

Corsi deve essere stata sciolta ed i suoi reparti passati a costituire in parte una coorte I gemina di Sardi e Corsi, in parte un'altra, sempre gemina, la II di Liguri e Corsi. Questa è la situazione che appare in un diploma dell'88[185] e che non è mutata in un altro del 96[186]. Non è chiaro, poi, se l'attributo di gemina ci autorizzi a supporre la coorte con organici doppi, di mille uomini, o normali: l'attributo di *miliaria* manca infatti, spesso nelle iscrizioni. Altre due coorti ausiliarie, poi, sono note per lo stesso I secolo d.C.: la III di Aquitani dalla Gallia[187] ed una di Lusitani dalla Spagna[188]; una terza, di Mauri e di Afri[189], non è sicuramente databile.

E' impossibile, allo stato della nostra documentazione, indentificare le località di dislocazione dei reparti. I dati sono i seguenti. La coorte I di Sardi è attestata da cinque iscrizioni funerarie rinvenute, tre a Cagliari, una in territorio di Sestu, una non lontana dalla costa sud-occidentale, a Grugua, fra Antas e Buggerru; inoltre da due tegole rinvenute una ad Oschiri, una ad Oristano[190]. La coorte I di Corsi è nota solo da un titolo di Preneste[191]. La coorte di Liguri equitata ci è pervenuta attraverso un'iscrizione trovata ad Olbia[192]. I due diplomi ora citati che ricordano le due coorti gemine sono stati rinvenuti, quello dell'88 a Sorgono, nella zona centrale, quello del 96 a Dorgali nella costa orientale. La coorte III di Aquitani ha lasciato tre iscrizioni: una in località non precisata, Cagliari o dintorni, una in territorio di Bitti, una nei pressi di Oschiri[193]. La coorte di Lusitani è nota da una sola iscrizione rinvenuta presso Austis[194] e da una sola, rinvenuta a Cagliari, quella della coorte di Mauri e Afri[195]. Cinque militari, dei quali ignoriamo il reparto, sono documentati da iscrizioni funerarie rinvenute, rispettivamente, a Grugua, a Nuragus, presso Busachi, a Tempio, nei pressi di Oschiri[196]. Infine due ufficiali, sempre di reparto ignoto, sono conosciuti da iscrizioni entrambe cagliaritane[197].

---

[185] CIL X,7883 = ILS XVI,34.

[186] CIL X,7890 = ILS XVI,40.

[187] CIL X,7956; ILSard. 222; F. Porrà – I. Didu, Due nuove iscrizioni di ausiliari in Sardegna, Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica, Atti, X, 1978–79, pp. 141 sgg. La prima è quella che ricorda la coorte III di Aquitani.

[188] CIL X,7884; ad essa sarebbe da attribuire l'introduzione nell'isola del noto cippo a botte che già abbiamo ricordato (vedi sopra p. 469, n. 112): A. Balil, Relaciones de Cerdeña e Hispania, pp. 132 sg.

[189] CIL X,7600; l'integrazione accettata nel testo è del Cichorius, R.-E., IV,1 (1900), col. 315. R. J. Rowland Jr., Two Sardinian notes, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, XXX, 1978, pp. 166 sgg., ritiene che la coorte di Mauri e di Afri non abbia prestato servizio in Sardegna perchè il titolo di *praef.* di questa coorte appare in un cursus honorum. In realtà, questo comando militare fu tenuto fra IIIIvirato aed. pot. ed il IIIIvirato iure dic., entrambi rivestiti a Carales da un cagliaritano e sembra, perciò, difficile pensare che il comando della coorte sia stato tenuto fuori dell'isola.

[190] CIL X,7591; 7594; iscrizione inedita di cui alla n. 183 (Cagliari); G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscr. ined. sarde, pp. 63 sg. nr. 86 = AE 1971, 133 (territorio di Sestu); cf. Ead., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., in questo stesso volume (ANRW II, 11,1), infra, p. 589, no. B. 47; CIL X,8321 (Grugua). Le due tegole in CIL X,8046 (1): cfr. p. 998.

[191] CIL X,2954 = ILS 2684.

[192] ILSard. 313.

[193] CIL X,7596 (Cagliari o dintorni); ILSard. 122 (territorio di Bitti); F. Porrà – I. Didu, Due nuove iscrizioni, pp. 141 sgg.

[194] CIL X,7884.

[195] CIL X,7600.

Oltre alle forze di terra l'isola ebbe, durante l'impero, distaccamenti della flotta di Miseno, la *classis Misenensis*; lo attesta un passo di Vegezio che, scrivendo fra il IV ed il V secolo, elenca la Sardegna fra le regioni sotto la protezione di questa flotta assieme alla Gallia, alle Spagne, alla Mauretania, all'Africa, all'Egitto ed alla Siria[198]. Lo confermano le iscrizioni funerarie sarde relative a classiari, da porre entro i limiti cronologici del 71, giacchè nella maggior parte dei casi appare l'attributo di *praetoria* dato alla flotta, e del 212, l'anno dell'editto di Caracalla, dato che i classiari sardi non paiono godere della cittadinanza romana[199]. La documentazione più abbondante riguarda Carales, il che è naturale per la sua posizione geografica, non lontana dai porti dell'Africa settentrionale e per l'interesse economico, politico, militare della città, residenza del governatore e degli uffici centrali. Ricorderemo, anzitutto, un *archig(ybernes)*, cioè un *navarchus princeps*, ossia il primo, di rango, fra i navarchi, quindi il più diretto collaboratore del comandante della flotta di Miseno, il quale, evidentemente, fu inviato nell'isola per una occasione eccezionale che ci sfugge[200]. Un'altra iscrizione, rinvenuta nei pressi di Cagliari, a Pirri, ricorda un *tr(ierachus)*, ossia il comandante o di una nave da guerra o di un piccolo distaccamento di marinai a terra[201]. Conosciamo, inoltre, il nome di molti centurioni, ossia di comandanti di centuria, l'unità tattica comprendente tutto il personale imbarcato su una nave[202]. Concluderemo ricordando che scavi occasionali hanno consentito di mettere in luce, entro l'abitato di Cagliari, nella parte alta del Viale Regina Margherita, un sepolcreto di classiari, di sei dei quali ci è giunta l'iscrizione funeraria[203].

Altri porti sardi che la documentazione epigrafica, se pure scarsa, ci consente di supporre sedi di distaccamenti della flotta, sono Olbia e Sulci. Per Olbia si può solo citare l'iscrizione funeraria, rinvenuta nel suo immediato retroterra, presso Telti, di un marinaio che aveva servito su una liburna: *ex*

---

[196] CIL X,7537 (Grugua); 8323 (Nuragus); EE VIII,724 (presso Busachi); CIL X,7977 (cfr. addenda p. 1024: Tempio); F. PORRÀ - I. DIDU, Due nuove iscrizioni, pp. 147 sgg.

[197] CIL X,7580 (= ILS 1358) e 7583.

[198] Epit. rei mil. IV,31.

[199] *Praetoria* appare in CIL X, 7535; 7595; EE VIII,709-712; non ha questo titolo solo CIL X,7592, ma si può anche pensare a semplice omissione: CH. G. STARR, The Roman imperial navy: 31 B.C. - A.D. 324, 2ª ed., Ithaca, N.Y., 1960, p. 97 n. 20 (vedi anche pp. 66 sgg.; 185 sg.; 203 n. 66 per la cronologia).

[200] CIL X,7593.

[201] CIL X,7823.

[202] EE VIII,709-711; CIL X,7592 e 7595.

[203] CIL X,7592 e 7595; EE VIII, 709-712: E. FERRERO, Iscrizioni classiarie di Cagliari, Atti Accad. Torino, XXI, 1886, pp. 959 sgg. Vedi anche ILSard. 332 dalla necropoli del giardino della basilica di S. Saturno.

l(iburna) Sal(ute?) Augusta[204]. Anche per Sulci abbiamo una sola iscrizione funeraria venuta alla luce nei pressi di Gonnesa, poichè un'altra rinvenuta a Grugua, fra Antas e Buggerru, è più probabile che debba essere riferita ad un soldato delle coorti ausiliarie[205]. Piuttosto, però, che questa esigua documentazione, sono le condizioni storiche e geografiche a farci supporre che un distaccamento della flotta fosse ad Olbia, un altro nella costa sud-occidentale; da Sulci in particolare il pattugliamento occidentale era reso più agevole ed i contatti con le coste della Spagna e delle Baleari più spediti[206]. E' da ricordare, infine, che ci sono pervenuti due diplomi militari di classiari della flotta misenense, ma non è chiaro se essi abbiano prestato servizio nell'isola o se nell'isola si ritirarono al momento del loro congedo; i due diplomi sono stati rinvenuti, uno nei dintorni di Tortolì ed è del 134, il secondo ad Olbia ed è del 114[207]. Dubbio ancora maggiore sussiste per l'*ex gregale* ricordato in un diploma militare del 173 o del 212 restituito dalle campagne di Seulo, ma del quale non ci è giunta la flotta di appartenenza[208]. Di sei classiari attestati nell'isola è noto l'etnico: tre sono Bessi, una popolazione della Tracia, uno Alessandrino, uno Dalmata, uno, infine, *[v]ern[a]*; questo dato trova conferma sostanziale da quanto è noto dall'esame di tutto il materiale epigrafico relativo agli etnici delle due flotte italiche[209].

VIII. Divinità e culti

L'esame delle credenze religiose della Sardegna durante il periodo romano non può prescindere dall'accertamento della persistenza di quei culti e quelle divinità fenicio-puniche lasciate da Cartagine nell'isola[210]. Purtroppo, per un ampio materiale la datazione incerta riferita genericamente al III secolo a. C., non ci consente di stabilire se si tratti del periodo punico o di quello romano. Quelle che, dopo la riforma della metà circa del V secolo divennero le maggiori divinità di Cartagine, Baal Hammon e Tanit Panè Baal, sono attestate in Sardegna, la prima soltanto in periodo punico, la seconda fors'anche in periodo romano, giacchè al IV–III secolo è da riportare un'iscrizione punica di Nora che la riguarda[211]; alla prima metà del I secolo a. C., quindi in pieno periodo romano è da datare, invece, l'iscrizione bilingue di Sulci, ove, nel testo punico, si ricorda „la Signora Elat", che di preferenza viene identificata con Tanit[212]. Alcune stele, poi, contenenti la raffigurazione della dea o del suo simbolo, sembrano discendere fino al I secolo a. C.[213]; durante le lotte dei Punici e dei Sardi contro i Romani fino alla grande rivolta del 215, furono coniate monete con la testa ritenuta, dai più, di Tanit[214]; infine il cosiddetto 'Alto Luogo' di Tanit a Nora, frequentato fino al II secolo a. C., è stato riferito alla dea per il rinvenimento di una sua immagine aniconica[215]. Lo stesso dubbio cronologico riguarda altre tre divinità fenicio-puniche: Astarte di Erice è documentata in un'iscrizione punica rinvenuta a Cagliari del III secolo a. C.[216]; allo stesso secolo è da riportare l'iscrizione punica, rinvenuta ancora a Cagliari, contenente la dedica „Al Signore Bashshamem – Baalshamem – nell'isola di Enosi", ossia di S. Pietro[217]; del III–II secolo a. C. è la dedica di Tharros „Al Signore, al Dio Santo Melquart"[218]. In periodo romano, nella prima metà del II secolo è da porre l'iscrizione trilingue di S. Nicolò Gerrei che contiene, nel testo punico, una dedica „Al Signore Eshmun", con l'attributo di 'Merre' ritenuto da qualcuno riconducibile ad una radice punica col senso di „alleviare", „guidare", da altri un nome protosardo, mediterraneo, di divinità o di luogo[219].

---

[204] EE VIII,734.

[205] CIL X,7535 (Gonnesa) e 7537 (Grugua).

[206] A favore di un distaccamento nella costa sud-occidentale si era già espresso TH. MOMMSEN in CIL X, p. 785; vedi anche E. PAIS, Sardegna e Corsica, p. 290 e n. 2.

[207] CIL X,7855 = XVI,79 (dintorni di Tortolì); XVI,60 = ILSard. 311 (Olbia).

[208] CIL XVI,127 = ILSard. 182, ove la prima data; per la seconda, vedi K. DIETZ, Caracalla, Fabius Cilo und die urbaniciani, Chiron, XIII, 1983, pp. 385 sgg.

[209] CIL X,7595; EE VIII,709 e 710 (Bessi); CIL X,7535 (Alessandrino); EE VIII,711 (Dalmata); EE VIII,712 (verna: vedi CH. G. STARR, Verna, Class. Philol., XXXVII, 1942, pp. 314 sgg.). Per le aree di reclutamento delle flotte, cfr. lo stesso CH. G. STARR, Roman imp. navy, 2ª ed., pp. 74 sgg. e, per i dati statistici, Tav. I a p. 75.

[210] R. DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire romain, Leida, 1970.

Altre tracce di sopravvivenza di divinità fenicio-puniche sono ricavabili da statue in pietra e statuette in terracotta, anche se i problemi cronologici restano notevoli. Fra le prime ricorderemo quelle di Bes, seppure la sua iconografia – documentata nell'isola anche da amuleti, scarabei, terrecotte – sembra piuttosto da riferire a Eshmun, il dio guaritore[220]. Le statuette in terracotta attestano soprattutto numerosi tipi di immagini femminili nelle quali si può riconoscere, oltre alla dea madre della riproduzione e della fertilità, Demetra, per i tradizionali attributi del porcellino e del kernos[221]. Qualcuno ha creduto, su questa base, di poter identificare alcuni templi destinati al culto di Demetra e Kore, più precisamente uno a Terreseu, nei pressi di Narcao, ed uno a Tharros, i quali scenderebbero fino al periodo imperiale[222]. Infine si può supporre che nel mastio di Monte Sirai il culto delle due dee si sia sovrapposto, nel corso del II secolo a. C., a quello fenicio-punico di Astarte[223].

---

[211] M. G. GUZZO-AMADASI, Iscrizioni. Sardegna 25.

[212] M. G. GUZZO-AMADASI, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, neopunica 5; anche CIL X,7513.

[213] G. LILLIU, Le stele puniche di Sulcis (Cagliari), Monumenti Antichi Accad. Lincei, XL, 1944, coll. 293 sgg.; A. M. BISI, Le stele puniche, Roma, 1967, pp. 157 sgg.; S. MOSCATI – M. L. UBERTI, Le stele puniche di Nora nel Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Roma, 1970, pp. 36 sgg. e 49; S. F. BONDÌ, Le stele di Monte Sirai, Roma, 1972, pp. 32 sgg. e 103 sg. nr. 10.

[214] L. FORTELEONI, Emissioni monetali, pp. 60 sgg. e ID., Catalogo, nrr. 130 sgg.; ID., Monete e zecche della Sardegna punica, Quaderni di Numism. dell'Ass. Numism. Sarda V. Dessì, I, Sassari, 1975, pp. 3 sgg.; vedi, però, anche E. ACQUARO, Le monete puniche del Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Roma, 1974, pp. 63 sgg. e 81 sgg.

[215] G. PESCE, Nora. Guida agli scavi, 2ª ed., Cagliari, 1972, pp. 47 sgg.

[216] M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Iscrizioni. Sardegna 19.

[217] M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Iscrizioni. Sardegna 23; per l'isola di Enosi, Plinio III,7,85 e Tolomeo III,8,3.

[218] M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Iscrizioni. Sardegna 32.

[219] CIL X,7856 = ILS 1874 e M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Iscrizioni. Sardegna 9; per l'attributo di Merre, vedi G. GARBINI, Le iscrizioni puniche di Antas (Sardegna), Annali Ist. Or. Napoli, XIX, 1969, p. 319.

[220] G. PESCE, Sardegna punica, pp. 77 sgg.; per l'iconografia, G. GARBINI, L'iscrizione punica, in: Monte Sirai, II, pp. 90 sg. n. 1.

Maggiore approfondimento richiedono i problemi relativi al dio eponimo dei Sardi, il Sardus Pater, al quale era dedicato il tempio di Antas, in territorio di Fluminimaggiore, come dimostrano due iscrizioni latine, quella di gran lunga più importante dell'epistilio – *temp[l(um) D]ei [Sa]rdi Patris Bab[i]* – e la lamina di bronzo con la dedica *Sardo Patri*, mentre quelle puniche, nella forma più completa hanno „Al Signore, a Sid Potente Baby"[224]. Questo tempio, con grande probabilità, è lo stesso ricordato da Tolomeo lungo la costa sarda fra Othoca e Neapolis, un tratto che il geografo greco descrive con scarsa precisione; infatti l'Anonimo Ravennate nel VII secolo dà, dietro un antico itinerario, la successione delle stazioni: Sulci – Sartiparias, cioè *Sardopatoris (fanum)* – Neapolis, mentre l'"Itinerario Antoniniano' ha: Sulci – Metalla – Neapolis. Metalla, sulla base delle distanze in miglia è da porre nei pressi di Antas e l'identificazione di Metalla con *Sardopatoris fanum* sembra estremamente probabile. Si potrebbe supporre che la stessa località, fino al II–III secolo d. C. al quale l'Itinerario si riferisce, fosse nota come un centro minerario e, più tardi, dopo i grandi lavori di restauro che l'iscrizione dell'epistilio dimostra compiuti fra il 213 e il 217, come risorta sede di quel tempio che già in passato era stato oggetto di culto delle popolazioni sarde[225].

Resta aperto, per buona parte, il problema dell'identificazione e degli attributi del Sardus Pater. Abbiamo già ricordato la monetazione di poco successiva al 38 a. C., con l'effige di M. Azio Balbo nel dritto e, nel verso, la testa del dio con un alto copricapo con piume ed una lancia e la leggenda

---

[221] S. Moscati, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, pp. 138 sgg. e F. Barreca, Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed. pp. 150 sgg. e 218 sgg.

[222] Per quello di Terreseu, sempre F. Barreca, Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., pp. 147 sg.; per quello di Tharros, F. Barreca, Tharros (Oristano, loc. S. Giovanni di Sinis), in: Autori vari, I Sardi. La Sardegna del paleolitico all'età romana, Milano, in corso di stampa.

[223] F. Barreca, L'acropoli, in: Monte Sirai, II, pp. 45 sgg. e Id., Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., p. 139.

[224] Per gli scavi di Antas, F. Barreca ed altri, Ricerche puniche ad Antas. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne di scavi 1967 e 1968, Roma, 1969. L'iscrizione dell'epistilio è commentata da G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni latine del tempio del Sardus Pater ad Antas, Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 70, pp. 7 sgg.; per la lamina di bronzo, P. Meloni, Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, p. 244; le due iscrizioni sono in AE 1971, rispettivamente 119 e 120. Le iscrizioni puniche sono state pubblicate da M. Fantar, Antas. Les inscriptions, pp. 50 sgg. I; 77 sgg. VII – XIII; 87 sg. XVIII.

[225] Tolomeo III,3,2; Anonimo Ravennate V,26; Itin. Anton. p. 12 ed. Cuntz.

Sard(us) Pater. La tradizione classica lo dice figlio di Ercole – o di Melqart col quale il primo fu identificato – e gli attribuisce la guida dei Libici nella colonizzazione della Sardegna[226]. Il dato più importante è offerto dalle iscrizione puniche di Antas che lo identificano con Sid, probabilmente la divinità di Sidone, come il Sardus Pater dio indigeno, fondatore, colonizzatore[227]. Sono stati approfonditi altri attributi comuni: Sid sarebbe un dio cacciatore, il che spiegherebbe il copricapo, la lancia ed il gran numero di frecce e di giavellotti rinvenuti come oggetti votivi nel tempio[228]; un dio guaritore, poichè a lui furono dedicate le statuette degli dei Shadrapha e Horon[229]; infine, l'effige del Sardus Pater è stata identificata con quella di Baal Hammon, il dio supremo di Cartagine, divinità solare, dispensatrice di fertilità e fecondità e, come le divinità solari, guaritore e cacciatore[230].

Il tempio di Antas venne costruito come tempio punico intorno ad una roccia sacra alla fine del VI o agli inizi del V secolo a. C.; non sappiamo, però, se nella località preesistesse un luogo sacro nuragico o, anche, prenuragico, se pure non manchi qualche traccia di culto, in particolare una faretrina votiva da porre, forse, per il contesto, nel VI – V secolo[231]. E' suggestivo pensare che ad Antas i Sardi dell'età del bronzo venerassero il loro dio indigeno, genealogico, e che i Cartaginesi, assicuratosi il possesso dell'isola, costruissero su quello stesso luogo di culto, il loro, dedicato a quel Sid che era stato la guida degli antenati, i Fenici; così la divinità protosarda si sarebbe identificata con Sid Potente anch'egli il padre, l'avo, il progenitore: questo valore avrebbe l'attributo di Baby che i più ritengono debba riportarsi allo strato mediterraneo[232]. Verso il IV – III secolo a. C., mentre la fama del tempio si diffondeva fra le popolazioni sarde, la divinità indigena della quale ignoriamo il nome si sarebbe configurata come quella del Sardus Pater sulla scia delle elaborazioni romane ed ellenistiche.

Divinità egiziane passarono in Sardegna tramite i Cartaginesi. Scarabei e amuleti rappresentano Horus, Tueris, Anubis, Shu, ma essendo stati usati come talismani, potrebbero non testimoniare l'esistenza di specifici culti; la loro attestazione, specie per quelli di Antas, sembra scendere fino al I secolo a. C.[233]. Di interesse una placca in steatite verde proveniente da Tharros con Hammon, Mut e Khonsu che è stata datata in epoca tarda, forse romana[234]. Con maggiore sicurezza ci muoviamo nel caso del culto di Iside. Due suoi templi sono attestati per il periodo imperiale: quello di Sulci e quello, probabilmente, di Turris Libisonis; un terzo tempio, sulla base di alcune testimonianze, è stato supposto a Carales[235]. Oltre ai templi abbiamo altre attestazioni: un'ara votiva da Portotorres, della fine del I o degli inizi del II secolo d. C., con la dedica *I(sidi) v(otum) s(olvit)*, mentre una statuetta di bronzo di Iside è stata rinvenuta nella zona centrale dell'isola, ad Asuni, a sud di Samugheo[236]; sempre da Portotorres un'altra ara circolare datata al 35 d. C. e dedicata a Bubasti, una divinità eponima della città nell'Egitto settentrionale, associata ad Iside, il cui culto appare diffuso nel Mediterraneo[237]; un amuleto rinvenuto nelle campagne di Sorgono, il quale presenta la figura di Zeus Serapide e la scritta Ζεὺς Σέραπις[238]; infine un'iscrizione venuta alla luce nei pressi di

---

[226] Solino, Coll. rerum mem. 4,1, p. 46 ed. MOMMSEN²; Isidoro, Orig. XIV, 6,39; Silio Italico, Pun. XII, vv. 355 sgg.; Pausania X,17,2; U. BIANCHI, Sardus Pater, Rend. Accad. Lincei, XVIII, 1963, pp. 97 sgg.

[227] Per questa identificazione, G. GARBINI, Iscrizioni puniche di Antas, pp. 330 sg.

[228] M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Note sul dio Sid, in: Ricerche puniche ad Antas, pp. 98 sg. e nn. 3 e 4.

[229] M. SZNYCER, Note sur le dieu Sid et le dieu Horon d'après les nouvelles inscriptions puniques d'Antas (Sardaigne), Karthago, XV, 1969 – 70, pp. 69 sgg.; vedi anche C. GROTTANELLI, Melqart e Sid tra Egitto, Libia e Sardegna, Riv. Studi Fenici, I, 1973, pp. 153 sgg. Per le due dediche, M. FANTAR, Antas. Les inscriptions, pp. 76 sg. VI e 80 sg. IX.

[230] J. FERRON, Le dieu des inscriptions d'Antas (Sardaigne), Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 72, pp. 286 sgg.

[231] G. TORE, Due cippi-trono del tophet di Tharros, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 72, pp. 236 sg.; di provenienza da Tharros la dice E. ACQUARO, Una faretrina votiva da Antas, Oriens Antiquus, VIII,2, 1969, pp. 127 sgg.

[232] G. GARBINI, Iscrizioni puniche di Antas, pp. 319 sgg.; ad una origine semitica pensa J. FERRON, Le dieu des inscr. d'Antas, pp. 281 sgg.

---

[233] Il materiale sardo relativo al culto di Iside è stato diligentemente raccolto e commentato da H. MALAISE, Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie, Leida, 1972, pp. 313 sgg., e ID., Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie, Leida, 1972, pp. 96 e passim; vedi le aggiunte di R. J. ROWLAND JR., Isis in Roman Sardinia: addenda to Malaise „Inventaire“, Class. Philol., LXXI, 1976, pp. 169 sg.; cf. M. MALAISE, La diffusion des cultes égyptiens dans les provinces européennes de l'Empire romain, in: ANRW, II, 17,3, Berlino – New York, 1984, pp. 1629 sgg., specialmente i «*tableaux*» pp. 1631, 1635, 1642 e 1647. Per gli scarabei e gli amuleti G. PESCE, Sardegna punica, p. 119 e S. MOSCATI, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, pp. 95 sg. La notevole raccolta di amuleti egiziani ed egittizzanti del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari è stata accuratamente catalogata da E. ACQUARO, Amuleti egiziani ed egittizzanti del Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Roma, 1977.

[234] A. TARAMELLI, Cabras. Tavoletta votiva con bassorilievi ed iscrizione egiziana rinvenuta nell'area dell'antica Tharros, Notizie Scavi, 1919, pp. 135 sgg.

[235] CIL X,7514 (Sulci) e 7948 (Turris Libisonis; l'iscrizione è stata, però, rinvenuta in territorio di Castelsardo). Per le testimonianze relative a quello di Carales, W. VON BISSING, Eine ägyptische Triade im Museum von Cagliari, Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache u. Altertumskunde, LXIII, 1928, pp. 121 sgg. Una statuetta rinvenuta a Cagliari sembra essere quella di una sacerdotessa di Iside: P. MINGAZZINI, Il santuario punico di Cagliari, Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 51, pp. 165 sgg.; vedi, infine, ILSard. 49.

[236] Per l'ara di Porto Torres, P. MINGAZZINI, Quattro marmi del Museo Sanna provenienti da Turris, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII, 1952 – 54, parte I, pp. 495 sgg.; per la statuetta di Asuni, F. VIVANET, Sardinia. Statuetta di bronzo rappresentante la dea Iside, Notizie Scavi, 1898, p. 128.

[237] E. CONTU, Portotorres (Sassari), Bollettino d'Arte, LII, 1967, p. 205 e LIII, 1968, p. 148 e fig. 19; qui la notizia del rinvenimento di un altorilievo acefalo di Cautopates, assistente di Mitra. Vedi anche E. EQUINI SCHNEIDER, Catalogo delle sculture romane del Museo Naz. Sanna di Sassari, Sassari, 1979, p. 45, nr. 38 e tav. XXXVI, 1 e 2.

[238] G. VIVANET, Sorgono. Di una gemma incisa scoperta nel territorio del Comune, Notizie Scavi, 1894, pp. 220 sg. L'abbreviazione *SAS* contenuta nell'iscrizione sarda, erroneamente ritenuta africana, CIL VIII,12491 è stata sciolta *S(aturno)* o *S(erapidi) A(ugusto) s(acrum)*: J. ROWLAND JR., Isis in Roman Sardinia, p. 170.

Pirri che ha il nome teoforo di Isias[239]. Si puó concludere ricordando che è sufficientemente attestato nell'isola il culto del dio traco-frigio Sabazio[240].

L'iscrizione trilingue, già citata, di S. Nicolò Gerrei, della prima metà del II secolo a. C., contiene, nel testo punico, la dedica ad Eshmun identificato, nel testo latino, con Esculapio. Il culto durò anche in periodo imperiale; il grande santuario delle divinità salutari di Nora si è ritenuto che fosse a lui dedicato per il rinvenimento di due statue in terracotta che attesterebbero il rito dell'incubazione[241]; Cagliari ha restituito una dedica ad Esculapio Augusto[242], mentre un rione di Carales era chiamato il *vicus Martis et Aesculap[i]*[243]; nella frazione di Donigala, nei pressi di Mandas, è stato rinvenuto un vasetto in bronzo con la scritta *Aesculapi*[244]. Infine è normale che il suo culto appaia associato a quello delle Ninfe delle acque termali, come avviene a Forum Traiani; questo centro ha restituito la parte superiore di un'ara con la dedica *Nymphis Aug(ustis) et Aescu[l(apio)]*[245]; la stessa località ha conservato tre iscrizioni alle Ninfe: una *Nimphis sac[rum]*, un'altra *Nymphis sanc[tiss(imis)]*, una terza *Nymph(is) salutar(ibus)*[246]. Così, per divinità salutari fu costruito in epoca costantiniana l'ipogeo di S. Salvatore di Cabras[247].

Il culto di Giove doveva essere molto diffuso nell'isola, come appare da un *signaculum* in bronzo di incerta provenienza, con la dedica *dic(atus) sum Iov(i)*[248]. A parte va considerato il culto tipicamente militare di Giove Dolicheno, documentato da un'iscrizione rinvenuta ad Ossi e probabilmente da riferire a Turris Libisonis: *[Iovi Sa]nc(to) Dol(icheno)*; essa fu posta, si può ritenere, *[pro vi]ct(oria)* degli imperatori Caracalla e Geta nel 211–212[249]. Anche il culto di Giunone è attestato, come dimostra un'iscrizione di Pula – quindi Nora – con la dedica *Iunoni sacrum*[250]; infine la *Iuno* o Genio della defunta diventa, dopo la morte di questa, la *Iuno inferna*[251]. Di notevole interesse l'iscrizione, rinvenuta anch'essa nei pressi di Pula, contenente la dedica *Dis Deabusque secundum interpretationem oraculi Clari Apollinis*; come è noto, la stessa dedica è stata ritrovata in altre province, Britannia, Dalmazia, Numidia e Mauretania Tingitana e viene posta fra la fine del II e l'inizio del III secolo d. C.; più precisamente si è pensato ad una iniziativa di Settimio Severo (193–211) o del figlio Caracalla nel 213[252]. Apollo Clario è quello di Claro, nella Lidia; il culto di Apollo sembra attestato, dal ricordo, a Carales, di una *Sacra Via quae dicebatur Apollinis,* contenuto nella Passione di S. Saturno[253].

---

[239] CIL X,7814.

[240] G. Sotgiu, Per la diffusione del culto di Sabazio. Testimonianze dalla Sardegna, Leida, 1980.

[241] G. Pesce, Nora, pp. 89 sgg. e Id., Sardegna punica, pp. 98 sgg., col. commento alle figg. 32, 90, 91.

[242] CIL X,7552.

[243] CIL X,7604. Marte è attestato nell'isola solo in questo contesto. Solo Esculapio è ricordato in CIL X,7553. Dubbia l'integrazione dei due frammenti in G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscr. ined. sarde, pp. 7 sgg. nr. 2 e p. 59 nr. 79.

[244] CIL X,7857.

[245] ILSard. 186.

[246] Rispettivamente CIL X,7859 e 7860; ILSard. 187.

[247] D. Levi, L'ipogeo di San Salvatore di Cabras in Sardegna, Roma, 1949.

[248] G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta V Int. Congr. Greek and Latin Epigr. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 251.

[249] CIL X,7949; per la sua diffusione, P. Merlat, Jupiter Dolichenus, Parigi, 1960, e M. Hörig, Iupiter Dolichenus, in: ANRW II, 17,4, Berlino–New York, 1984, pp. 2136–2179.

[250] CIL X,7541 = ILS 5918.

[251] CIL X,7576, una delle iscrizioni della tomba di Atilia Pomptilla a Cagliari.

Altre divinità minori sono documentate dalle iscrizioni. Venere, sulla base di un frammento di statuetta della dea in terracotta rinvenuto a Nora – *Vener[i s]acrum* – e su un *signaculum* venuto alla luce fra Porto Torres e la Nurra con la leggenda *Veneris obsequentis*[254]; Ercole, con l'attributo di *victor*, in una piccola ara rinvenuta a Cagliari – *Hercul[i] victor[i]* – e, in una colonna di trachite da Serri, cioè Biora, *Numini Deo Herculi*[255]. A Libero è dedicata un'erma acefala rinvenuta a Cagliari: *Libero*[256]. Mulcibero, un attributo di Vulcano, è ricordato in un'iscrizione frammentaria proveniente da Nora: *[---]us Mulcibero*[257]. Non è altrimenti nota la divinità Viduus alla quale è posta la dedica sulla base di una colonna di marmo rinvenuta a Sanluri: *Viduo*[258]. Abbiamo già ricordato Silvano, protettore del *nemus Sorabense* attestato da un'iscrizione di Fonni: *[Numi]n[i Deo] Silvano*[259]. Al Genio della villa sono poste due dediche, una rinvenuta presso Sorso – *Genio villaes* – un'altra non lontano da Sassari: *[Geni]um villae*[260]. Il culto del Lare familiare è documentato da una dedica venuta alla luce a Cagliari – *Lari* – e da una da Tharros nella forma *Laribus san[---]*; dubbia, invece, la lettura *Larum Galillensium,* fatta in una gemma rinvenuta a Cagliari[261]. Di origine spagnola il culto di Atecina Turibrigense che appare in un'ara oggi al Museo Nazionale di Cagliari: *D(eae) S(acrae) A(taecinae) T(uribrigensi)*[262]. Fra i templi abbiamo già ricordato quelli di Sulci a Elat, forse Tanit, e ad Iside e Serapide e quello, probabilmente di Turris Libisonis, a Iside. Aggiungiamo un tempio a Cerere, molto probabilmente ad Olbia, oltre a numerosi busti fittili della dea datati fra la fine del I e la fine del II secolo d. C. e rinvenuti soprattutto nelle zone nord-occidentali dell'isola[263]. Ricordiamo, infine, il tempio alla Fortuna, ancora a Turris Libisonis[264].

---

[252] AE 1929,56 = ILSard. 42; per la sua diffusione, E. BIRLEY, Cohors I Tungrorum and the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 511 sgg.

[253] B. R. MOTZO, S. Saturno di Cagliari, Arch. St. Sardo, XVI, 1926, p. 24 (VII).

[254] G. SOTGIU, Instrumentum dom. della Sardegna, p. 251.

[255] Rispettivamente CIL X,7554 e 7858; quest'ultima è dedicata dai *Martenses.*

[256] CIL X,7556.

[257] G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscr. ined. sarde, pp. 6 sg. nr. 1 = AE 1971, 121.

[258] CIL X,7844; da consultare il commento di TH. MOMMSEN e l'indice a p. 1134.

[259] ILSard. 221.

[260] Rispettivamente CIL X,7947 e ILSard. 240.

[261] CIL X,7555 (Cagliari); G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscr. ined. sarde, p. 41 nr. 46 (Tharros); CIL X,8061 (abbiamo già ricordato la popolazione dei Galillenses nel medio Flumendosa o nel Gerrei).

[262] CIL X,7557; A. BALIL, Cerdeña e Hispania, pp. 130 sg.

L'esame dei sacerdoti addetti al culto imperiale pone qualche problema; in Sardegna è attestato, quale supremo sacerdote, sia un *sacerdos*, sia un *flamen*. Il contesto delle iscrizioni che li riguardano conferma quanto era già noto da altre province; che egli era scelto, fra quanti godevano della cittadinanza romana, dal *concilium* provinciale; che dopo la nomina veniva cooptato nell'*ordo decurionum* della città ove avevano sede l'assemblea e l'altare provinciali, ossia in quello di Carales; infine che all'uscita di carica poteva divenire, rispettivamente, *sacerdotalis* e *flaminalis*[265]. Dubbia la spiegazione di questa coesistenza; entrambe le soluzioni proposte, o che essi siano da porre in due momenti successivi, non coevi, o che il primo fosse addetto al culto dell'Augusto vivente, il secondo degli Augusti divinizzati, incontrano molte difficoltà. Attestato anche, in Sardegna, il collegio addetto ai Lari di Augusto in due centri abitati: a Sulci, un municipio, ove è noto un *mag(ister) Lar. Aug.*, ed a Turris Libisonis, una colonia, ove sono noti i *ministr[i] Larum Aug.*[266].

Così, anche l'esame dell'augustalità non contribuisce a chiarire i molti problemi che questa istituzione lascia ancora insoluti[267]. Il sevirato augustale è noto solo a Turris Libisonis, una colonia, ove è ricordato un *VIvir A[ug(ustalis)]*[268]. Il collegio degli augustali è attestato in due municipi: a Carales e a Nora. A Carales sono noti un *mag(ister)*, un *mag(ister) augustal(is)* e un *mag(istrorum) augusta(lium) ministe[r]*, quindi un segretario dei *magistri augustales*, presidenti del collegio[269]. A Nora, poi, è documentato un *augustalis primus aug(ustalis) perpetu(u)s*, primo, cioè, di rango, fra gli augustali in carica nel suo stesso anno, e perpetuo perchè eletto dal consiglio dei decurioni a far parte del collegio vitalizio[270].

---

[263] Il frammento di epistilio con dedica a Cerere, oggi nel Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa, di molto probabile origine olbiese è pubblicato, da ultimo, in ILSard. 309; vedi anche E. GABBA, in: Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa. Le antichità, Pisa, 1977, p. 77 nr. A 35 est. Sulla sua origine E. PAIS, Intorno alla storia di Olbia in Sardegna, in: ID., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, pp. 557 sgg. Per i busti fittili della dea, vedi C. VISMARA, Sarda Ceres. Busti fittili di divinità femminile della Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1980.

[264] CIL X,7946 = ILS 5526; un'iscrizione con la dedica alla Fortuna – *Fortu[nae]* – di ignota provenienza, è oggi nel Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari.

[265] Per il *sacerdos* provinciale, CIL X,7917 (Cornus); 7940 (Bosa). Per il *flamen* CIL X,7599. Il *sacerdotalis* è attestato da CIL X,7518 = ILS 6764 (Sulci).

[266] CIL X,7514 (Sulci); 7953 = ILS 6766 (Turris Libisonis); dubbia l'integrazione di ILSard. 242.

[267] A. D. NOCK, Seviri and Augustales, in: Mélanges J. Bidez, Bruxelles, 1934, pp. 627 sgg. (= ID., Essays on Religion and the Ancient World I, Oxford, 1972, pp. 348–356); R. DUTHOY, Recherches sur la répartition géographique et chronologique des termes « sevir Augustalis », « Augustalis » et « sevir » dans l'Empire romain, Epigraphische Studien, XI, 1976, pp. 143 sgg. (specie p. 174) e ID., Les Augustales, in: ANRW, II, 16,2, Berlino – New York, 1978, pp. 1254 sgg.

[268] ILSard. 243.

[269] Le tre iscrizioni sono, rispettivamente, CIL X,7601; 7552; ILSard. 49; per quest'ultima vedi L. VIDMAN, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berlino, 1969, nr. 519.

Il culto imperiale era tributato, oltre che dai sacerdoti e dai collegi su ricordati, da un sacerdote municipale, il *flamen Augusti* o, semplicemente, *flamen*. La documentazione riguarda Sulci più ampiamente, Nora e Cornus. Da Sulci provengono tre iscrizioni: una ricorda un *flam(en) Augusto[rum]*, un'altra un *[fla]men Aug(usti)*, una terza un *flam(en) Aug(usti) II*[271]. A Nora una base di statua ricorda un *flam(en) Aug(usti) prim(us) dec(urionum) suf(fragiis) cre(atus), flam(en) Aug(usti) [pe]rpet(uus) prim(us) et apsen(s) cre(atus)*. Dubbio il valore di *primus*: primo di rango fra i flamini del municipio ed i flamini perpetui o primo in ordine di tempo, ossia già all'atto della creazione del municipio di Nora, anche se, in questo caso, si suole ricordare nell'iscrizione, preferibilmente, il nome del municipio[272]. Infine a Cornus è noto un *flamen*[273]. La flaminica, poi, è attestata solo a Carales ed in due iscrizioni: *flaminic[ae]* e *flaminica perpetua*[274]. Il collegio dei pontefici al quale, di norma, si appartiene prima di giungere al flaminato municipale, è documentato a Carales, ove in due iscrizioni si ricorda un *pontifex*[275] ed a Sulci, ove in tre iscrizioni è attestato proprio il passaggio da *pontifex sacrorum publicorum faciendorum* a *flamen*[276]. Un gradino più in basso stava il collegio degli auguri che è noto solo a Turris Libisonis ove appare la dedica ad un *augur*[277].

---

[270] CIL X,7541 = ILS 5918; per il valore di *primus*, A. D'ORS, Sobre los orígines del culto al emperador en España, Emerita, IX, 1941, p. 208.

[271] Rispettivamente ILSard. 3; CIL X,7519; 7518 = ILS 6764.

[272] ILSard. 45; per il valore temporale di *primus*, pur con qualche cautela, A. AYMARD, Flamen primus, Rev. Étud. Anc., L, 1948, pp. 414 sgg.

[273] CIL X,7916. Dubbio, invece, l'eventuale flamine di Turris Libisonis *[--- A]ugustor(um)*: ILSard. 242.

[274] CIL X,7602 (vedi anche indice a p. 1143) e 7604.

[275] CIL X,7587 = ILS 1402; 7605.

[276] CIL X,7518 = ILS 6764; 7519; ILSard. 3.

[277] CIL X,7953 = ILS 6766.

La Sardegna romana. I centri abitati e l'organizzazione municipale*

di PIERO MELONI, Cagliari

Sommario

I. Le fonti. La 'formula' di Plinio 492
II. Municipi e colonie 494
III. Carales durante la repubblica 496
IV. La città sardo-punica. Il municipio di cittadini romani 498
V. L'economia di Carales 500
VI. La città romana 502
VII. Turris Libisonis. La deduzione della colonia 504
VIII. L'economia di Turris 506
IX. Magistrati. La città romana 507
X. Uselis 510
XI. Nora 512
XII. Bitia 515
XIII. Sulci 516
XIV. Neapolis 520
XV. Othoca 522
XVI. Cornus 523
XVII. Tharros 525
XVIII. Bosa 528
XIX. Olbia 529

---

* Questa ricerca calca, sostanzialmente, con modifiche ed aggiunte, il Cap. Nono del mio volume La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975, pp. 201–264 e la relativa documentazione. Vedi, anche, i miei aggiornamenti, Stato attuale della ricerca sulla Sardegna romana, in: Atti del Convegno di Studio „Stato attuale della ricerca storica sulla Sardegna. Cagliari 27–28–29 maggio 1982", Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIII, 1982, pp. 73–90. [I rimandi all'art. di G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, in questo stesso volume di ANRW (pp. 552–739) non sono dell'autore, PIERO MELONI, ma aggiunti a cura della redazione.]

XX. Forum Traiani 533
XXI. Sorabile. Austis. Valentia 534
XXII. Custodia Rubriensis. Luguido 536
XXIII. Popolazioni non urbanizzate. L'elenco di Tolomeo 537
Carta: Centri e vie di communicazione nella Sardegna romana . . . . dopo 540
Bibliografia 541

I. Le fonti. La 'formula' di Plinio

I dati a nostra disposizione per lo studio dell'organizzazione municipale della Sardegna romana sono di natura diversa, anche se ben lontani dal riuscire esaurienti: fonti letterarie, iscrizioni, monete. Queste ultime si riducono a pochi tipi, la cui interpretazione presenta difficoltà, che appaiono, allo stato delle nostre conoscenze, insormontabili o quasi[1]. Le iscrizioni offrono, invece, materiale relativamente ampio, per lo più univoco e del massimo interesse. Le fonti letterarie, per la parte che più precisamente riguarda la struttura municipale dell'isola, oltre a qualche accenno presso geografi, si riducono sostanzialmente al passo di Plinio nella 'Naturalis Historia', III,7,85, che dà la *formula provinciae* dell'isola:

> *celeberrimi in ea* ⟨i.e. *in Sardinia*⟩ *populorum Ilienses, Balari, Corsi oppidorum XVIII Sulcitani, Valentini, Neapolitani, Vitenses, Caralitani civium R(omanorum) et Norenses, colonia autem una quae vocatur ad Turrem Libisonis.*

Il testo presenta notevoli difficoltà interpretative. E' evidente che l'enumerazione può dividersi in due parti: quella dei popoli che non hanno un'organizzazione urbana, Iliensi, Bàlari e Corsi e quelli, invece, che prendono il nome da un centro abitato: i Sulcitani da Sulci, i Valentini da Valentia, i Neapolitani da Neapolis, i Vitensi da Bitia, i Caralitani da Carales, i Norensi da Nora; infine la colonia di Turris Libisonis, l'unica in Sardegna. Questa interpretazione del passo è, tuttavia, notevolmente complicata dal ricordo dei *XVIII oppida*; a chi apparterrebbero? Sono state date tre diverse interpretazioni: ai Corsi, ed il passo andrebbe allora letto: . . . *Corsi oppidorum XVIII, Sulcitani* . . .; ai Sulcitani, quindi: . . . *Corsi, oppidorum XVIII Sulcitani* . . .; infine l'espressione andrebbe riferita a tutti i popoli che prendono il nome da centri abitati e pertanto: . . . *Ilienses, Balari, Corsi; oppidorum XVIII: Sulcitani* . . .; il fatto, poi, che gli etnici elencati non siano diciotto, troverebbe la sua spiegazione in un criterio di selezione dell'autore che avrebbe ricordato solo sei etnici, i più importanti, oltre alla colonia. Bisogna riconoscere che la struttura dell'intero periodo ci porta ad escludere la seconda ipotesi e quindi l'attribuzione dei diciotto *oppida* ai Sulcitani e ad ammettere, almeno in via ipotetica, la prima, con l'attribuzione di questi *oppida* ai Corsi; in tal caso bisognerebbe pensare a piccoli raggruppamenti rurali – più vicini agli odierni stazzi che non a centri abitati veri e propri – i quali dovevano gravitare su Olbia.

---

[1] M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas, 2ª ed., Cambridge, 1969, pp. 149 sgg. e 205 sgg.

La terza ipotesi è la più valida da un punto di vista storico-geografico[2]. Si può intendere che i sei *populi* che prendono il nome da centri abitati siano *(populi) oppidani*, di *oppida*, il che spiegherebbe il genere maschile di *celeberrimi* – apparentemente riferito ad *oppida* – ed il caso genitivo di *civium R(omanorum)* riferito ai Caralitani che sottinderebbe un *oppidum*. Chiuderebbero l'elenco i *(populi) oppidani coloniari*, cioè gli abitanti di Turris Libisonis[3]. Il passo, per la parte in esame, andrebbe così inteso: „I più celebri dei popoli dei diciotto *oppida* sono: i Sulcitani . . .“. Se si accetta questa opinione, allora l'enumerazione pliniana segue un ordine ascendente, sotto l'aspetto giuridico, ben definito, come, del resto, appare accertato per altre province. Dapprima i *populi* non urbanizzati, Iliensi, Bàlari e Corsi; poi i *populi* che prendono il nome da un centro abitato, da un *oppidum*, per i quali si fa una triplice suddivisione: quelli che abitano i vecchi centri sardo-punici: Sulcitani, Valentini, Neapolitani, Vitensi; quelli che abitano i centri ai quali è stata data un'organizzazione municipale: Caralitani e Norensi; infine quelli che abitano una colonia, l'unica esistente nell'isola: Turris Libisonis. Così intendendo, e sembra preferibile, è evidente che anche Nora sarebbe conosciuta da Plinio come un *oppidum* di cittadini romani e verrebbe, in tal modo, sciolto, come diremo, un vecchio dubbio.

Ma vi è, ancora, un problema comune alla *formula* di altre province data da Plinio. Quali sono le fonti delle sue notizie e, quindi, a che data esse vanno riportate? Oggi si è d'accordo nel non suggerire un'unica data, ma, piuttosto, nel ricercare quella di ciascuna *formula* sulla base degli elementi a nostra disposizione. Per quanto riguarda la Sardegna, possiamo ricordare che l'attributo di *Iulia* che l'Anonimo Ravennate molto probabilmente dà alla colonia di Turris Libisonis e quello di *Iulium* che altrettanto probabilmente appare dato, su basi epigrafiche, al municipio di Carales[4] ci portano, come avremo occasione di approfondire, ad attribuire la fondazione della prima e l'elevazione di rango del secondo, a Cesare o ad Ottaviano, prima del 27 a. C., quando a quest'ultimo venne dato il titolo di Augusto. E' l'unico dato e, per di più, conferma le nostre conoscenze; è, infatti, opinione comune che le liste di Plinio risalgano, nella maggior parte dei casi, sostanzialmente ai 'Commentarii Geographici' ed alla 'Tabula Picta' del mondo romano di M. Vipsanio Agrippa, composti fra il 25 e l'anno della morte dell'autore, il 12 a. C., e fatta rielaborare, la seconda, da Augusto ad una data imprecisata, prima della sua pubblicazione nel Portico di Vipsanio. Siamo, quindi, in periodo augusteo, pur disponendo Plinio, naturalmente, di dati ufficiali fino all'età dei Flavi, da utilizzare per eventuali aggiunte e correzioni[5].

---

[2] In questo senso E. PAIS, La „formula provinciae“ della Sardegna nel I secolo dell'impero secondo Plinio, in: ID., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, pp. 579 sgg., che in un'ampia ricerca tenta l'identificazione dei diciotto *populi* degli *oppida*. Dietro di lui G. I. LUZZATTO, In tema di organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, in: Studi in onore di G. Grosso, I, Torino, 1968, pp. 299 sgg. I traduttori dell'opera di Plinio, I, Torino, ed. Einaudi, 1982, ad loc. intendono: „. . . i Corsi che hanno 18 città“; alla n. 1 confermano: „La virgola va posta dopo XVIII: è la popolazione dei Corsi che si compone di 18 città, mentre i Sulcitani sono gli abitanti della città di Sulci“. Intendendo in questo senso si potrebbero ricordare i ventiquattro *oppida ignobilia*, quindi di scarsissima importanza, attribuiti da Plinio a Nemausus, Nîmes, nella Gallia Narbonense (Nat. Hist., III,4,37).

[3] Che sotto *oppida* si debbano intendere *populi oppidani* ha sostenuto CH. SAUMAGNE, Le droit latin et les cités romaines sous l'Empire, Parigi, 1965, pp. 18 sg.

[4] La testimonianza dell'Anonimo Ravennate relativa a Turris Libisonis è in V,26 (I. DIDU, I centri abitati della Sardegna romana nell'Anonimo Ravennate e nella Tabula

II. *Municipi e colonie*

L'esame dell'organizzazione municipale nelle province ha valore soprattutto per i primi due secoli d. C., prima, cioè, del 212, quando Caracalla concesse la cittadinanza romana a tutti gli abitanti liberi dell'impero che ne erano ancora privi. A partire da questa data, infatti, nonostante siano ancora attestate creazioni di municipi e di colonie, tuttavia le differenze sostanziali già esistenti fra municipi di cittadini romani e colonie da una parte, e centri abitati indigeni – le *civitates* – dall'altra, si vennero attenuando per la minore spinta delle città ad ottenere uno stato giuridico al quale non corrispondevano, ormai, sostanziali vantaggi. In Sardegna, come vedremo, per quattro città almeno è attestata l'organizzazione sardo-punica preromana: per Carales, Bitia, Neapolis, Tharros e fors'anche Sulci dall'esistenza dei sufeti, la tipica magistratura punica; per Carales e Neapolis dal ricordo della loro *civitas*. Inoltre, sono documentati un consiglio cittadino per Sulci e, probabilmente, un'assemblea popolare per Bitia. Mentre, però, Carales e Sulci furono successivamente elevate allo stato di municipi di cittadini romani, di Bitia, Neapolis, Tharros, non conosciamo con sicurezza eventuali sviluppi nel loro stato giuridico. In questo senso di comunità preromana suggerito, del resto, da tutta la restante documentazione sui centri abitati indigeni dell'impero, soprattutto su quelli africani, è preferibile intendere *civitas* nel quadro dell'organizzazione

---

Peutingeriana, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, III, 1980–81, p. 209). Per Carales *municipium Iulium* CIL X,7682 e 7844 e più avanti.

[5] Per le opere di Agrippa ed i relativi problemi cronologici vedi l'introduzione alla vecchia edizione dei Geographi Latini Minores di A. RIESE, 1878, pp. VII sgg.: la rielaborazione della Tabula Picta è posta in data incerta fra il 7 a. C. e il 15 d. C. Vedi anche B. GALSTERER-KRÖLL, Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium romanum, Epigraphische Studien, 9, 1972, pp. 57 sgg. e J. GASCOU, La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime Sévère, Roma, 1972, pp. 18 sg.

municipale sarda, per quanto sia noto che nel IV secolo il termine finirà per divenire comprensivo di municipi e di colonie[6].

Un punto controverso è la valutazione dello spirito col quale avvennero queste concessioni di cittadinanza romana a interi centri abitati. Cominciamo col dire che due città sarde furono sicuramente colonie: Turris Libisonis e Uselis, fors'anche Tharros; tre sicuramente municipi di cittadini romani: Carales, Sulci e Nora, molto probabilmente Bosa, forse anche Olbia. Per il municipio di Nora non ci è giunta la documentazione relativa all'iscrizione dei suoi cittadini ad una tribù, mentre quelli di Carales e di Sulci sappiamo che furono iscritti alla tribù Quirina così come anche quelli di Cornus, un centro che, però, si dubita se fosse municipio o colonia. L'attestazione della stessa tribù ha fatto supporre date molto ravvicinate – fra Cesare e Augusto – per queste concessioni alle città sarde[7], ma l'argomento perde molto del suo valore se si pensa al silenzio di Plinio che nella sua *formula* attribuisce solo ai Caralitani e, si può ritenere, anche ai Norensi, la cittadinanza romana. Sembra, perciò, più accettabile pensare che si sia preferito assegnare la stessa tribù a diverse città dell'isola, anche in momenti diversi, se pure, probabilmente, sempre entro il I secolo d. C.

Ma come vanno intese queste concessioni di cittadinanza? Evidentemente il problema non è limitato alla Sardegna, ma interessa la maggior parte delle province dell'impero. C'è un duplice modo di valutazione: secondo alcuni si tratterebbe di una elevazione di rango per venire incontro alle richieste delle comunità indigene che desideravano portare avanti più celermente il processo di romanizzazione che le interessava; per altri, invece, di un riconoscimento che questo processo era talmente progredito che ormai le comunità erano prevalentemente composte di cittadini romani i quali agli indigeni erano legati da vincoli economici e di sangue sempre più stretti; questo secondo caso, per qualche studioso, sarebbe stato quello delle comunità sarde[8]. Posta in questi termini, la scelta diviene estremamente ardua anche perchè non disponiamo di notizie di una certa ampiezza e di un sufficiente grado di sicurezza sulla progressione con la quale il fenomeno della romanizzazione si sviluppò nell'isola fino al I secolo d. C. E' vero che la prima procedura di promozione, che suole definirsi di carattere costitutivo, diviene sempre più frequente solo a partire da Antonino Pio (138 – 161), ma questa e la seconda, di carattere dichiarativo, non possono porsi in termini di antitesi. Le due esigenze, quella di elevare alla cittadinanza romana una comunità indigena che lo richiedeva, nella quale il processo di romanizzazione aveva raggiunto un notevole grado di intensità, e quella di riconoscere una comunità di fatto, già costituita in prevalenza da cittadini romani, possono considerarsi strettamente collegate ed interdipendenti. Ma queste questioni di principio saranno approfondite analiticamente nelle pagine che seguono.

---

[6] Vedi, ad esempio, per l'Africa proconsolare, che tante affinità presenta con la Sardegna, il cit. J. GASCOU, Afrique proconsulaire, pp. 11 sg. e 104 sgg. e ID., La politique municipale de Rome en l'Afrique du Nord, I e II, in: ANRW, II, 10 2, 1982, pp. 136 sgg. e 230 sgg.

[7] G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale, pp. 304 sgg.

[8] G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale, pp. 307 sgg.

III. Carales durante la repubblica

Descrivendo, negli ultimi anni del IV secolo, la spedizione inviata da Stilicone nell'autunno del 397 per soffocare la rivolta del *comes* d'Africa, Gildone, il poeta latino Claudio Claudiano ne traccia l'itinerario da Pisa, il porto d'imbarco, fino a Carales, Cagliari, ove le truppe si trattennero per tutto l'inverno in attesa della buona stagione operativa. E' questa l'occasione per una descrizione estremamente sintetica di Carales e del suo porto, citata dalla maggior parte degli studiosi di cose sarde:

> „Si sviluppa notevolmente, nel senso della lunghezza, la città, fondata dai potenti Fenici di Tiro, dirimpetto alla costa libica e si insinua nel mare con un piccolo colle che spezza la violenza dei venti opposti. Così, nel mezzo, si forma un porto e in un'ampia insenatura, sicure da tutti i venti, riposano le acque“[9].

La descrizione viene intesa nel senso che allude chiaramente a due porti distinti, uno sul mare, quindi presso l'attuale bacino, l'altro sullo stagno, quindi quello di S. Gilla, allora navigabile. Qui i Fenici si erano stabiliti, certamente già nel VII secolo, poichè in quel periodo appaiono in una fase di espansione territoriale nel retroterra. Essi avevano scelto la riva orientale dello stagno, più precisamente l'isoletta di S. Simone, e fors'anche il capo S. Elia; successivamente, numerose zone intermedie erano state occupate e si era stabilita l'acropoli molto probabilmente nel Castello[10]. Uno stanziamento così diluito lungo il golfo fu trovato ed approfondito dai Romani e dà ragione, sia del particolare iniziale della descrizione di Claudiano, sia della forma plurale del nome Carales che è di preferenza attestata rispetto a quella singolare Caralis[11], quasi che con essa si volesse alludere a distinti stanziamenti. Per quanto riguarda l'origine del nome, ricorderemo che è stata supposta una radice mediterranea, paleosarda, per qualcuno **kar-* nel senso di „pietra“, „roccia“[12], per altri, meno bene, **kal-* nel senso di „insenatura“, „cala“[13].

---

[9] De bello Gildonico, I, vv. 520 sgg. Per l'origine: ... *Tyrio fundata potenti.* Da notare che *Tyrius* oltre che „fenicio di Tiro“ significa „cartaginese“.

[10] S. M. CECCHINI, I ritrovamenti fenici e punici in Sardegna, Roma, 1969, pp. 33 sgg. e fig. 5. Per il porto, G. SCHMIEDT, Antichi porti d'Italia, L'Universo, XLV, 1965, pp. 231 sgg.

[11] L'Appendix Probi, in Grammatici Latini IV, p. 195 ll. 24 sgg. ed. H. KEIL, pone Carales fra i *nomina generis feminini numeri semper pluralis.*

[12] E. DE FELICE, Le coste della Sardegna. Saggio toponomastico storico-descrittivo, Cagliari, 1964, pp. 124 sgg.

[13] M. PITTAU, Lingua e civiltà di Sardegna, Cagliari, 1970, pp. 1 sgg.

Durante il periodo repubblicano Carales, che nei tempi immediatamente successivi alla conquista romana ebbe un'importanza probabilmente inferiore a Nora, è spesso citata nelle fonti letterarie. Il primo ricordo si ha nel 215, durante la rivolta di Ampsicora, quando il generale romano, T. Manlio Torquato, vi sbarcò con la sua legione e, presa sotto le sue insegne quella di stanza nell'isola, iniziò da lì le operazioni che lo portarono alla vittoria conseguita nei pressi di Cornus; poco dopo, però, il sopraggiungere nell'isola delle truppe cartaginesi al comando di Asdrubale il Calvo e l'unione di queste forze con quelle dei Sardo-punici lo costrinsero a ripiegare verso Carales[14]. Nel 210 una squadra navale di Cartagine, al comando di Amilcare, devastò il retroterra della città rientrando in Africa carica di bottino[15]. Nel 202 il console Tiberio Claudio Nerone, nel quadro delle operazioni che avrebbero portato alla battaglia di Zama, sorpreso da una tempesta al largo delle coste sarde, trovò rifugio, durante tutto l'inverno, nel protetto porto di Carales[16]. Dubbia, invece, la parte che la città ebbe in occasione della rivolta del 177, giacchè se da un passo di Floro parrebbe che essa, assieme ad altre, avrebbe subìto una dura punizione per aver partecipato alla rivolta[17], in Livio invece – e la sua testimonianza sembra da preferire – le sole città sarde delle quali si parla sono quelle amiche di Roma nelle quali l'esercito si ritirò, vittorioso, per svernare[18]. Durante la guerra civile fra Cesare e Pompeo, infine, Carales è ricordata due volte: nel 49, quando i suoi abitanti cacciarono il governatore pompeiano appena giunse notizia che Cesare aveva inviato un suo legato per prendere possesso dell'isola[19], e nel 46, quando Cesare, di ritorno dalla battaglia di Tapso, si fermò in città dal 16 al 28 aprile dell'anno giuliano[20].

E' probabile che a questo soggiorno di Cesare sia da riportare la creazione del municipio di cittadini romani, la quale sanzionava un intenso processo di romanizzazione; non si possono, tuttavia, escludere, per questa elevazione di rango, altre circostanze. E' stato, infatti, sostenuto che a Carales sia da riferire una moneta di bronzo, di origine sarda, che raffigura le teste di due personaggi maschili, dei quali sono dati i nomi – Aristo e Mutumbal Ricoce – ed il titolo: *ʿsuf*. Secondo questa ipotesi essi sarebbero, in una fase di transizione che non voleva rompere con gli elementi tradizionali, i primi due magistrati del municipio romano, più precisamente due sufeti che avrebbero attivamente collaborato alla sua fondazione che viene attribuita ad Ottaviano negli anni dal 42 al 40 o dal 38 al 36 circa[21]. In ogni modo, il termine ante quem è offerto da Plinio il quale conosce i Caralitani *cives R(omani)*[22]. Queste possibili date sono, in parte, confermate dall'esistenza certamente di uno, probabilmente anche di un secondo liberto del municipio – *municipi l(ibertus)* – di Carales, attestati da due iscrizioni, una di incerta provenienza, oggi al Museo di Cagliari, l'altra rinvenuta a Sanluri, ma molto probabilmente da riferire a Carales[23]. I liberti hanno lo stesso prenome e lo stesso gentilizio, *C. Iulius*, il che fa pensare, come già è stato supposto, che *Iulium* fosse l'attributo stesso del municipio romano[24]; in tal caso la sua fondazione dovrebbe preferibilmente essere riportata o a Cesare o ad Ottaviano, prima del 27 a. C., quando a quest'ultimo venne dato il titolo di Augusto.

---

[14] Livio XXIII,40,2; 7 sg.

[15] Livio XXVII,6,14.

[16] Livio XXX,39,3.

[17] I,22,35.

[18] XLI,12,4 sg.

[19] Bellum civile, I,30,2 sg.

[20] Bellum Africanum, 98,1 sg.

[21] M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas, pp. 149 sgg. e 206. Vedi anche L. FORTELEONI, Le emissioni monetali della Sardegna punica, Sassari, 1961, pp. 67 sg., n. 100. Sul nome dei due personaggi R. J. ROWLAND JR., Aristo and Mutumbal Ricoce, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, XII, 1977, pp. 286 sg.

IV. La città sardo-punica. Il municipio di cittadini romani

Ci sono pervenute attestazioni epigrafiche relative alla città sardo-punica premunicipale; essa era governata da sufeti i quali continuarono a sussistere anche nei primi tempi del dominio di Roma. A Carales sembra da riferire l'anonimo sufeta ricordato in un'iscrizione punica rinvenuta durante gli scavi del tempio di Antas del Sardus Pater e da riportare ad una data precedente la conquista romana, forse al III secolo[25]. La stessa iscrizione ed un'altra, rinvenuta nelle stesse circostanze e forse della seconda metà del III secolo a. C., ricordano il „popolo di Carales“[26], un'espressione che vedremo attestata anche a Neapolis ed a Sulci e, in un contesto giuridicamente più definito, a Bitia. Ad un momento imprecisabile fra la fine del dominio punico e l'inizio di quello romano è da riportare l'iscrizione punica del III secolo a. C., probabilmente dedicatoria, rinvenuta a Cagliari, la quale ricorda il sufeta Eshmunyaton[27]. Della prima metà del II secolo a. C., quindi in pieno periodo romano, è, infine, l'iscrizione trilingue, latino-greco-punica di S. Nicolò Gerrei, datata dai sufeti Himilkat e Abdeshmun, i quali, molto probabilmente, debbono essere riferiti, anch'essi, a Carales[28].

---

[22] III,7,85.

[23] CIL X,7682 (*mun[icipi l.?]*) e 7844. Il gentilizio *Iulius* è diffuso a Cagliari e nel suo retroterra: R. J. ROWLAND JR., Onomasticon Sardorum Romanorum, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, VIII, 1973, pp. 96 sg.

[24] Già TH. MOMMSEN, in CIL X, p. 787; per tutti vedi J. W. KUBITSCHEK, Imperium Romanum tributim descriptum, Praga, 1889, p. 126 e E. PAIS, Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano, Roma, 1923, p. 354 e n. 2.

[25] M. FANTAR, Les Inscriptions, in: Ricerche puniche ad Antas, Roma, 1969, pp. 60 sgg., II.

[26] M. FANTAR, Antas. Les Inscriptions, pp. 50 sgg., I e 60 sgg., II.

[27] M. G. GUZZO AMADASI, Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente, Roma, 1967, Sardegna, 36.

[28] CIL X,7856 = ILS 1874 = Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae, 2ª ed. A. DEGRASSI (= ILLRP) 41 e add. = M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 9. In altro senso F. BARRECA, La Sardegna fenicia e punica, Sassari, 2ª ed., 1979, p. 116.

Ma anche dopo la creazione del municipio romano è probabile che la comunità sardo-punica, la *civitas* di Carales, abbia continuato a vivere in una certa autonomia, non sappiamo esattamente per quanto tempo. Sembra attestarlo l'iscrizione funeraria: *D(is) M(anibus) L. Iuli Castrici, eq(uitis) R(omani) pri(n)cipi(s) civitatis*[29]. L'iscrizione è nel medaglione centrale di un sarcofago rinvenuto a Pirri e da tempo andato smarrito, del tipo strigilato, con due Cupido e Psiche alle estremità, che può essere datato nei primi decenni del III secolo d. C. A questa data ci porta anche il titolo di *eques Romanus*[30], il quale rivela che il personaggio era un appartenente all'ordine equestre, mentre il nome, L. Iulius Castricius, ci porta a ritenere che lui – o un suo ascendente – fosse un peregrino che aveva latinizzato il suo nome, forse all'atto della concessione della cittadinanza; se questa concessione era stata elargita a Castricio, allora contemporaneamente o subito dopo allo stesso era stato aperto l'ordine equestre[31]. Che significato ha questa menzione della *civitas* intorno a quella data? E' possibile supporre che al momento della creazione del municipio esistesse ancora a Carales una fiorente comunità sardo-punica alla quale furono lasciati, per oltre due secoli, le sue istituzioni, fors'anche il sufetato[32], ed in particolare una forma di consiglio cittadino della *civitas*, tipico delle città puniche. Il nostro, che di quella comunità aveva fatto parte, o ne avevano fatto parte i suoi ascendenti, sarebbe stato nominato dall'autorità romana, piuttosto che non scelto dagli indigeni, quale presidente del consiglio, con un incarico di durata non precisabile, certo non annuale come quella dei sufeti. La coesistenza del collegio dei sufeti e di un *princeps*, d'altra parte, è attestata per città indigene africane, se pure non contemporaneamente ai magistrati del municipio romano; tuttavia, la nostra iscrizione potrebbe portare a rivedere l'opinione oggi prevalente, secondo la quale sarebbe da respingere la teoria della doppia comunità[33].

Lo stato giuridico di municipio è attestato, oltre che dalle due iscrizioni già citate dei suoi liberti, anche da una terza, rinvenuta a Cagliari e che ricorda, come diremo, l'esecuzione di lavori pubblici sotto Domiziano, nell'83;

---

[29] CIL X,7808 = ILS 6765.

[30] Per il sarcofago G. PESCE, Sarcofagi romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1957, pp. 122 sg., nr. 72; l'ultima sua menzione è a Genova. Per la datazione del titolo di *eques Romanus*, attestato dopo Caracalla in materiale epigrafico dell'Africa settentrionale, R. DUNCAN JONES, Equestrian rank in the cities of the African provinces under the Principate: an epigraphic survey, Papers Brit. School Rome, XXXV, 1967, pp. 147 sgg. e R. P. SALLER, Personal patronage under the Early Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1982, pp. 52 sg.

[31] Un *Castricius* è noto anche da un'iscrizione di Austis: CIL X,7885.

[32] Tuttavia non sembra un sufeta – è morto, forse, a diciassette anni – *Iulius M. Sal sufe* noto da un'iscrizione di Vallermosa: CIL X,7841; in altro senso R. J. ROWLAND JR., Onomastic remarks on Roman Sardinia, Names, XXI, 1973, p. 82.

[33] J. GASCOU, Afrique proconsulaire, pp. 48 sgg. e 104 sgg.; ID., Politique municipale en Afrique du Nord, I, pp. 176 sg., 244 sg.; vedi anche G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, pp. 301 sg., n. 33 e T. KOTULA, Les principes gentis et les principes civitatis en Afrique romaine, Eos, LV, 1965, pp. 347 sgg. Contro la doppia comunità L. TEUTSCH, Gab es „Doppelgemeinden" im römischen Afrika?, Rev. Int. Droits de l'Antiquité, VIII, 1961, pp. 281 sgg.

in essa si menziona espressamente il *municipium C[aralit(anorum)]*[34]. I nuovi cittadini, come di norma, furono iscritti ad una tribù, in questo caso alla tribù Quirina[35] che verrà assegnata anche a Sulci ed a Cornus, come diremo. I più alti magistrati che sostituirono i sufeti sono quelli normali in un municipio: un collegio di *quattuorviri*[36], due dei quali addetti soprattutto all'amministrazione della giustizia (*iure dicundo*)[37], due alla cura della viabilità, dei mercati, degli edifici pubblici, gli edili (*aedilicia potestate*)[38]. Fra i *IIIIviri iure dicundo* sono attestati anche i *quinquennales*[39], ossia quelli incaricati anche del censimento che avveniva, di norma, ogni quattro anni, cinque secondo il computo romano. Non sembra accettabile la documentazione relativa ad un *procurator Karalitanorum* le cui competenze e la cui posizione giuridica, d'altra parte, ci sfuggirebbero[40]. E' attestato, infine, il consiglio municipale, l'ordo dei *decuriones*[41], per la maggior parte magistrati usciti di carica.

V. *L'economia di Carales*

Carales era la capitale della provincia, sede del governatore e degli uffici centrali; essa è chiamata da Floro, un epitomatore del I – II secolo d. C., *urbs urbium*[42], la città delle città, fra quelle sarde, naturalmente. Per il periodo dalla fine del I agli inizi del III secolo d. C. iscrizioni cagliaritane ci fanno conoscere un *tabul(arius) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)*[43], ossia un impiegato subalterno dell'ufficio provinciale del fisco o del patrimonio imperiale, ed un

---

[34] Iscrizioni Latine della Sardegna (= ILSard.) ed. G. SOTGIU, Padova, 1961, 50; cf. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., infra, p. 559, nr. A 50.

[35] CIL X,7587 = ILS 1402; 7598; 7599 = ILS 6763; 7603; ILSard. 52 e 55 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 560, nrr. A 52 e 55); vedi anche l'iscrizione funeraria di un cittadino cagliaritano morto in Numidia: CIL VIII,3185.

[36] CIL X,7605.

[37] CIL X,7587 = ILS 1402; 7599 = ILS 6763; 7600.

[38] CIL X,7600; 7603.

[39] CIL X,7587 = ILS 1402; 7599 = ILS 6763.

[40] CIL X,7828, letto come *procur[– – –]c Karalitanorum.* Vedi, però, EE VIII,718 ove, su basi prosopografiche, si preferisce la lettura *Procu[li, ord]o Karalitanorum.*

[41] CIL X,7602; 7604; 7917; 7940; fors'anche ILSard. 52. Non sappiamo se il *patronus coloniae* attestatoci da un titolo giuntoci in due frammenti di incerta provenienza (Porto Torres? Cagliari?), sia da riferire a Turris Libisonis, che sappiamo fu una colonia, oppure a Carales; in quest'ultimo caso bisognerebbe ammettere, per la città, una non infrequente elevazione di rango da municipio a colonia: P. FORRA', Su una dedica ad un patronus coloniae in Sardegna, Annali Fac. Magistero Cagliari, VI, 1982, parte I, pp. 83 sgg.

[42] I,22,35.

[43] CIL X,7584 (cfr. addenda p. 995) = ILS 1359.

disp(ensator)[44], uno schiavo imperiale appartenente probabilmente allo stesso ufficio ed in tal caso subordinato al primo. Nel IV secolo, poi, vi venivano pubblicate costituzioni imperiali[45]. La città, inoltre, ci ha restituito iscrizioni che ricordano alcuni governatori e le opere pubbliche che essi vi costruirono o restaurarono: Q. Cecilio Metello, prima del 6 d. C., costruì *ambulationes*, luoghi per il passeggio[46]; Sesto Lecanio Labeone, sotto Domiziano, nell'83, spianò e lastricò piazze e strade e costruì tratti di pubbliche fognature[47]; M. Domizio Tertullo, fra il 200 ed il 209, restaurò le terme cosiddette Rufiane, ormai andate in rovina per il tempo e che probabilmente erano a Carales, nonostante l'iscrizione sia stata trovata a Maracalagonis[48]; infine L. Ceionio Alieno, probabilmente fra il 212 ed il 217 costruì – o restaurò – granai imperiali – *hor[rea]* – posti sotto la giurisdizione del governatore, dei quali l'esistenza è nota solo da questi lavori e che dovevano essere presso la basilica di S. Saturno ove la relativa iscrizione è stata rinvenuta[49].

La base dell'economia di Carales, che al tempo di Strabone, ossia di Augusto, è descritta come la più importante città della Sardegna assieme a Sulci[50], era data, anche nell'antichità, dal suo porto sicuro ed accogliente e dal suo fertile retroterra. Alcuni documenti epigrafici aggiungono altri elementi a questo quadro. Anzitutto Carales era la stazione di partenza di tutte e quattro le grandi strade che attraversavano l'isola: quella occidentale, per lo più lungo la costa; quella che attraversava il Campidano, risaliva la Campeda e qui, nell'altopiano, si divideva con una diramazione per Turris Libisonis, l'altra per Olbia; quella centrale per Biora; infine quella orientale. Il posto, poi, che Carales occupava, assieme a Turris Libisonis, nell'approvvigionamento di viveri della capitale e della penisola appare dall'iscrizione musiva trovata ad Ostia, nel Foro delle Corporazioni al servizio dell'annona, dell'ultimo decennio del II secolo (193–200), posta da trasportatori ed uomini di affari, i *navicul(arii) et negotiantes Karalitani*; se ne ricava che essi vi avevano il loro ufficio. All'iscrizione si accompagna la raffigurazione di una nave, rozzamente rappresentata, tozza, del tipo detto „ponto", con un rostro ed alta poppa[51].

L'importanza del porto per il movimento delle merci ed il conseguente servizio di dogana sono probabilmente attestati da un'altra iscrizione ritrovata a Cagliari che ricorda un *proc(urator) ad ripam* di Adriano[52] (117 – 138), il quale pare debba essere inteso nel senso che soprintendesse al tratto di costa nel quale erano comprese le istallazioni portuali e, dato il suo titolo, amministrasse proprietà imperiali nella zona. Naturalmente, a Carales dovevano risiedere commercianti stranieri che curavano il movimento delle merci da e verso i loro paesi d'origine; ci è documentata l'esistenza di un uomo d'affari, un commerciante della Gallia: *negotians Gallicanus*[53]. Una delle voci di questo commercio era costituita dal sale; le saline alle quali si accenna nell'iscrizione trilingue già citata di S. Nicolò Gerrei della prima metà del II secolo a. C.[54], sono probabilmente quelle di Carales. Lo sono certamente quelle ricordate in un'iscrizione cagliaritana che sembra menzionare una comunità di lavoratori cristiani addetti all'estrazione del sale e che viene riportata al VI – VII secolo d. C.[55]. A protezione di Carales, del suo porto e del suo retroterra, era stanziato in città un reparto della flotta di Miseno; lo dimostra un sepolcreto di classiari, di marinai, rinvenuto nella parte alta del Viale Regina Margherita: di sei di essi è stata trovata l'iscrizione funeraria[56].

---

[44] CIL X,7588 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X,7588, Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di Studi Classici in onore di E. Manni, VI, Roma, 1980, pp. 2023 sgg. e Ead., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra pp. 608 e 658, nr. C3); EE VIII,720.

[45] Codex Theodosianus, VIII,5,1 (anno 315); II,8,1 (anno 321); I,16,2 (anno 317).

[46] CIL X,7581.

[47] ILSard. 50 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 559, nr. A 50).

[48] ILSard. 158 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 564, nr. A 158).

[49] ILSard. 51 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 560, nr. A 51).

[50] Strabone V,2,123. Secondo Pomponio Mela, De Chorographia II,7, Carales e Sulci sarebbero *urbium antiquissimae* dell'isola.

[51] CIL XIV,4549,21; vedi G. Becatti, Scavi di Ostia. IV: Mosaici a pavimenti marmorei, Roma, 1961, pp. 72 sg., nr. 102 e J. Rougé, Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain, Parigi, 1966, p. 73; anche pp. 95, 145, 304.

VI. La città romana

Ricerche topografiche hanno messo in luce lo sviluppo edilizio di Carales romana che raggiunse la sua fase più piena nel II – III secolo d. C., come il materiale archeologico ed epigrafico conferma. La città occupava, sostanzialmente, lo stesso ampio arco di litorale già occupato dai Fenicio-punici, che venne intensamente urbanizzato. I quartieri signorili si sviluppavano nella zona di S. Avendrace ad occidente, in quella di S. Lucifero ad oriente; uno più popolare e più fervente di vita economica si stendeva al centro, fra il porto e l'odierno Corso Vittorio Emanuele; il foro, il vero cuore della città, è stato supposto nei pressi della Piazza del Carmine i cui dintorni hanno restituito tre edifici termali: nel Largo Carlo Felice, in Via G. M. Angioy, nel Viale Trieste. Fra gli ultimi scavi portati a conoscenza degli studiosi ricorderemo: quelli del 1948 nel Viale Trieste, all'altezza della Chiesa del Carmine, che hanno restituito un pozzo, una cisterna, serbatoi, forse connessi con le installazioni del porto; quelli del 1957, nel Largo Carlo Felice, che hanno messo in luce un recinto templare tardopunico del III secolo a. C., abitazioni private del I secolo d. C.; infine, quelli del 1963–64, ripresi nel 1980, che hanno isolato un gruppo di almeno tre case di abitazione private in Via Tigellio, comunemente conosciute come Villa di Tigellio, due delle quali meritano di essere ricordate: quella già nota chiamata Casa degli Stucchi e quella del Tablino Dipinto che deve il suo nome ai dipinti murali; una strada separava le abitazioni da un edificio termale. Gli edifici vanno dal periodo augusteo al IV secolo d. C.

---

[52] CIL X,7587 = ILS 1402. R. J. ROWLAND JR., Two Sardinian notes, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, XXX, 1978, p. 172, sostiene che la *ripa* possa non essere quella di Carales perchè il relativo titolo di *procurator* è inserito in un cursus honorum. In realtà, questa procuratoria precede immediatamente il quattuorvirato che fu certo esercitato a Carales da un cittadino cagliaritano. Nessuna sicura esclusione, quindi.

[53] CIL X,7612.

[54] CIL X,7856 = ILS 1874 = ILLRP 41 e add. = M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 9.

[55] ILSard. 93 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 562 e 630, nr. A 93); A. MORI, Le saline di Sardegna, Napoli, 1950, pp. 50 sg. Per la datazione dell'iscrizione L. PANI ERMINI – M. MARINONE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 40, nr. 35 e tav. 53; M. BONELLO, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, III, 1980 – 81, pp. 199 sgg.

[56] CIL X,7592 e 7595; EE VIII,709 – 712; vedi anche ILSard. 332 dalla necropoli del giardino della Basilica di S. Saturno (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 576, nr. A 332).

Un tempio con annesso teatro per rappresentazioni, in Via Malta, prima ritenuto punico, ora viene riportato nell'ambito dei teatri-templi di tipo italico e datato fra la fine del III e gli inizi del II secolo a. C. Un ricco edificio termale nei pressi di Via Nuoro è noto da tempo. Le necropoli, almeno quelle più ampie, erano tre: una nella zona di S. Avendrace, con la tomba ipogeica denominata Grotta della Vipera; una nella parte alta del Viale Regina Margherita, ove abbiamo ricordato il cimitero dei classiari; una terza ai piedi del colle di Bonaria, una parte della quale è stata rivelata da abbondante materiale epigrafico, soprattutto titoli funerari che vanno dal II al V secolo d. C. e che sono stati restituiti dal giardino attorno alla basilica di S. Saturno. L'acropoli occupava la stessa zona scelta dai Fenicio-punici come posizione fortificata, il colle del Castello; alle sue pendici si adagiava il grande anfiteatro, forse della seconda metà del II secolo d. C., capace di circa 10.000 posti, con le strutture in buona parte ricavate nella roccia. Ricorderemo, infine, che per il fabbisogno idrico Carales era alimentata da serbatoi e da un acquedotto che, partendo dalla sorgente di Cabudacquas, presso Villamassargia, toccava Siliqua, Decimo, Assemini, Elmas ed entrava in città attraverso il quartiere di Stampace; si suddivideva, poi, in due canali principali il più alto dei quali alimentava grandi cisterne nell'area dell'Orto Botanico. Il materiale laterizio che ci è pervenuto è di provenienza romana ed è da riportare agli anni intorno al 140 d. C.[57]

---

[57] Per i ritrovamenti più antichi vedi indici delle annate 1876–1930 delle Notizie Scavi, pp. 19 sgg. Per i più recenti, G. Lilliu, Scoperte e scavi di antichità fattisi in Sardegna durante gli anni 1948 e 1949. Cagliari, Studi Sardi, IX, 1949, pp. 474 sgg.; F. Barreca, Notiziario archeologico per la provincia di Cagliari. Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XVI, 1958–59, pp. 741 sgg.; G. Pesce, Case romane a „Campo Viale" in Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XIX, 1964–65, pp. 329 sgg.; A. Agus ed altri, Cagliari, „Villa di Tigellio". I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, III, 1980–81, pp. 21 sgg. Per il tempio di Via Malta, P. Mingazzini, Sul tipo architettonico del tempio punico di Cagliari, Studi Sardi, X–XI, 1950–51, pp. 161 sgg. (inizi III sec. a. C.); J. H. Hanson; Roman theater-temples, Princeton, 1959, pp. 32 sg. (fine III – inizi II sec. a. C.). Per l'anfiteatro D. Levi, The amphitheater in Cagliari, Amer. Journ. Arch., XLVI, 1942, pp. 1 sgg. e G. Maetzke, Architettura romana in Sardegna, Atti XIII Congr. St. Architettura. Cagliari 1963, Roma, 1966, pp. 155 sgg., ove la data del II secolo. Vedi anche W. Fuchs, Archäologische

VII. *Turris Libisonis. La deduzione della colonia*

Se Carales era il centro più vivo della Sardegna meridionale, Turris Libisonis, oggi Porto Torres, lo era di quella settentrionale[58]. I due elementi del suo nome sarebbero, il primo un calco latino di uno precedente e quindi mediterraneo, paleosardo, il secondo direttamente mediterraneo[59]. Non è documentato dai dati di scavo che la città avesse precedentemente conosciuto uno stanziamento punico, il quale, in base agli ultimi dati, appare poco probabile. Gli elementi più antichi sono offerti da strutture murarie e da ceramica campana tardo-repubblicana, rinvenute sotto le fondazioni del portico che immette, come diremo, nel frigidario del grande edificio termale noto come il Palazzo di Re Barbaro; questi elementi non ci aiutano, però, a chiarire il momento iniziale del centro abitato romano[60]. L'importanza della posizione di Turris Libisonis, sia come scalo per le rotte marittime del Mediterraneo centrale ed occidentale, sia come centro di raccolta dei prodotti del fertile retroterra, contribuì alla decisione romana di dedurvi una colonia. Questo stato giuridico è attestato da Plinio il quale, come abbiamo detto, afferma che Turris Libisonis era la sola colonia romana esistente in Sardegna: *colonia autem una quae vocatur ad Turrem Libisonis*[61]. Anche l'Anonimo Ravennate, nell'elencazione delle città sarde, ricorda una *Turris Librisonis colonia Iulia*: questa sembra, infatti, la lettura esatta, nonostante il contrario avviso degli editori[62]. In tal caso, avremmo un elemento per la data della deduzione che, tuttavia, resta incerta, poichè l'appellativo di *Iulia* ci porta di preferenza ai tempi di Cesare o a quelli di Ottaviano, prima del 27 a. C., quando a quest'ultimo fu conferito il titolo di Augusto. L'opinione più accettabile è che

---

Forschungen und Funde in Sardinien 1949–1962, Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1963, col. 298. Per l'acquedotto M. E. PIREDDA, L'approvvigionamento idrico di Cagliari in età punica e romana, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973–74, parte I, pp. 149 sgg.

[58] P. MELONI, Turris Libisonis romana alla luce delle iscrizioni, Epigraphica, IX, 1949 (1951), pp. 88 sgg. ed in 'Dizionario Epigrafico', IV, 1958, pp. 497 sgg., s. v.

[59] E. DE FELICE, Coste della Sardegna, pp. 130 sg.

[60] Per gli scarsi e dubbi elementi punici vedi S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, pp. 81 sg. I più antichi elementi offerti dai dati di scavo sono ancora inediti; la relativa notizia mi è stata data gentilmente a suo tempo (1975) dal Prof. E. CONTU, allora Soprintendente alle Antichità. Vedi, però, A. BONINU, Turris Libisonis. Porto Torres Romana. Storia della ricerca e degli studi, in corso di stampa, la quale parla di rinvenimenti di ceramica tardo-repubblicana sporadici e non in strato.

[61] III,7,85.

[62] V,26; gli editori M. PINDER – G. PARTHEY leggevano: *Turris Librisonis colonia* e, alla linea successiva, *Iulia*; J. SCHNETZ, invece, *Turris Librisonis* e, a fianco, staccato, *Colonia Iulia*; essi, evidentemente, identificano questa Iulia con la Iuliola di Tolomeo III,3,6 che è, invece, Viniola dell'Itinerario Antoniniano, p. 11 ed. O.CUNTZ nella strada *a Tibulas Sulcis*.

si tratti di una colonia di Cesare, non di veterani, ma di proletari provenienti da Roma o dalla penisola, anche se una maggiore precisazione è dubbia: certo, è facile pensare, come per Carales, al soggiorno di Cesare in quest'ultima città, nel 46. Qualcuno, poi, sulla base di labili dati numismatici, ha preferito ritenerla fondazione di Ottaviano, sempre, naturalmente, di proletari – la Sardegna non è ricordata nelle 'Res Gestae' di Augusto fra le province ove furono inviate colonie di veterani[63] – più precisamente negli anni 42–40 a. C.[64]

All'atto dell'invio in Sardegna, i nuovi cittadini furono iscritti ad una delle tribù urbane, il che avveniva molto raramente, la Collina[65], alla quale erano iscritte, in genere, persone di bassa estrazione sociale. Come è dubbio l'aspetto cronologico, così è dubbia l'estensione del suo territorio, della sua pertica; a noi è giunta menzione, attraverso un'iscrizione di Porto Torres, di un funzionario addetto alla manutenzione catastale, un *tabularius* delle pertiche di Turris e di Tharros sul quale torneremo[66]. L'estensione del retroterra romanizzato, in ogni modo, dovette essere molto ampia ed una continuità del più grande interesse può essere colta nell'odierno termine di Romangia dato ad una zona non ben delimitata, a sud e a sud-est di Porto Torres. Questo termine continua la forma antica Romània attestata da un documento del XII–XIII secolo, il Condaghe di S. Pietro di Silki, che lo attribuisce ad una curatoria medioevale del giudicato di Torres, confinante con quelle di Anglona, Figulina o Ploaghe, Coros o Campulongu, Flumenargia ed il mare e formata dai territori oggi dei comuni di Sassari, Osilo, Sennori e Sorso[67]. I confini della curatoria erano certo più ristretti di quelli assegnati alla colonia entro i quali doveva essere, ad esempio, la Nurra, come alcuni elementi, quali quello della relativa diocesi medioevale, indicano. Naturalmente, nella Romània è da vedere il territorio della colonia, ove si parlava la lingua di Roma, la terra dei Romani, che aveva conosciuto un intenso processo di romanizzazione, in contrapposizione con la Barbària, le regioni del centro montano ove vivevano le fiere popolazioni sarde, senza un'organizzazione urbana.

---

[63] XXVIII,1.

[64] M. Grant, From Imperium to Auctoritas, pp. 205 sg. e P. A. Brunt, Italian manpower: 225 B.C.–A.D. 14, Oxford, 1971, p. 597, nr. 65, con le riserve di F. Vittinghoff, Römische Kolonisation und Bürgerrechtspolitik unter Caesar und Augustus, Magonza, 1951, p. 123, n. 3, che la ritiene fondazione augustea. A Cesare continua ad attribuirla G. I. Luzzatto, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, p. 306.

[65] CIL X,7953 = ILS 6766; 7967; cfr. le osservazioni di J. W. Kubitschek, Imperium Romanum, pp. 127 sg. La tribù Collina appare anche in un'iscrizione cagliaritana ILSard. 56 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 560, nr. A 56), forse per un cittadino di Turris.

[66] CIL X,7951.

[67] Nrr. 27, 45, 56, 61, 74–76, 80, 97, 98, 120, 147, 154, 180, 186, 205, 221, 243, 254, 271, 421: vedi gli indici ed. Bonazzi, Cagliari, 1900, p. 138 e cartina. F. C. Casula, Giudicati e curatorie, in: Atlante della Sardegna, Fasc. II, Roma, 1980, Commenti, p. 108 e Tavole, nr. 39.

VIII. L'economia di Turris

La prosperità di Turris è attestata da dati archeologici ed epigrafici di notevole rilievo. Essa era dovuta sia alla fertilità del retroterra che alla posizione del suo porto. La zona intorno alla città, ricca d'acque e particolarmente fertile, era adatta a coltivazioni intensive. Sono attestate numerose tracce di ville sparse nel suo territorio, la più importante delle quali a sud della città, in regione La Crucca, ha conservato resti di fondamenta e di un bel mosaico di cui oggi abbiamo solo notizia[68]; esse indicano l'ampiezza del territorio romanizzato, la densità della popolazione rurale, infine l'esistenza del latifondo. Ci sono pervenute due iscrizioni con la dedica al Genio della villa, protettore del luogo: una rinvenuta in regione Zunchini, ad occidente di Sassari, assieme ai resti di una villa, da parte di una liberta[69]; l'altra, nei pressi di Sorso, anch'essa fra notevoli resti di una lussuosa villa, da parte di un *com(mune)* di *villa(tici)*[70]. Questa soluzione delle due abbreviazioni, come pare, è esatta: se ne può, quindi, ricavare che era la comunità dei villatici, dei lavoratori liberi che vivevano intorno alla villa, ad avere nelle sue mani l'uso della terra, non sappiamo a quale titolo giuridico. Pertanto, se al momento della deduzione della colonia i fertili terreni intorno a Turris erano in mano di coltivatori i quali dovevano condurvi una economia agricola, fors'anche ortofrutticola, si potrà dedurre che i nuovi coloni, pur imponendo un nuovo sistema, non vollero o non poterono distruggere completamente quello antico, così radicato.

L'importanza economica del retroterra fu un fattore determinante per lo sviluppo del porto. La sua *ripa* appare in un'iscrizione di Porto Torres, mutila, nella quale si parla di lavori eseguiti, a sue spese, da un suo procuratore: *[proc(urator)] ripae Turr[itanae]*[71]. Anche in questo caso, come in quello già visto della *ripa* di Carales, si farebbe riferimento ad un funzionario imperiale con giurisdizione sul tratto della costa di Turris che comprendeva il porto e su proprietà imperiali nella zona. Sempre col commercio marittimo si spiega l'iscrizione musiva rinvenuta, come quella analoga di Carales già citata, nel Foro delle Corporazioni di Ostia al servizio dell'annona: *Navic(ularii) Turri-*

---

[68] G. Spano, Antico mosaico della Crucca, Bull. Arch. Sardo, III, 1857, pp. 82 sgg.; vedi S. Angiolillo, Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, pp. 195 sg., nr. XCII.

[69] ILSard. 240 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 572, nr. A 240).

[70] CIL X,7947; G. Spano, Antichità di Gelithon presso Sorso, Bull. Arch. Sardo, VI, 1860, pp. 129 sgg.

[71] ILSard. 245. E' in corso di pubblicazione, ad opera di A. Boninu e L. Pani Ermini, un'iscrizione recentemente scoperta a Porto Torres che documenta, anch'essa, *un proc(urator) ripae*; essa pone, però, alcuni problemi perchè il personaggio in questione è un liberto, mentre i *procuratores ripae* finora noti (ILS 1402; 1403; 8848) sono tutti personaggi di rilievo, due ex prefetti coortali, uno ex prefetto di un'*ala*. (Cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 572, nr. A 245 per ILSard. 245 e pp. 625 e 671, nr. E 23 per la nuova iscrizione.)

tani; sotto di essa una nave con due alberi e due timoni di poppa[72]. Il relativo ufficio denota l'interesse che Turris aveva nel rifornimento granario di Roma e della penisola.

Non è improbabile l'ipotesi che è stata affacciata, secondo la quale la città sarebbe stata, durante il III – IV secolo, residenza, anche se temporanea, del governatore romano; si possono citare, al proposito, una base di statua elevata al tempo della prima tetrarchia, nel 305 o poco prima, dal governatore al Cesare Galerio[73] ed un'altra dedica, fatta da un altro governatore, all'imperatore Licinio fra il 312 e il 314 (o fra il 315 e il 319)[74]. Un terzo governatore, infine, nel 244, conduceva a termine in città lavori di restauro di edifici pubblici ormai vetusti: il tempio della Fortuna, la basilica col tribunale[75]. Altre opere pubbliche furono eseguite in un momento imprecisato, poichè l'iscrizione che le ricorda, per il nome del personaggio e la forma in cui esso è dato, può datarsi fra la seconda metà del I e la prima metà del II secolo d. C.; si trattava della nuova costruzione, da parte del più alto magistrato della città, un duoviro quinquennale, ed a sue spese, di un *lacus*, una cisterna per l'approvvigionamento idrico, e delle opere di collegamento con l'acquedotto cittadino per soddisfare le esigenze di qualche quartiere[76]. Dopo il IV secolo inizia la decadenza della città; un'iscrizione trionfale trovata a Porto Torres, di dubbia datazione (fine VII – inizi VIII secolo), ricorda un attacco di Longobardi alle coste sarde[77]; essa esce, però, dai limiti cronologici di questa ricerca.

IX. Magistrati. La città romana

Per quanto riguarda le istituzioni della colonia ci sono pervenuti alcuni dati: l'organizzazione nelle antiche sezioni di voto, le *curiae*, ventitrè, nelle quali era divisa la popolazione[78]. Scaduto il loro valore politico, ordinate in associazioni simili ai collegi, restava ad esse fra le competenze principali, per quanto appare dalla nostra documentazione, quella di dedicare onori e statue ai magistrati ed ai sacerdoti delle curie o della colonia o, infine, a membri della casa imperiale: nel nostro caso ad un augure. Sono ricordati i più alti magistrati, i duoviri, come è di norma per una colonia; anzi, in entrambi i casi a noi pervenuti, quelli quinquennali, ossia quelli che procedevano anche alle operazioni di censimento[79]; abbiamo, poi, menzione, come pare, in iscrizioni molto mutile, di duoviri edili[80]. Inoltre, di due magistrati abbiamo solo le iniziali della carica: *q.a.*, che non sappiamo se intendere *q(uaestor) a(erarii)*, l'amministratore, cioè, della cassa della colonia, o *q(uaestor) a(limentorum)*, l'amministratore, cioè, delle somme destinate all'alimentazione dei ragazzi e delle ragazze bisognose[81]. Per Turris è noto anche un magistrato con incarico straordinario, l'unico sicuramente attestato per la Sardegna, se consideriamo dubbio quello che appare in un'iscrizione mutila di Nora sulla quale torneremo: è un *curator rei publ(icae)*, un ispettore inviato dall'autorità centrale per controllare le finanze della città[82]; questa procedura per l'Italia e la Gallia cominciò ad essere adottata al tempo di Traiano (98 – 117), per le altre province poco dopo. Per concludere, diremo che è attestato il consiglio della colonia, l'*ordo* dei decurioni, del quale, come si è detto, facevano parte soprattutto magistrati usciti di carica[83].

---

[72] CIL XIV,4549,19; G. BECATTI, Scavi di Ostia, IV, pp. 71 sg., nr. 100. Per altri rapporti di Turris con Ostia CIL X,7955 = XIV,346 = ILS 6150; X,7956.

[73] P. MELONI, Un'iscrizione di Turris Libisonis in onore di Galerio, Studi Sardi, VIII, 1948, pp. 86 sgg. = AE 1948, 178 = 1952, 252 = ILSard. 241 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 572, nr. A 241). Per l'ipotesi riferita C. BELLIENI, La Sardegna e i Sardi nella civiltà del mondo antico, II, Cagliari, 1931, pp. 223 sg.

[74] CIL X,7950.

[75] CIL X,7946 = ILS 5526.

[76] CIL X,7954 = ILS 5765. Il IV secolo, verso il quale potrebbe anche orientare il gentilizio *Flavius*, è meno probabile per l'esistenza dei *tria nomina*.

[77] R. B. MOTZO, Una nuova iscrizione bizantina, Studi di Storia e Filologia, I, Cagliari, 1927, pp. 81 sgg.; S. MAZZARINO, Su un'iscrizione trionfale di Turris Libisonis, Epigraphica, II, 1940, pp. 292 sgg.

[78] CIL X,7953 = ILS 6766; se pure prevalente nei municipi, l'organizzazione in curie è attestata anche nelle colonie; eccessivi i dubbi di G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, pp. 305 sg., n. 53.

La zona archeologica di Turris Libisonis è nei pressi della stazione ferroviaria di Porto Torres; resti del reticolo viario e delle abitazioni che su di esso si affacciano ci dimostrano l'intensa urbanizzazione della colonia nei primi secoli dell'impero. Dopo il passaggio a livello, a sinistra della strada che porta a Stintino, sono state isolate le rovine di un imponente edificio termale che si ritiene iniziato alla fine del I secolo a. C. e che ha avuto cure fino al III – IV secolo d. C.; le basi dei pilastri attestano l'esistenza di un portico di accesso al frigidario che aveva due grandi vasche pavimentate a mosaico; da qui si accedeva ai tepidari e, successivamente, ai calidari, il più grande dei quali presenta un'abside semicircolare; ci sono pervenuti anche resti delle condutture di riscaldamento. E' questo il grande edificio al quale la tradizione locale dà il nome di Palazzo di Re Barbaro, una denominazione la cui origine è, probabilmente, da collegare ad una credenza popolare, giacchè è difficile che si possa connettere con un Barbaro che avrebbe governato la

---

[79] CIL X,7954 = ILS 5765; ILSard. 241 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 572, nr. A 241).

[80] ILSard. 242 e 243 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra p. 572, nrr. A 242 e A 243 rispettivamente); un *IIvir* anche in 244; vedi A. Degrassi, Duoviri aedilicia potestate, duoviri aediles, aediles duoviri, in: Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni, I, Milano, 1956, pp. 152 sgg., ora in: Id., Scritti vari di antichità, I, Roma, 1962, pp. 179 sgg.

[81] CIL X,7954 = ILS 5765; ILSard. 242.

[82] CIL X,7946 = ILS 5526.

[83] ILSard. 241. Abbiamo già detto che non sappiamo se riferire a Turris Libisonis o a Carales il *patronus coloniae* noto da un'iscrizione giuntaci in due frammenti e di incerta provenienza (cfr. n. 41).

Sardegna al tempo della persecuzione di Diocleziano, nel 303/4[84]. Scavi recenti hanno messo in luce per intero le quattro strade che circondavano il Palazzo; parallelamente al suo lato occidentale sono state rinvenute al suolo, allineate, tredici colonne da riferire ad una serie di botteghe che si affacciavano sulla strada, di modeste dimensioni, non comunicanti fra loro[85].

Nei pressi di questo edificio termale esistono ancora tracce dell'acquedotto che alimentava la colonia partendo dalla valletta dell'Eba Ciara a Sassari, secondo un percorso che seguiva l'odierna strada Carlo Felice e che è, ancora oggi, in parte identificabile. Procedendo lungo la strada per Stintino, si trovano avanzi di altre terme e, più avanti, il bellissimo ponte a sette luci, il più notevole ponte romano dell'isola, ancora in ottimo stato di conservazione, il quale permetteva il superamento del Rio Mannu ed il collegamento della colonia con i centri toccati dalla litoranea occidentale, primo dei quali Nure, fra Porto Ferro ed il lago Baratz[86]. Abbiamo visto che un'iscrizione attesta l'esistenza di un tempio alla Fortuna e di un grande edificio pubblico, la basilica col tribunale, ove si amministrava la giustizia, con sei colonne, entrambi restaurati nel 244[87]. Un'altra iscrizione, rinvenuta nei pressi di Castelsardo, conosce un tempio di Iside[88].

Ora l'esistenza del culto isiaco a Turris è confermata da due are: quella della fine del I o degli inizi del II secolo d. C., con la figura del serpente ureo femminile (Iside-Thermuthis) nella faccia principale, del coccodrillo (Suchos) in quella destra, del cane (la stella Sirio) in quella sinistra, tutti con fiore di loto, e l'iscrizione di dedica per lo scioglimento di un voto ad Iside da parte di un Cn. Cornelio Clado: *I(sidi) v(otum) s(olvit)*[89]. Inoltre, dalla bellissima ara, datata al 35 d. C., dedicata alla divinità egiziana Bubasti che con Iside appare associata nell'occidente mediterraneo; essa è stata rinvenuta durante recenti scavi che hanno restituito anche un altorilievo acefalo di un assistente del dio Mitra, Cautopates[90]. La data del 35 d. C. è di particolare interesse perchè documenta che sin dai primi tempi di vita della colonia il porto di Turris aveva stretti legami commerciali con quelli del Mediterraneo orientale, con quello di Alessandria soprattutto, e se ne ricavano ampi apporti culturali, quale quello di tipo religioso che qui ci interessa. Concludiamo ricordando che Turris Libisonis aveva una notevole parte nel sistema della viabilità romana se la 'Tabula Peutingeriana', una carta di itinerari i cui dati risalgono al periodo imperiale, distingue *Turribus*, unica città dell'isola, col segno delle doppie torrette. Questo segno viene oggi interpretato non tanto, come si riteneva, riferito a colonie o municipi, quanto a località ove era possibile l'alloggio per chi viaggiava, il cambio degli animali e delle vetture, un servizio di riparazioni; in sostanza, un luogo di tappa[91].

---

[84] Vedi le Passioni di S. Saturno (B. R. Motzo, S. Saturno di Cagliari, Arch. Storico Sardo, XVI, 1926, p. 23), dei Santi Gavino, Proto e Gianuario (B. R. Motzo, La Passione dei ss. Gavino, Proto e Gianuario, Studi di Storia e Filologia, I, Cagliari, 1927, p. 148), di S. Simplicio (Acta Sanctorum, Ottobre, XIII, p. 307, nr. 10), di S. Devota (Acta Sanctorum, Gennaio, II, p. 770, nr. 1).

[85] Il Palazzo di Re Barbaro è stato studiato da J. S. Boersma, Opgrating op Sardiniё het Palazzo di Re Barbaro-complex in Porto Torres, Spiegel Historiael, 1973, pp. 140 sgg.; vedi anche E. Contu, Porto Torres (Sassari), Bollettino d'Arte, LII, 1967, p. 205 e LIII, 1968, p. 148.

[86] La bibliografia precedente è stata raccolta con diligenza da V. Mossa, Rilievi e pensieri sul patrimonio monumentale di Porto Torres, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 57, parte I, pp. 373 sgg. Per gli scavi successivi vedi le relazioni di G. Maetzke, Scavi e scoperte nelle province di Sassari e Nuoro 1959 – 61. Porto Torres, Studi Sardi, XVII, 1959 – 61, pp. 659 sgg.; Porto Torres. Necropoli romana in regione Marinella (II sec. d. C.); Necropoli romana a lato della via nuova di Balai (II o IV sec. d. C.); Tombe romane a camera con arcosolio in località Scoglio Lungo (utilizzazione dal III – IV sec. d. C. al VI – VII), tutte in Notizie Scavi, 1965, rispettivamente pp. 318 sgg., 324 sgg., 328 sgg.; Tomba paleocristiana con rivestimento in mosaico, ancora in Notizie Scavi, 1966, pp. 355 sgg. (seconda metà IV secolo). Una messa a punto nel cit. lavoro di A. Boninu, Turris Libisonis. Porto Torres romana. Storia della ricerca e degli studi, in corso di stampa.

[87] CIL X,7946 = ILS 5526.

[88] CIL X,7948.

X. *Uselis*

La Sardegna aveva una seconda colonia, Uselis, oggi Usellus. Questo stato giuridico è ben attestato da Tolomeo, quindi nei primi decenni del II secolo d. C., poichè, come vedremo a proposito di Forum Traiani, le sue notizie sulla Sardegna non sembrano posteriori a Traiano[92]; inoltre, è attestato da un decreto di patronato e di clientela giuntoci in una tavola di bronzo del 1° settembre del 158, nel quale la città è definita *colonia Iulia Augusta Uselis.* Nel decreto la colonia coopta come patrono un cittadino romano per sè, per i suoi figli e per i suoi discendenti, mentre, a sua volta, il cittadino accetta la colonia, i suoi figli ed i suoi discendenti nella clientela sua e dei suoi[93].

E' ancora aperto il problema della costituzione del municipio e della successiva elevazione al rango di colonia; è, infatti, molto probabile che si tratti di una colonia onoraria, non dedotta, come invece fu Turris Libisonis. L'ultimo passaggio deve essere avvenuto dopo la data alla quale si riferisce la *formula* della provincia che leggiamo in Plinio poichè in essa, come si è detto, Turris Libisonis è detta la sola colonia esistente in Sardegna[94]. Pure la titolatura fa riferimento, nell'appellativo *Augusta* ad un mutamento nel suo stato giuridico al tempo di Augusto: possiamo pensare alla sua elevazione al rango di municipio di cittadini romani; l'avere, poi, mantenuto l'appellativo di *Iulia* ci può portare a credere che il municipio abbia voluto ricordare qualche beneficio ricevuto da Cesare, probabilmente la concessione dei diritti latini i quali comportavano – almeno nella forma che assunse il cosiddetto *Latium minus* fino a tutto il I secolo d. C., che è il periodo che qui interessa – il godimento della cittadinanza romana per i soli magistrati municipali[95]. È anche possibile, comunque, supporre che la *formula* pliniana della Sardegna non contenga dati del tardo periodo augusteo e che, quindi, il municipio sia di creazione cesariana, la colonia di creazione augustea o, perfino, che Iulia Augusta vada considerato, come in altri casi, un appellativo unitario che riporta a fondazioni coloniarie, o elevazioni di rango, augustee.

---

[89] L'ara di Clado è stata studiata da P. MINGAZZINI, Quattro marmi del Museo Sanna provenienti da Turris, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII, 1952 – 54, parte I, pp. 495 sgg.

[90] E. CONTU, Porto Torres (Sassari), Bollettino d'Arte, LII, 1967, p. 205 e LIII, 1968, p. 148 e fig. 19.

[91] Tab. Peut., Segmento III,1; O. BALDACCI, La Sardegna nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 57, parte II, pp. 142 sgg. La vecchia opinione di TH. MOMMSEN, in CIL X, p. 826, seguita da E. PAIS, Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica, p. 381, n. 1, è ora abbandonata in favore della nuova tesi da A. e M. LEVI, Itineraria Picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana, Roma, 1967, pp. 66 sgg.

[92] III,3,2, il quale, però, mette Uselis fra i centri costieri; egli non conosce la trasformazione di Acque Hypsitane in Forum Traiani.

[93] CIL X,7845 = ILS 6107; vedi L. HARMAND, Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques, Parigi, 1957; per Uselis, p. 342.

La condizione di colonia mette in luce l'interesse particolare che Uselis rivestiva fra i centri abitati della regione. Esso era di natura sostanzialmente militare, trattandosi di una posizione arretrata, assieme a Forum Traiani, a difesa dei ricchi centri dell'Oristanese[96]. Non mancava, però, quello economico, essendo la zona intorno a coltura latifondista essenzialmente cerealicola, come dimostrano ancora resti ritenuti di ville sparsi nella zona; possiamo ricordare quella, di notevoli dimensioni, nei pressi di Zeppara, accanto alla quale è venuta alla luce un'iscrizione del 62 d. C. che contiene una dedica fatta da personaggi i cui nomi sono ignoti all'onomastica romana e da accostare, per lo più, a quella punica; se ne può ricavare la persistenza dell'elemento sardo-punico, nonostante l'avanzata romanizzazione[97]. Certamente Uselis era collegata a sud, se pure non direttamente, con Acque Neapolitane, oggi le Terme di Sardara, come diremo, anche allora ben note per le loro sorgenti termali; a nord con Forum Traiani, Fordongianus, mentre una terza strada doveva collegarla con Neapolis, girando per le pendici meridionali del monte Arci: a quest'ultimo tronco sembra far riferimento un miliario, purtroppo mutilo, al quale accenneremo più avanti[98]. Per le istituzioni municipali diremo che il decreto di patronato e di clientela ci fa conoscere i nomi dei tre legati incaricati di consegnare il documento al patrono, fra i quali era uno dei due più alti magistrati della colonia, un duoviro quinquennale attestato, come abbiamo detto, anche per l'altra colonia sarda, Turris Libisonis, e il nome dello *scriba*. Scarse rovine, in genere attribuite alla città romana, sono state identificate presso la chiesa di S. Reparata[99].

---

[94] III,7,85.

[95] Non pare riferibile ad Uselis la moneta riportata da M. GRANT, From Imperium to Auctoritas, pp. 152 sgg.; egli attribuisce la creazione del municipio ad Ottaviano, subito dopo il 38 a. C. Vedi anche P. A. BRUNT, Italian manpower, p. 605, nr. 28. Non sembra giustificato il rifiuto di G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, pp. 306 sg., ad ammettere un passaggio di condizione giuridica da municipio a colonia: egli ritiene Uselis una colonia dedotta, come Turris Libisonis, non onoraria.

[96] CIL X,8323, iscrizione funeraria di un militare morto in servizio, è stata riferita dall'ed. TH. MOMMSEN a Uselis, ma essendo stata rinvenuta a Nuragus, deve essere riportata, come diremo, a Valentia.

[97] ILSard. 177 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 566, nr. A 177); A. TARAMELLI, Zeppara. Scoperta di iscrizione di età romana, Notizie Scavi, 1906, pp. 198 sgg. Per i nomi di *Mislius, Benets, Celele, Sabdaga,* vedi R. J. ROWLAND JR., Onomastic remarks on Roman Sardinia, p. 92.

XI. Nora

Nora sappiamo che ebbe lo stato giuridico di municipio di cittadini romani e lo sappiamo sia sulla base del più volte citato passo di Plinio, ove sembra si debba intendere che la qualifica di *cives R(omani)* venga data non solo ai Caralitani, ma anche ai Norensi[100], sia, e soprattutto, su quella di una iscrizione, sulla quale torneremo, che conosce i magistrati municipali. Nora, il cui nome è ormai ritenuto che vada ricondotto ad una base mediterranea, paleosarda, **nor-* nel senso di „rialzo", „cavità circolare"[101], fu, senza dubbio, uno dei più antichi centri fenici dell'isola, se non il più antico, come afferma esplicitamente Pausania, che lo dice fondato dagli Iberi di Norace[102]. I rinvenimenti archeologici ci persuadono a porlo, assieme a Sulci ed a Tharros, alla fine dell'VIII secolo, anche se il più antico reperto, la nota iscrizione fenicia trovata, presso Nora, riferita dai più al IX secolo[103], non è accompagnata da materiale coevo. L'ampiezza dell'area riferibile alla Nora fenicio-punica e l'importanza dei suoi monumenti ne attestano lo splendore nel periodo preromano; basterà ricordare il grande santuario delle divinità salutari o oracolari, dedicato forse al dio guaritore Eshmun-Esculapio, dove si praticava il culto dell'incubazione; un tempio rettangolare, il cosiddetto 'Alto Luogo', ritenuto della divinità femminile Tanit; le case di abitazione, quelle della cosiddetta 'Kasbah' e quelle a breve distanza dalla costa, a sud. L'acropoli più antica è probabilmente da porre sull'altura del Coltellazzo, sulla quale oggi si innalza una torre costiera spagnola[104].

---

[98] CIL X,8008.

[99] Vedi già A. La Marmora, Viaggio in Sardegna (ed. francese, Torino, 1839–1840), trad. ital., II, Cagliari, 1927, p. 292; inoltre C. Puxeddu, La romanizzazione, in: Diocesi di Ales-Usellus-Terralba, Cagliari, 1975, p. 215, nr. 18.

[100] III,7,85; nello stesso senso, se pure dubitativamente, già Th. Mommsen, in CIL X, p. 786, ed ora, senza riserve, G. I. Luzzatto, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, p. 302.

[101] E. de Felice, La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo in base alla toponomastica costiera antica, Studi Sardi, XVIII, 1962–63, p. 102.

[102] X,17,5; anche Solino, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 4,1, p. 46 ed. Mommsen². Per una critica della tradizione B. R. Motzo, Norake e i Fenici, Studi Sardi, I, 1934, pp. 116 sgg.

[103] M. G. Guzzo, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 1 (VIII secolo), ove è la bibliografia precedente alla quale aggiungi F. M. Cross, An interpretation of the Nora Stone, Bull. Amer. Schools Or. Research, 208, 1972, pp. 13 sgg. (IX sec.). Vedi anche il Framm. Guzzo, 3: J. Ferron, La seconde inscription archaïque de Nora: CIS 145, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, LXXII, 1969, pp. 62 sgg. (IX sec.). Un riesame dell'intera questione in G. Bunnens, L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée, Bruxelles-Roma, 1979, pp. 30 sgg. (prima metà IX secolo).

L'area occupata dalla Nora romana era, all'incirca, quella stessa della città fenicio-punica; per i primi secoli della dominazione romana la città continuò ad avere uno sviluppo edilizio progressivo ed ordinato. La sua posizione privilegiata sotto Cartagine, data anche la vicinanza alla costa africana, posizione che ne fece probabilmente la sede del governatore comandante la guarnigione militare e degli uffici, non venne meno sotto i Romani, almeno per il periodo immediatamente successivo alla conquista, prima che prevalesse Carales. Lo attesta, fra l'altro, l'esistenza di tronchi stradali lungo la costa, in partenza dalla città, dalla quale, quindi, prendevano il nome e si misuravano le miglia. Quello orientale *a Caralis Nura*, come afferma l''Itinerario Antoniniano' o, meglio, *a Nora Karalibus*, come attestano i miliari[105]; quello occidentale *a Nora Bitiae*, sempre attestato dai miliari, o *a Sulcis Nura*, secondo l'Itinerario[106]. Durante la repubblica un colorito riferimento a Nora è fatto da Cicerone nella sua orazione 'Pro Scauro', quando egli difende il suo cliente dall'accusa di aver provocato con pesanti attenzioni il suicidio della moglie di Arine; l'oratore riporta, invece, la voce secondo la quale sarebbe stato lo stesso Arine a far uccidere la moglie da un suo liberto per poter sposare la madre di un cittadino di Nora, Bostare, la cui morte era ugualmente attribuita a Scauro. Cicerone insinua il sospetto che il liberto avesse compiuto il suo misfatto a Nora, mentre si celebravano i Parentali, ossia le feste in onore dei defunti ed i Norensi, secondo la consuetudine, erano usciti, quasi tutti, dalla città per tributare l'omaggio ai loro morti[107].

Durante il periodo imperiale la città ebbe un grande sviluppo, soprattutto nei secoli II e III, come dimostrano iscrizioni e dati di scavo. Il materiale epigrafico illumina qualche aspetto della vita della città; ricorderemo l'iscrizione di un sacerdote norense addetto al culto imperiale, il quale onora la figlia per il dono da lei fatto ai suoi concittadini di una casa a Carales[108]; quella di un C. Mucio Scevola che costruì un edificio pubblico, non sappiamo quale, a sue spese[109]; quella sulla base di una statua andata smarrita, dedicata ad un insigne cittadino di Nora dal consiglio municipale: *d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*: è l'iscrizione posta a Q. Minucio Pio il quale era pervenuto per la terza volta alla più alta carica municipale, il quattuorvirato *iure dicundo*, che abbiamo già visto attestato per Carales. Ci viene così direttamente documentato lo stato giuridico di *municipium* di cittadini romani, anche se non ci è pervenuto il ricordo della tribù alla quale Q. Minucio Pio – e, quindi, gli abitanti di Nora – furono iscritti[110]. La data del conferimento è dubbia, anche se, come abbiamo detto, è da ritenere precedente alla *formula* di Plinio, quindi, probabilmente, entro il principato augusteo. Un'altra iscrizione, recentemente rinvenuta, ricorda la costruzione di una basilica da parte di un magistrato straordinario, forse un *cur[ator r(ei) p(ublicae)]*, inviato dall'autorità centrale per controllare le finanze municipali[111]. In ultimo, fra la fine del II e l'inizio del III secolo, un personaggio di grande rilievo, forse lo stesso imperatore Settimio Severo (193–211) o il figlio Caracalla nel 213, faceva porre a Nora, come in altri centri dell'impero, in Britannia, in Dalmazia, in Numidia, in Mauretania Tingitana, una dedica „agli Dèi e alle Dee": *Dis Deabusque*[112].

---

[104] S. M. Cecchini, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, pp. 60 sgg. e G. Pesce, Nora. Guida agli scavi, 2ª ed., Cagliari, 1972, pp. 11 sgg.; G. Chiera, Testimonianze su Nora, Roma, 1978; P. Bartoloni – C. Tronchetti, La necropoli di Nora, Roma, 1981.

[105] Itinerarium Antonini, p. 12 ed. Cuntz; CIL X,7999 – 8001.

[106] CIL X,7996 – 7998; EE VIII,739 – 741: ILSard. 370 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 577 e 633, nr. A 370); Itin. Anton. p. 12 ed. Cuntz.

[107] Pro Scauro 6,11; Bostare era cittadino di Nora: 2,1.

[108] CIL X,7541 = ILS 5918.

[109] CIL X,7543.

A questi secoli di massimo splendore sono da riportare alcuni fra i più significativi monumenti di Nora: il teatro, recentemente restaurato, unico nel suo genere in Sardegna, con un porticato retrostante la scena; le grandi terme, un ampio edificio ove si possono identificare il frigidario, il tepidario e il calidario; le terme a mare, non inferiori per magnificenza alle prime; il foro, due templi, case di abitazione, strade ampie e lastricate, una cloaca perfettamente conservata[113]. Nella seconda metà del IV secolo inizia la lenta decadenza che edifici più modesti ed il reimpiego di materiali già utilizzati dimostrano. Negli anni fra il 425 e il 450, sotto gli imperatori Teodosio II e Valentiniano III, uno dei *principales ac primores*, quindi uno dei più influenti membri del consiglio municipale, curò le opere di restauro dell'acquedotto[114]; erano gli anni in cui contro le coste sarde si accanivano gli attacchi prima dei pirati, poi, dopo il 439, dei Vandali.

---

[110] ILSard. 45 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 559, nr. A 45); il consiglio del municipio, costituito dai *decuriones*, è noto anche da CIL X,7541 = ILS 5918 e forse da G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 18 sg., nr. 11 = AE 1971, 125 a (cfr. EAD., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, p. 585, nr. B 27). Per l'opinione citata G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, p. 302.

[111] G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscr. ined. sarde, pp. 25 sg., nr. 22 = AE 1971, 125 b (cfr. EAD., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 585, nr. B 32).

[112] ILSard. 42 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 558, nr. A 42).

[113] G. PATRONI, Nora colonia fenicia in Sardegna, Monumenti Antichi Accad. Lincei, XIV, 1904, coll. 109 sgg. e G. PESCE. Nora, già ricordato. Il teatro è stato rilevato da P. MISTRETTA, Il teatro romano di Nora, Dioniso, XXXV, 1961, pp. 28 sgg. che lo data al 100–150 d. C.; vedi anche R. J. A. WILSON, Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire, Atti V Congr. Int. Studi sulla Sicilia Antica. Palermo – Etruria Meridionale – Sardegna 1980, Κώκαλος, XXVI–XXVII, 1980–81, tomo I, pp. 222 sg., n. 7 che propone la data della prima metà del I secolo a. C. Per il porto, G. SCHMIEDT, Antichi porti d'Italia, pp. 235 sgg. e W. G. ST. WILKES – E. MACNAMARA, Underwater exploration of the ancient port of Nora, Sardinia, Papers Brit. School Rome, XXXV, 1967, pp. 4 sgg.

[114] CIL X,7542 = ILS 5790.

XII. Bitia

Abbiamo detto che uno dei primi tronchi stradali della Sardegna sud-occidentale collegava Nora con Bitia; questo centro abitato è ricordato, oltre che dai miliari, da Plinio – i suoi abitanti sono detti *Vitenses* – e da Tolomeo nella forma Bithia; egli distingue un porto di Bithia dalla città di Bithia, quest'ultima a cinque minuti di grado di longitudine est dal primo[115]; infine, è probabile che in Uttea della 'Tabula Peutingeriana', ricordata a proposito di Turris Libisonis, sia da vedere Bitia[116]. Il suo sito era, però, di incerta localizzazione fino alla campagna di scavi del 1933, dopo che una forte mareggiata di tre anni prima aveva consentito di identificare un tratto della necropoli a breve distanza dalla costa della torre di Chia, in comune Domus de Maria. In quella campagna fu rinvenuta, presso il tempietto detto di Bes, un'iscrizione neopunica che costituisce un reperto epigrafico di notevole interesse e che riporta alla prima linea il nome della città nella forma *'byt'n'*[117]. Scavi condotti a partire dal 1964 hanno permesso di risalire, per l'iniziale stanziamento, al VII secolo e di apprezzare l'ampiezza del centro abitato; esso si sviluppava intorno allo stagno di Chia, che era più ampio di quello attuale, e si estendeva sino alla torre omonima, all'isola Su Cardulinu e, all'interno, al monte Settiballas ed alla cappella dello Spirito Santo. Non molto conosciamo della città romana che continuò, sovrapponendosi ad essa, quella fenicio-punica[118]. Abbiamo elementi più precisamente archeologici, quali tracce di abitazioni, tombe di età tarda e soprattutto la necropoli che ha dato monete romane di età imperiale, da Augusto a Costantino; da rilevare la frequentazione del tempio detto di Bes, dimostrata da monete repubblicane ed imperiali, del quale è stata scoperta fra il 1953 e il 1955 la stipe votiva con oltre cinquecento statuette fittili, in forma di vaso, compresi i frammenti, per la quale è stata proposta la datazione dal III al I secolo a. C.[119].

---

[115] Plinio, Nat. Hist. III,7,85; Tolomeo III,3,3.

[116] Segmento II,5; per questa identificazione O. BALDACCI, La Sardegna nella Tabula Peutingeriana, p. 145. La successione delle località è nel senso antiorario, da Turribus (Turris Libisonis) a Caralis e Uttea è elencata fra Sulci e Nura (Nora). Certo, sotto il profilo del raffronto con l'Anonimo Ravennate sembrerebbe più accettabile l'identificazione di Uttea con Othoca (S. Giusta, presso Oristano): I. DIDU, I centri abitati della Sardegna romana, pp. 205 sg.

[117] A. TARAMELLI, Scavi dell'antica Bitia a Chia (Domus de Maria), Bollettino d'Arte, XXVII, 1933–34, pp. 288 sgg.; l'iscrizione è in M. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, neopunica 8.

[118] Un'iscrizione funeraria latina proveniente da Bitia (III sec. d. C.?) è pubblicata da A. U. STYLOW, Un titolo sepolcrale di Bitia, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973–74, parte I, pp. 213 sgg. (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 583 e 634, nr. B 16).

[119] F. BARRECA, in Monte Sirai, II, Roma, 1965, pp. 142 sgg.; G. PESCE, Chia (Cagliari). Scavi nel territorio, Notizie Scavi, 1968, pp. 309 sgg.; S. MOSCATI, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, Milano, 1968, pp. 55 sgg. e 141 sg.; G. PESCE, Le statuette puniche di Bithia, Roma, 1965; M. L. UBERTI, Le figurine fittili di Bitia, Roma, 1973 (ove la

La città manteneva un'organizzazione di tipo indigeno, sardo-punica, ancora alla fine del II secolo d. C.; lo dimostra l'iscrizione neopunica già citata, la quale attesta l'esistenza di sufeti, il nome di uno dei quali – *ʿbb'lʿ* da leggere, forse, Bodbaal – è chiaramente punico. Essa è stata posta sotto l'imperatore M. Aurelio Antonino che è preferibile intendere come M. Aurelio (161 – 180), piuttosto che non come Caracalla (211 – 217), poichè nei centri indigeni l'istituto del sufetato e l'uso della scrittura neopunica non vanno oltre il II secolo. E' la più tarda attestazione di un'istituzione punica in Sardegna, coeva, come si è detto, alle più tarde africane[120]. Non solo, ma l'iscrizione parla forse di un edificio sacro, sicuramente di „altari che fece l'intero popolo di Bitia a sue spese". Se ne è dedotto che, in questo caso, non ci troviamo di fronte alla generica menzione del ʿpopolo' di una città, attestata in Sardegna a Carales, a Neapolis ed a Sulci come etnico, ma, probabilmente, ad una istituzione tipicamente cartaginese, l'assemblea popolare. Sarebbe una prova di estremo interesse, a dimostrazione di quanto strettamente fosse stata calcata, sull'esempio di Cartagine, l'organizzazione delle città sardo-puniche e della sua assai tarda persistenza[121].

XIII. Sulci

Nell'isola di S. Antioco era un altro dei centri di maggior importanza, per il quale è sicuramente attestato lo stato di municipio romano: Sulci, un toponimo mediterraneo, paleosardo, che si suole ricondurre alla base **sulk-*, **sulg-*[122]. Assieme a Nora ed a Tharros era una delle più antiche fondazioni fenicie in Sardegna, da riportare alla fine dell'VIII secolo, come reperti archeologici indicano. Collegata alla costa sarda, dapprima con un istmo artificiale, più tardi con un ponte, vide svilupparsi il suo centro a nord, in modo da utilizzare di preferenza il più settentrionale dei due porti che l'istmo veniva a creare[123];

---

cronologia che è nel testo); P. Bartoloni, La ceramica fenicia di Bitia, Atti I Congr. Int. Studi Fenici e Punici. Roma 1979, Roma, 1983, pp. 491 sgg.

[120] Per i sufeti, la scrittura neopunica in Africa e la data della loro scomparsa, L. Poinssot, Une inscription de Souani el Adari, Revue Tunisienne, XLIX – LI, 1942, pp. 125 sgg. e J. Gascou, Afrique Proconsulaire, pp. 49 sgg.

[121] S. Moscati, Il popolo di Bitia, Riv. Studi Orientali, 43, 1968, pp. 1 sgg.; si farebbe, invece, riferimento ad una corporazione religiosa per G. Garbini, Le iscrizioni puniche di Antas (Sardegna), Annali Ist. Or. Napoli, XIX, 1969, pp. 323 sgg.; vedi anche F. Barreca, Sardegna fenicia e punica^2, pp. 117 sg. Sull'assemblea popolare nelle città puniche vedi M. Sznycer, L'assemblée du peuple dans les cités puniques d'après les témoignages épigraphiques, Semitica, XXV, 1975, pp. 47 sgg. Per l'aspetto istituzionale più generale, F. Mazza, Vita pubblica e privata nella Sardegna Antica. Le testimonianze epigrafiche fenicie e puniche, Antiqua, III, 10, 1978, pp. 7 sgg.

[122] E. de Felice, La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo, pp. 102 sg.

[123] G. Schmiedt, Antichi porti d'Italia, pp. 239 sgg.

è l'esistenza di questi due porti che potrebbe giustificare la forma plurale del nome. I più antichi dati riguardano il tophet alla periferia settentrionale, su un'altura rocciosa, con molte centinaia di urne e con stele, intere e frammentarie, il cui strato più antico sembra databile alla fine dell'VIII secolo; era un luogo sacro nel quale si compivano sacrifici di primogeniti che venivano cremati per propiziare la divinità; un'ampia necropoli alle pendici del monte 'e Cresia, utilizzata a partire dal VI secolo; nei pressi alcuni tratti di mura[124].

La città non tardò a dar vita a nuclei abitati satelliti nell'isola di S. Pietro e nella costa sarda, da Mazzacara a Porto Pino, ed a posizioni avanzate nell'entroterra, tipica quella di Monte Sirai della quale parleremo più avanti. In periodo romano la città continuò a svilupparsi ed a fiorire, accentuando la sua funzione di porto d'imbarco per i prodotti minerari dell'Iglesiente, in stretta relazione col centro di Metalla, nei pressi di Antas[125]. Il ponte che collegava l'isola alla Sardegna presenta ancora evidenti strutture romane nelle sue fondazioni. Fra gli altri resti ricorderemo: in regione Is Solus grandi cisterne ed una fontana per il drenaggio delle acque con canali di adduzione; accanto alla fontana le fondazioni di un edificio imperiale del II secolo d. C., con un rozzo pavimento in mosaico oggi rimosso; ai piedi della collina del Fortino un edificio con un portico a colonne di epoca tardo repubblicana, forse di carattere sacro; un mausoleo funerario di tipo punico, volgarmente interpretato come „Sa Presonedda"; una necropoli che continua quella punica; infine frammenti di colonne, di basi di statue, di strutture in parte oggi murate in abitazioni[126]. L'esistenza di templi, quello di Elat, probabilmente Tanit, fatto erigere nella prima metà del I secolo a. C., e quello di Iside e Serapide, restaurato ad una data imprecisata, è attestata, come diremo, solo da dati epigrafici.

Poche citazioni nelle fonti letterarie interessano Sulci nei secoli della repubblica; durante la prima guerra punica, nel 258, il suo porto fu la base della flotta cartaginese al comando di Annibale, il quale vi si ritirò dopo aver subìto un pesante rovescio che le avverse condizioni atmosferiche avevano reso ancor più disastroso e vi fu messo a morte[127]. Più tardi, durante la guerra civile fra Cesare e Pompeo, Sulci, a differenza di Carales, abbracciò le parti dei pompeiani accogliendo nel suo porto una loro flotta; subì per questo una dura punizione. Nel 46, infatti, durante la sua sosta a Carales, Cesare impose ai Sulcitani una forte multa il cui ammontare è dubbio, mentre la decima sui prodotti delle terre fu portata ad un ottavo; i beni di alcuni personaggi più in vista e politicamente responsabili della posizione assunta dalla città, venduti all'asta[128]. Sotto Augusto, in ogni modo, per testimonianza del geografo Strabone, Sulci e Carales erano le più importanti città della Sardegna[129].

---

[124] I dati archeologici su Sulci fenicio-punica sono stati raccolti da S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, pp. 93 sgg.; vedi anche S. MOSCATI, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, pp. 36 sg., 58 sg., 120 sg.; P. BARTOLONI, Fortificazioni puniche a Sulci, Oriens Antiquus, X, 1971, pp. 147 sgg.; C. TRONCHETTI, Per la cronologia del tophet di S. Antioco, Riv. Studi Fenici, VII, 1979, pp. 201 sgg.

[125] Itiner. Anton. p. 12 ed. CUNTZ; due iscrizioni funerarie di militari rinvenute a Grugua nei pressi di Antas sono CIL X,7537 e 8321; per le cosiddette „rovine di Gessa", presso Grugua, vedi A. TARAMELLI, Iglesias. Iscrizione greca di età imperiale rinvenuta in regione di Grugua, Notizie Scavi, 1913, pp. 89 sgg.

[126] Per la città romana punto di partenza è l'art. di A. TARAMELLI, S. Antioco. Scavi e scoperte di antichità puniche e romane nell'area dell'antica Sulcis, Notizie Scavi, 1908, pp. 145 sgg.; del medesimo altre brevi relazioni di scavi sempre in Notizie Scavi, 1908, pp. 192 sgg.; 1914, pp. 406 sgg.; 1919, pp. 148 sg. e 151 sgg.; 1922, pp. 335 sg.; 1925, pp. 470 sgg. Vedi anche G. PESCE, Un dipinto romano in una tomba dell'antica Sulcis, Bollettino d'Arte, XLVII, 1962, pp. 264 sgg.

[127] Zonara VIII,12 (cfr. Framm. 43 di Dione Cassio, 32 b).

L'organizzazione di tipo punico, precedente la conquista romana, potrebbe essere documentata da un'iscrizione punica dedicatoria del IV – III secolo a. C., rinvenuta durante gli scavi del tempio di Antas, poichè è probabile che a Sulci possano essere riferiti i due sufeti che in essa sono ricordati[130]. Nella stessa iscrizione è attestato il „popolo di Sulci", un'espressione che troviamo anche per Carales, per Neapolis e, probabilmente con un significato più puntuale, come abbiamo visto, per Bitia. Così, alla comunità premunicipale appartengono, forse, due iscrizioni neopuniche, una commemorativa ed una sepolcrale, di dubbia datazione[131]. Inoltre, certamente, una bilingue, latina e neopunica, molto nota, rinvenuta come le altre due a S. Antioco, la quale, in base al testo latino ed alla forma delle lettere è stata posta in età sillana o cesariana, cioè nella prima metà del I secolo a. C. Essa contiene la dedica di un tempio alla dea Elat, probabilmente Tanit, e di una statua, voluta dal senato cittadino, il consiglio, cioè della *civitas*; il testo latino ha, infatti, *ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)*, al quale, nel testo neopunico corrisponde: „per deliberazione dei 'senatori' di Sulci"[132].

Durante l'impero, confermando l'intensità del processo di romanizzazione che l'aveva interessata, la città fu elevata a municipio di cittadini romani. La sua condizione di *municipium* è esplicitamente attestata da due iscrizioni, purtroppo non datate, che ricordano, ciascuna, un „patrono del municipio": *patronus municipii*[133]; la condizione di cittadini romani, poi, fatta ai suoi abitanti è ricavabile dalla loro iscrizione ad una tribù, la Quirina, quella stessa assegnata a Carales ed a Cornus, la quale appare in almeno tre iscrizioni rinvenute a S. Antioco e riferibili a cittadini di Sulci[134]. Inoltre, come negli altri municipi, sono documentati i quattuorviri, sia quelli *iure dicundo* che quelli *aedilicia potestate*[135] ed il consiglio dei decurioni[136]. Ma quando si ebbe questa elevazione di rango? Ogni ipotesi è labile, ma probabilmente nella seconda metà del I secolo d. C., se si pensa che nell'elenco fatto da Plinio i Sulcitani appaiono senza la qualifica di *cives R(omani)*, data, invece, ai Caralitani e, molto probabilmente, ai Norensi. Un'iscrizione mutila, di datazione molto incerta, rinvenuta a S. Antioco, contiene una dedica alla *civitas* di Neapolis da parte di *univer[sae] tribus* di Sulci e dei *Beroni[cen]ses.* La divisione in tribù, le antiche sezioni di voto, è più comune nelle colonie che nei municipi, ma data la scarsità della nostra documentazione, non è possibile dedurne che Sulci fosse, al momento della dedica, una colonia. Nei *Beronicenses*, poi, è probabile che debba vedersi una popolazione rurale intorno a Sulci legata a qualche personaggio di nome Beronice[137].

---

[128] Bellum Africanum 98,1 sg.; in realtà, ci sfugge l'importo della multa inflitta alla città; nel cap. prec. del Bellum Afr. 97,2, sono riferite le multe imposte alle città africane; a Tapso XX sesterzi, al suo *conventus* di cittadini romani XXX; ad Adrumeto XXX, al suo *conventus* L; a Sulci, infine, C. Queste cifre date dai codici sono state completate dagli editori ed inserite entro il segno Γ che indica la moltiplicazione per 100.000; avremmo, così, rispettivamente 2 milioni di sesterzi e 3 milioni; 3 milioni e 5 milioni; per Sulci 10 milioni, i quali ultimi sembrano una somma eccessiva se confrontata con quella delle città africane, certamente più ricche. M. T. Sblendorio, La multa imposta a Sulci (Bell. Afr. 98,2), Boll. Studi Latini, VII, 1977, pp. 39 sgg., ritoccando il testo – $\overline{\mathrm{C}\langle M\rangle}$ invece che C del consenso dei codici – fissa in 900.000 sesterzi la multa di Sulci.

[129] V,2,123. Abbiamo già visto (cfr. n. 50) che Pomponio Mela, De Chorographia II,7, le cita come le città più antiche dell'isola.

[130] M. Fantar, Antas. Les inscriptions, pp. 64 sgg., III.

[131] M. G. Guzzo, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, neopuniche 2 e 6; vedi anche 1.

[132] CIL X,7513 = M. G. Guzzo, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, neopunica 5; vedi anche S. Moscati, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, pp. 90 sg.

[133] CIL X,7518 = ILS 6764; 7519.

Il materiale epigrafico latino che ci è pervenuto offre qualche barlume di luce sulla vita della città in età imperiale. In uno dei periodi di amministrazione senatoria, fra il 67 ed il 73 circa d. C., un governatore, il proconsole C. Asinio Tucuriano, lastricò una piazza che fino a quel momento era in terra battuta[138]; nel 118 i Sulcitani – *[Sulc]itani* – appaiono porre una dedica all'imperatore Adriano[139]; ad una data incerta furono compiuti lavori di restauro del tempio di Iside e Serapide, delle sue statue, delle sue decorazioni e dello spazio tutt'attorno[140]; infine, un frammento di lastra marmorea attesta l'esistenza di granai – *horre[a]* – più probabilmente pubblici, come quelli già ricordati di Carales, che non privati[141].

Abbiamo detto che Sulci esercitò una notevole forza di irradiazione nella costa antistante e nell'immediato retroterra; l'esempio più tipico è dato dalla grande fortezza di Monte Sirai che recenti campagne di scavi hanno messo in luce. I Fenici di Sulci, al fine di rendere sicure le loro posizioni dagli attacchi degli indigeni dell'interno, dopo aver distrutto un centro nuragico, diedero vita nello stesso sito, intorno alla metà del VII secolo, ad una posizione fortificata che intorno alla metà del VI subì danni gravissimi, probabilmente da parte di popolazioni sarde passate al contrattacco. Ricostruito, poi, dai Cartaginesi, nella prima metà del V, dopo le fortunate campagne di Asdrubale e Amilcare, Monte Sirai divenne un campo trincerato, ampliandosi le vecchie fortificazioni in modo da costituire una vera e propria testa di ponte per la penetrazione nell'entroterra e da proteggere adeguatamente il movimento commerciale, soprattutto quello del ricco bacino minerario dell'Iglesiente, verso il porto di Sulci. Quando i Romani presero possesso dell'isola, non utilizzarono il forte, nel quale continuò a vivere una popolazione mista sardo-punica, che trasformò il mastio in luogo di culto; anzi, gradualmente, smantellarono le fortificazioni e, in un secondo momento, anche il mastio. Solo nella seconda metà del I secolo a. C. il vecchio campo trincerato cartaginese fu rimesso in funzione per circostanze che ci sfuggono; si è pensato all'adesione di Sulci alla causa dei pompeiani che avrebbe persuaso i cesariani a tagliare la città dalla costa sarda (48 – 46), oppure alle vicende della lotta nell'isola fra Ottaviano e Sesto Pompeo (40 – 38)[142].

---

[134] CIL X,7518 = ILS 6764; 7519 (dubbia 7511); ILSard. 3; forse anche 35 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 554 e 629, nr. A 3 e p. 557, nr. A 35).

[135] Rispettivamente CIL X,7518 = ILS 6764; 7519; ILSard. 3 e CIL X,7514.

[136] CIL X,7518 = ILS 6764; ILSard. 3 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 554 e 629, nr. A 3).

[137] L'iscrizione è in ILSard. 4 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 555, nr. A 4). A dimostrare l'incertezza delle nostre conoscenze si può ricordare che nella colonia di Turris Libisonis, come abbiamo visto, troviamo attestata una divisione in curie (CIL X,7953 = ILS 6766; cfr. n. 78) ove ci saremmo attesi una divisione in tribù. In una catacomba giudaica del IV – V sec. troviamo attestata una Beronice: ILSard. 30. Vedi M. BONELLO, Nuove proposte di lettura, pp. 197 sg., n. 11.

[138] CIL X,7516 (cfr. p. 995) = ILS 5352.

[139] ILSard. 1 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 553, nr. A 1).

[140] CIL X,7514.

[141] ILSard. 6 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 555, nr. A 6).

XIV. *Neapolis*

Come nella costa sud-occidentale, la più vicina all'Africa, così intorno al golfo di Oristano le città romane continuarono antichi centri punici; Neapolis, Othoca, Cornus e soprattutto Tharros, uno dei più antichi stanziamenti fenici, come già abbiamo detto. Neapolis è un nome greco, 'Città Nuova', nuova in rapporto alla vecchia, Othoca, come diremo, ma è stato supposto che si tratti di un calco di tipo culturale, non rispondente, quindi, ad un effettivo insediamento greco, di un precedente nome punico Qart-Hadasht, Cartagine. L'inizio dell'insediamento, sulla base dei dati ceramici, è da riportare agli ultimi decenni del VI secolo[143]. Si può, pertanto, pensare che sia Neapolis la Qart-Hadasht ricordata in due iscrizioni puniche sarde, una del III – II secolo a. C., rinvenuta a Tharros, quindi non lontano da Neapolis[144], una del III secolo a. C., rinvenuta al Olbia, ove si ricorda che il dedicante apparteneva „al popolo di Qart-Hadasht"[145]. Abbiamo visto questa espressione documentata nelle iscrizioni di Carales, di Sulci e, in un contesto giuridicamente più preciso, di Bitia.

---

[142] I benemeriti degli scavi di Monte Sirai sono soprattutto F. BARRECA, S. MOSCATI, G. PESCE; vedi le relazioni in F. BARRECA ed altri, Monte Sirai, Roma, I (1964); II (1965); III (1966); IV (1967). Le ultime relazioni di scavo in Riv. Studi Fenici, Monte Sirai 1979 (VIII, 1980, pp. 143 sgg.); 1980 (IX, 1981, pp. 217 sgg.); 1981 (X, 1982, pp. 273 sgg.).

[143] Per il nome, E. DE FELICE, La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo, p. 94. Per i dati offerti dalla ceramica, R. ZUCCA, Neapolis, Studi Etruschi, XLIX, 1981, pp. 524 sg.

[144] M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 32.

[145] M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 34.

La sua localizzazione non pare dubbia; all'estremità meridionale dello stagno di S. Giovanni, nei pressi della chiesa di S. Maria di Nàbui – le grandi terme di Neapolis – che ne continua l'antico nome, in località Bau Arena. Sino alla fine del secolo scorso erano visibili resti romani: piante di abitazioni per lo più modeste, frammenti di mosaici di pavimenti, tracce dell'acquedotto, di una strada urbana, di tombe, di un serbatoio per l'approvvigionamento idrico, delle mura di cinta. Ora, scavi iniziati nel 1951 hanno chiarito questi dati mettendo in luce un edificio termale, le piccole terme, abitazioni ad oriente dell'edificio, la necropoli romana, embrici e monete del basso impero[146]. Doveva essere un centro essenzialmente agricolo di una certa importanza; lo ricordano Plinio[147], Tolomeo[148], e l''Itinerario Antoniniano', quest'ultimo nella strada occidentale fra Othoca e Metalla[149]; forse ad un tronco che, partendo dalla città, raggiungeva Uselis, è da riportare il miliario molto lacunoso rinvenuto fra i ruderi dell'acquedotto e la chiesa di S. Maria di Nàbui: *[--- Us]ellum usque*[150]. Lo scrittore latino Rutilio Palladio, vissuto nel IV secolo d. C., nel suo trattato sui lavori dell'agricoltura – *Opus agriculturae* – ricorda la coltivazione dei cedri nel territorio di Neapolis, ove aveva alcune proprietà, territorio che egli descrive estremamente fertile per il suolo, per il clima e per l'abbondanza delle acque: lì i cedri maturavano senza soluzione di continuità, per tutto l'anno. E' da rilevare che i primi editori, per ignoranza della Neapolis sarda, non intesero bene *in Sardinia territorio Neapolitano*, pure attestato unanimamente dalla tradizione manoscritta, e corressero, sulla base della ben più nota Neapolis campana, *in Sardinia et in territorio Neapolitano*, ma la correzione non ha alcun fondamento per essere accolta[151]. La conoscenza che Palladio aveva della Sardegna appare, d'altra parte, anche in un altro passo nel quale egli descrive in qual modo il legno di pino possa essere difeso dall'umidità, secondo esperienze maturate nell'isola[152].

La campagna intorno a Neapolis doveva essere, quindi, intensamente coltivata e lo dimostrano resti di ville, al centro di latifondi, fra le quali la più nota è quella i cui ruderi sono stati identificati fra Uras e Marrubiu[153]. Non sappiamo, però, se con Neapolis siano da collegare, e in che modo, le Acque Neapolitane ricordate da Tolomeo[154] e citate dall''Itinerario Antoniniano' come una stazione fra Carales e Othoca[155]; esse sono unanimamente identificate con le Terme di Sardara, la cui grande vasca di raccolta è, sostanzialmente, quella romana e che ci hanno restituito, durante lavori di riattamento e di ampliamento, tracce dell'antico edificio termale, ceramica e monete: a breve distanza una modesta necropoli[156]. Infine, rileviamo che attestazioni della comunità sardo-punica di Neapolis ci sono pervenute attraverso due iscrizioni: una, quella punica già ricordata, rinvenuta a Tharros, la quale ricorda i suoi sufeti, ma poichè non si può fissare, per essa, una data più precisa del III – II secolo a. C., non può dirsi se sia da riportare al periodo punico o a quello romano[157]; una latina, venuta alla luce a S. Antioco, che contiene una dedica alla sua *civitas* da parte delle tribù di Sulci e dei *Beroni[cen]ses*, alla quale già abbiamo accennato[158]. Purtroppo, il territorio della città non ci ha restituito altra documentazione epigrafica che ci consenta di farci conoscere se la *civitas* sia stata portata ad una condizione di municipio romano[159].

---

[146] G. Spano, Descrizione dell'antica Neapolis, Bull. Arch. Sardo, V, 1859, pp. 129 sgg.; per gli scavi condotti nel 1951, G. Pesce, Neapolis, Capo Frasca near Guspini (Sardinia, Cagliari), Fasti Archaeologici, VI, 1951 (1953), pp. 356 sg., nr. 4672. Per i dati offerti dalla fotografia aerea, G. Schmiedt, Antichi porti d'Italia, pp. 245 sgg.; per il porto egli pensa allo stagno di Marceddì o a quello di S. Giovanni. I dati di scavo sono raccolti da R. Zucca, Neapolis, pp. 524 sg. e Id., Neapolis, in: Autori vari, I Sardi. La Sardegna dal paleolitico all'età romana, Milano, in corso di stampa; egli ha condotto una indagine in superfice negli anni 1971–80. Che Qart-Hadasht sia la Neapolis sarda ritiene M. G. Guzzo, Neapolis = Qart-Hadasht in Sardegna, Riv. Studi Orientali, 43, 1968, pp. 19 sgg.

[147] III,7,85.

[148] III,3,2 e 6.

[149] P. 12 ed. Cuntz.

[150] CIL X,8008.

[151] IV,10,16; per l'apparato critico al passo vedi ed. J. C. Schmitt, Lipsia, 1898.

[152] XII,15,3. Non aggiunge nuovi elementi a favore della Neapolis sarda L. Gallo, „Neapolis“ in Palladio 4, 10, 16, Annali Sc. Norm. Sup. Pisa, IX, 1979, pp. 179 sgg.

XV. Othoca

Se Neapolis era la „Città Nuova“, Othoca era la „[Città] Vecchia“, e dal rapporto cronologico di fondazione rispetto alla prima prendeva il nome. Questo nome corrisponde a quello dell'africana Utica ed è, quindi, riconducibile allo strato fenicio-punico. Il centro abitato iniziò la sua vita alla fine del VII secolo, come mostrano i dati offerti dalla necropoli, probabilmente creazione della vicina Tharros. Un'iscrizione greca arcaica o, come è ritenuto dai più, etrusca, rinvenuta ad Oristano, forse del VI secolo, potrebbe attestare rapporti economici della zona col mondo greco o etrusco in quel periodo[160].

---

[153] G. SPANO, Antichità di Muru de Bangius, Bull. Arch. Sardo, IX, 1863, pp. 57 sgg. Per le altre numerose ville intorno a Neapolis, vedi R. ZUCCA, I bolli laterizi urbani della Sardegna, Arch. Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 50 sg., n. 3.

[154] III,3,7.

[155] P. 11 ed. CUNTZ.

[156] G. SPANO, Aquae Neapolitanae, ossia Bagni di Sardara, Bull. Arch. Sardo, V, 1859, pp. 20 sgg.; vedi anche A. TARAMELLI, Sardara. Scoperta di una necropoli di età romana in regione „Masone Oneddu“, Notizie Scavi, 1909, pp. 332 sgg.

[157] M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 32.

[158] ILSard. 4 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 555, nr. A 4).

[159] G. I. LUZZATTO, Organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, pp. 305 sg., n. 53; attribuendo le tribù a Neapolis invece che a Sulci, ne deduce lo stato di città stipendiaria, non di municipio.

[160] Per l'origine del nome vedi E. DE FELICE, La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo, pp. 90 sg.; M. L. WAGNER, Die Punier und ihre Sprache in Sardinien, Die Sprache, III, 1954, pp. 91 sg.; M. SZNYCER, Recherches sur les toponymes phéniciens en Méditerranée occidentale, in:

L'etnico *Utice[nsi]s*, documentato in una iscrizione funeraria di Uselis, sembra debba intendersi proprio come „nativo di Othoca"[161]. Anche questo centro è appena ricordato dalle fonti letterarie: Tolomeo lo conosce come Othaea o Osaea – quest'ultima è la forma più attestata nella tradizione manoscritta[162] – l'Anonimo Ravennate come Othoca[163], mentre nell'Uttea della 'Tabula Peutingeriana' sembra, come si è detto, che sia preferibile vedere Bithia piuttosto che non Othoca[164]. L''Itinerario Antoniniano', infine, mette in rilievo l'importanza della sua posizione nel quadro della viabilità sarda, attestando che Othoca era toccata da due strade; una si sviluppava lungo la costa, a nord, verso Tibula, a sud verso Carales; una verso l'interno e raggiungeva ugualmente queste stazioni terminali passando il tronco settentrionale per Forum Traiani, Fordongianus, e Hafa, presso Mores, quello meridionale per Acque Neapolitane[165]. Anche nel caso di Othoca la mancanza di materiale epigrafico non ci consente di intravvedere alcunchè relativamente alla condizione giuridica del centro abitato ed alle sue istituzioni. Diremo solo che esso è stato localizzato alla periferia di Santa Giusta, al centro del golfo di Oristano, sulla riva nord-orientale dello stagno omonimo, ove antichi scavi hanno messo in luce resti della necropoli con tombe puniche che vanno fino al III secolo a. C., mentre materiale ceramico, rinvenuto in occasione di recenti scavi, scende dalla fine del VII o gli inizi del VI secolo fino all'alto medioevo, attraverso il periodo romano, repubblicano ed imperiale, dimostrando così la continuità della frequentazione[166].

XVI. Cornus

A nord del golfo di Oristano era Cornus, un centro che conosciamo meglio di Othoca e Neapolis per i riferimenti contenuti nelle fonti letterarie e per i dati archeologici. La città punica doveva essere fiorente, poichè al

---

La toponymie antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1975, Leida, 1977, p. 172 nr. 4. Su Othoca R. ZUCCA, Il centro fenicio-punico di Othoca, Riv. Studi Fenici, IX, 1981, pp. 99 sgg. e G. TORE – R. ZUCCA, Testimonia antiqua Uticensia, Arch. Storico Sardo, XXXIV, 1983, fasc. I, pp. 11 sgg. Per l'iscrizione greca arcaica o etrusca, P. TAMPONI, Oristano, Notizie Scavi, 1891, p. 363 nella lettura di E. PAIS, Due iscrizioni greche trovate in Sardegna, in: ID., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, pp. 573 sgg. Naturalmente l'iscrizione potrebbe essere giunta ad Oristano da Tharros.

[161] CIL X,7846 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 662, nr. C 76a).

[162] III,3,2.

[163] V,26.

[164] Segmento II,5.

[165] Pp. 11 sg. ed CUNTZ.

[166] A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio in Sardegna, II, pp. 370 sg. e S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, p. 117, ove è data la bibliografia precedente. Per gli scavi recenti, R. ZUCCA, Il centro fenicio-punico di Othoca, già citato.

tempo della rivolta di Ampsicora che la vide centro delle forze antiromane, Livio la definisce *caput eius regionis*[167]. In essa si rifugiarono i rivoltosi dopo le sconfitte subìte in due battaglie, la prima delle quali presso la città, fino a che questa venne conquistata dai Romani che le inflissero una dura punizione. Non sono stati, però, identificati i resti di Cornus punica, ad eccezione della necropoli[168]. La sua posizione privilegiata sembra deducibile anche dal miliario che ci è pervenuto, il quale ricorda il tratto *[a T]arrhos C[ornu]s*[169]; vengono così confermati gli stretti legami economici che già sotto i Cartaginesi dovevano unire queste due città, le più importanti del golfo oristanese e del suo retroterra. I Romani, infatti, mantennero, in certo modo, questa autonomia nella viabilità lungo l'arteria occidentale sarda ancora intorno alla metà del III secolo d. C. alla quale il miliario è da riportare.

Sappiamo che gli abitanti di Cornus furono elevati al rango di cittadini romani ed assegnati alla tribù Quirina, come Carales e Sulci; lo attesta un'iscrizione, trovata a sud di S. Caterina di Pittinuri, in regione Corchinas ove, come diremo, si sviluppava il centro abitato, in cui il consiglio ed il popolo dei Cornensi – *ordo et populus Cornensius* – onorano, nominandolo patrono della città e cooptandolo fra i decurioni, un concittadino, Q. Sergio Quadrato, della tribù Quirina, appartenente all'ordine equestre. Il dubbio riguarda l'esatta condizione giuridica di Cornus al momento in cui fu posta l'iscrizione, se si trattasse di un municipio di cittadini romani o di una colonia; nell'ultimo senso potrebbe portarci una integrazione della lacuna alla l. 6 della suddetta iscrizione, ove si è integrato *[in co]lon[os ---]*[170], ma l'ipotesi è troppo labile; il silenzio di Plinio, d'altra parte, potrebbe orientarci, come per Sulci, verso la seconda metà del I secolo d. C. per questa elevazione di rango.

La localizzazione di Cornus è sufficientemente sicura, sia per il sito di rinvenimento della stessa iscrizione e di altre – le quali ultime, però, non contengono il nome della città – sia per i dati archeologici. Il centro abitato va posto nell'immediato retroterra a sud di S. Caterina di Pittinuri, su una collina detta di Corchinas, ed ha lasciato il suo nome legato al toponimo, in quella stessa zona, di Campu è Corra, un altopiano a breve distanza dalla costa, a giustificazione del fatto che Tolomeo la colloca fra le città dell'interno dell'isola[171]. I resti più importanti, acquedotto, acropoli, edifici privati, sono visibili, oltre che sul colle, in regione Sisiddu, Angrone, Columbaris; in quest'ultima sono venute alla luce imponenti rovine di un centro paleocristiano che probabilmente ebbe inizio nella seconda metà del IV secolo[172]; di interesse notevole anche la necropoli in regioni Furrighesu e Fanne Massa[173]. Il porto di Cornus è forse da identificare con quello di Coracodes, che Tolomeo ricorda sulla costa occidentale, dieci minuti di grado a sud di Cornus[174] e che può porsi in una delle due insenature di capo Mannu, quella meridionale di Cala Salinas o quella orientale di Cala Su Pallosu; il piccolo centro ad esso collegato può essere supposto il località Putzu Idu che ha restituito una necropoli andata distrutta[175].

---

[167] XXIII,40,5.

[168] Livio XXIII,40,5 e 41,5. Per i dati archeologici S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, pp. 84 sg. Un'ampia monografia ha dedicato al centro abitato A. MASTINO, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979; per la città punica, pp. 45 sgg.

[169] CIL X,8009.

[170] CIL X,7915; in dubbio lo stesso editore, il MOMMSEN a p. 823 e negli indici a p. 1143.

[171] III,3,7; vedi anche al paragrafo 6, ove sono ricordati i Cornensi; per il riferimento vedi P. MELONI, La geografia della Sardegna in Tolomeo. I. Le coste. 1. I dati, in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea in onore di E. Manni, V, Roma, 1980, pp. 1533 sgg.

XVII. Tharros

La città più importante dell'Oristanese doveva essere Tharros, un toponimo probabilmente da ricondurre ad una base mediterranea, paleosarda, **tarr-* ampiamente attestata; la forma plurale del nome, documentata da geografi e da grammatici, potrebbe ricordare due distinti stanziamenti iniziali ai quali andrebbero riferite le due necropoli tarrensi[176]; per quanto riguarda la viabilità, Tharros è attestata in un miliario sul quale torneremo[177] e nell''Itinerario Antoniniano', che conosce la città lungo la litoranea occidentale fra Cornus e Othoca[178]. I dati archeologici ci consentono di considerare la città, assieme a Nora ed a Sulci, uno dei più antichi stanziamenti fenici, da riportare alla fine dell'VIII secolo, non tanto per il materiale epigrafico – si tratta, per lo più, di iscrizioni puniche funerarie del V–IV secolo a.C.[179] – quanto per i dati di scavo.

---

[172] O. ADDIS, Il complesso paleocristiano di Cornus, Atti XIII Congr. St. Architettura (Sardegna). Cagliari 1963, Roma, 1966, pp. 181 sgg.; G. MAETZKE, Scavi e scoperte nel campo dell'archeologia cristiana negli ultimi dieci anni in Toscana e in Sardegna, Atti II Congr. Naz. Arch. Cristiana. Matera 1969, Roma, 1971, pp. 312 sgg.; P. TESTINI, Il complesso paleocristiano di Cornus, (reg. Columbaris) in Sardegna, Actas VIII Congr. Int. Arqueología Cristiana. Barcelona, 1969, Barcellona, 1972, pp. 537 sgg.; G. FARRIS, Le aree paleocristiane di Cornus, Cagliari, 1976.

[173] A. MOCCI, L'antica città di Cornus, Bosa, 1897; A. TARAMELLI, Cuglieri. Ricerche ed esplorazioni nell'antica Cornus, Notizie Scavi, 1918, pp. 285 sgg.; A. MASTINO, Cornus, pp. 55 sgg.

[174] III,3,2.

[175] Per il porto di Coracodes G. SCHMIEDT, Antichi porti d'Italia, pp. 229 e 254, n. 55; A. MASTINO, Cornus, pp. 79 sgg.

[176] Per il nome E. DE FELICE, La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo, p. 103. Sulla forma plurale del nome, per i geografi, Tolomeo III,3,2 (Tarrae) e Anonimo Ravennate V,26 (Tarri); per i grammatici, Pseudo Probo, Catholica, p. 22, l. 26 e p. 27, l. 32; Mario Plozio Sacerdote, Artes Grammaticae II, p. 478, l. 25, in Grammatici Latini ed. H. KEIL, rispettivamente voll. IV e VI. Al proposito R. ZUCCA, Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1984, in corso di stampa.

[177] CIL X,8009.

[178] P. 12 ed. CUNTZ.

[179] M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 24.

Da questi si ricava che gli inizi dello stanziamento si ebbero probabilmente al capo S. Marco, all'estremità della penisola del Sinis; qui, sulla costa orientale, al riparo del maestrale che domina, dovette essere il porto più antico[180]. A questa fase sono da riferire un tempietto, una necropoli, spianamento di banchine per l'approdo e, più distanti, opere murarie e lo strato più antico del tophet. La città, spostandosi ai piedi del colle dominato dalla torre di S. Giovanni, ebbe uno sviluppo notevole, sia per la sua posizione nelle rotte commerciali del Mediterraneo occidentale, specie fra Cartagine e Marsiglia da una parte, le Baleari e la Spagna dall'altra, sia per il suo fertile retroterra. Sembra che i momenti di maggior splendore e benessere si siano avuti nel IV secolo a. C. e nel III, prima e durante la fase di passaggio dalla dominazione cartaginese a quella romana. Al IV secolo si possono riportare due stele funerarie con iscrizioni greche, di due stranieri, uno certamente, l'altro molto probabilmente massaliota, di Marsiglia, entrambi figli di un Anassilao; esse sono state rinvenute a Tharros e rivelano i rapporti commerciali esistenti fra la città sardo-punica e la più famosa città ionica della Gallia[181]. In ogni modo, anche durante i primi secoli dell'impero, il centro urbano si sviluppò notevolmente sul vecchio impianto punico che venne, per quanto possibile, rispettato.

Campagne di scavi, iniziate nel 1956, hanno messo in sufficiente luce elementi del più grande interesse; una fitta rete stradale in direzione nord-sud ed est-ovest, alcuni quartieri con negozi e soprattutto con le tipiche abitazioni, alcune forse con un piano elevato, con un numero diverso di ambienti ed un cortile antistante o centrale, servite da una efficiente rete idrica e fognaria; un grande santuario eretto alla fine del IV secolo a. C. sul quale, eliminate le strutture più elevate, si costruì un nuovo tempio punico-romano da riportare al II – I secolo a. C.; due edifici termali lungo la costa, il più notevole dei quali forse a terrazze su tre piani successivi; una grande necropoli utilizzata per lungo tempo, dalla seconda metà del VII secolo a. C. al III d. C.; un tophet, fra i maggiori della Sardegna, con centinaia di vasi contenenti le urne dei primogeniti sacrificati, il quale con le sue tre fasi va da un periodo fenicio degli inizi del VII secolo ad uno punico-romano del II secolo a. C.; un tempio detto di Demetra e Core che scende fino al periodo imperiale; infine una cinta muraria a protezione della città, mentre tre cortine, rafforzate da fossati, furono costruite sul fronte settentrionale per sbarrare l'istmo[182]. Come una creazione di Tharros potrebbe essere considerato il villaggetto punico identificato nei pressi di S. Vero Milis, il quale continuò la sua vita sotto Roma; nell'agro è stato rinvenuto un torciere della fine dell'VIII secolo a. C.[183]

---

[180] G. SCHMIEDT, Antichi porti d'Italia, pp. 250 sgg.

[181] Inscriptiones Grecae, XIV: Inscriptiones Siciliae et Italiae, ed. KAIBEL, Berlino, 1890, nrr. 609 e 610.

[182] Per la città punica, S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, pp. 102 sgg. con un'ampia bibliografia; G. PESCE, Tharros, Cagliari, 1966; S. MOSCATI, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, pp. 37 sg., 61, 107 sgg., 118 sg., 122 sg. Vedi ora le relazioni degli scavi nella Riv. Studi Fenici, Tharros I (III, 1975, pp. 89 sgg.); II (III, 1975, pp. 213 sgg.); III (IV, 1976, pp. 197 sgg.); IV (VI, 1978, pp. 63 sgg.); V (VII, 1979, pp. 49 sgg.); VI (VIII, 1980, pp. 79 sgg.); VII (IX, 1981, pp. 29 sgg.); VIII (X, 1982, pp. 37 sgg.); IX (XI, 1983, pp. 69 sgg.).

Il materiale latino proveniente da Tharros non è abbondante ed è di relativo interesse, trattandosi soprattutto di iscrizioni funerarie e di modesti frammenti; non offre, quindi, elementi di valore per conoscere lo stato giuridico della città, le sue istituzioni politiche e religiose, la sua vita economica e sociale. Il motivo di questa scarsità di documentazione sembra, senz'altro, da attribuire alle sistematiche spoliazioni, specie di materiale da costruzione, delle quali Tharros fu oggetto nei secoli. L'organizzazione della comunità sardo-punica è attestata da un'iscrizione punica rinvenuta a Tharros, la quale ricorda un sufeta, Himy, diminutivo-vezzeggiativo per Himilkat, del quale sono dati gli ascendenti, anch'essi, tutti, sufeti[184]. L'iscrizione è del III – II secolo a. C. e non sappiamo, pertanto, se questa attestazione vada riferita al periodo punico o a quello romano.

Nessuna sicura testimonianza di un eventuale municipio romano, anche se questo potrebbe essere facilmente supposto dall'intenso processo di romanizzazione e dallo sviluppo economico della città che gli scavi documentano. Se l'iscrizione, della fine del II o degli inizi del III secolo d. C., di un funzionario addetto alla tenuta dei libri contabili delle pertiche delle colonie si potesse leggere *tabular[ius] pertic[aru]m Turr[is] et Tarrhos*, sarebbe possibile dedurre, per quella data, la condizione di colonia di Tharros, già documentata per Turris Libisonis, come abbiamo visto, attraverso una fase di municipio di cittadini romani[185]. Una conferma potrebbe trovarsi in altri due elementi ricavabili, sempre, da materiale epigrafico: l'esistenza di un *servus publicus*[186] e forse di un *[ca]lend[arium]* ossia il registro nel quale si annotava la contabilità dei prestiti fatti a privati: l'importo, l'interesse, la scadenza; entrambi sono noti da iscrizioni provenienti da Tharros, ed è molto più probabile che si riferiscano ad un municipio o ad una colonia, piuttosto che non ad un centro sardo-punico[187]. Infine, possiamo ricordare il miliario già citato, rinvenuto presso la chiesa di S. Giovanni di Sinis, in territorio di Cabras, il quale menziona il tratto stradale *[a T]harros C[ornu]s*[188], dimostrando l'importanza che le due città – la prima soprattutto data come stazione di partenza – rivestivano nella viabilità della Sardegna punica e, più tardi, di quella romana.

---

[183] S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, p. 88.

[184] M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 32; è, quindi, inaccettabile l'attribuzione ad Adriano fatta da A. BONU, Titolo commemorativo di Tharros, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII, 1952 – 53, parte I, pp. 483 sgg.

[185] CIL X,7951; M. BONELLO, Nuove proposte di lettura, pp. 179 sgg.

[186] CIL X,7903; vedi C. HALKIN, Les esclaves publiques chez les Romains, Bruxelles, 1897, pp. 137 sgg. e W. EDER, Servitus publica, Wiesbaden, 1980.

[187] G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, p. 47, nr. 53; alla l. 3 potrebbe leggersi *IIvir* e supporsi, quindi, uno stato di colonia: M. BONELLO, Nuove proposte di lettura, p. 188, n.12 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 590 e 640, nr. B 57); per il *calendarium* vedi B. KÜBLER, Dizionario Epigrafico, II,1 (1900), pp. 26 sgg., s. v. Vedremo il *calendarium* attestato, forse, anche ad Olbia.

[188] CIL X,8009.

XVIII. Bosa

Nella costa nord-occidentale sarda gli stanziamenti fenicio-punici erano stati molto più radi e di minor importanza, per ovvie condizioni geografiche. In questo quadro un cenno a parte va fatto per Bosa, un toponimo ritenuto mediterraneo, protosardo[189], la cui data di fondazione è estremamente dubbia; non abbiamo alcuna documentazione sull'insediamento fenicio-punico, che è probabile abbia preceduto quello romano, se si eccettuano notevoli ritrovamenti di monete puniche[190]. Se potessimo utilizzare in questo senso un frammento di iscrizione fenicia rinvenuto nel sito della Bosa romana ed ora andato smarrito, e che forse conteneva il nome stesso della città nella forma *bs'n*, si dovrebbe porre la sua fondazione nell'VIII secolo, come quelle di Nora, Sulci e Tharros, poichè i caratteri dell'iscrizione sono di qualche decennio più antichi di quelli dell'altra di Nora già citata[191]. La città romana sorgeva nel sito ove oggi è la chiesa di S. Pietro che ci ha restituito numerose iscrizioni latine, a due km. da Bosa risalendo il corso del Temo; forse per questo Tolomeo la pone, come già abbiamo visto per Cornus, fra le città dell'interno dell'isola[192].

Fra le iscrizioni latine degne di rilievo è quella che attesta la dedica di quattro statuine d'argento, con la specificazione del peso di ciascuna, ad Antonino Pio, alla moglie Faustina ed ai suoi due figli adottivi, Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero (138–141)[193]. Se si pensa che questa dedica sarebbe avvenuta, secondo una lettura del testo, „per decreto dei decurioni" – *d(ecurionum) d(ecreto)*? – se ne potrebbe ricavare una testimonianza dell'organizzazione municipale della città che, del resto, sembra probabile, nonostante il silenzio della nostra documentazione. Questa considerazione sembrerebbe confermata da un documento giunto a noi molto frammentario: una tavola di bronzo, rinvenuta a Cupra Marittima, nel Piceno, contenente un decreto di patronato e di clientela analogo a quello già visto per Uselis, fra un cittadino romano e il popolo di Bosa; alla l. 3 si legge *[---lum]que Bosanu[m ---]*, probabilmente da integrare *[---ordinem populum]que Bosanu[m ---]*; se l'integrazione, come sembra, è accettabile, allora per Bosa si dovrebbe supporre uno stato di municipio di cittadini romani o quello successivo di colonia. E' molto dubbio che il patrono sia da identificare con un console suffetto dell'anno 69 d. C.[194]

---

[189] E. de Felice, Le coste della Sardegna, pp. 129 sg.

[190] S. M. Cecchini, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, pp. 32 sg.

[191] M. G. Guzzo, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 18; vedi anche il Framm. 20, di sole tre lettere, anch'esso andato smarrito. L'iscrizione di Nora è la 1: i raffronti sono stati istituiti da W. F. Albright, New light on the early history of Phoenician colonization, Bull. Amer. Schools, Or. Research, LXXXIII, 1941, p. 20 fig. 3b; vedi anche S. Moscati, La penetrazione fenicia e punica in Sardegna, Memorie Accad. Naz. Lincei, VIII, XII, 1965–66, p. 231.

[192] III,3,7.

[193] CIL X,7939. Un nuovo documento in A. Mastino, Una nuova iscrizione funeraria della necropoli di S. Pietro di Bosa, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975–77, pp. 209 sgg. (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 594 e 644, nr. B 67).

XIX. *Olbia*

Un ultimo centro della Sardegna settentrionale merita di essere esaminato: quello di Olbia. Il nome è greco, ma accettarlo originariamente come tale implica dare una soluzione al problema dell'elemento greco in Sardegna. Quanti non credono ad insediamenti di coloni greci nell'isola nel VI secolo, e sono i più, ritengono che il nome sia una rideterminazione greca – *òlbios* = felice, quindi 'La Felice' – di un toponimo Olba, mediterraneo, paleosardo[195]; sulla base, poi, dei dati delle necropoli che non risalgono oltre il IV secolo a. C., si deduceva che Olbia era una colonia punica, fondata proprio in questo periodo[196]. In seguito a recenti acquisizioni, il quadro è notevolmente mutato e sembra rivelare un'attiva presenza greca in Sardegna che può farsi risalire al VI secolo e che ci consente di rivalutare un nucleo storico nella tradizione mitica che parla di una fondazione di Olbia da parte di Greci, più precisamente di Tespiesi al seguito di Iolao, il fedele compagno di Eracle[197]; sotto questo aspetto anche l'origine del nome andrebbe riconsiderata. Per la data di fondazione della città punica ricorderemo che sono venute alla luce, probabilmente nella necropoli di Salineddas, una brocchetta con orlo a fungo ed un'ampolla ad orlo strozzato, mentre da una collezione privata olbiese proviene una brocchetta con orlo trilobato; tutte e tre le forme vascolari sembrano da riportare al VII – VI secolo, accostandosi, queste forme, ad altre rinvenute a Bitia, a Tharros ed a Nora[198].

---

[194] Notizie Scavi, 1888, p. 563, con le integrazioni di TH. MOMMSEN; vedi anche EE VIII,227. L. HARMAND, Patronat, p. 342 e n. 53.

[195] E. DE FELICE, Le coste della Sardegna, pp. 118 sgg.

[196] Per i dati di scavo, D. LEVI, Le necropoli puniche di Olbia, Studi Sardi, IX, 1949, pp. 5 sgg.; vedi, però, i dubbi di S. MOSCATI, Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, pp. 68 sg. Aggiungi le relazioni di scavo di E. ACQUARO, in Riv. Studi Fenici, Olbia I (VII, 1979, pp. 45 sgg.); II (VIII, 1980, pp. 71 sgg.).

[197] I dati del mito soprattutto in Pausania, VII,2,2; IX,23,1 ed in particolare X,17,5; Diodoro IV,29,4 sgg. e V,15,2 sgg.; Strabone V,2,123. P. MELONI, Gli Iolei ed il mito di Iolao in Sardegna, Studi Sardi, VI, 1945, pp. 43 sgg.; S. F. BONDÌ, Osservazioni sulle fonti classiche per la colonizzazione della Sardegna, Saggi Fenici, I, 1975, pp. 49 sgg.; F. NICOSIA, La Sardegna nel mondo classico, in: Ichnussa. La Sardegna dalle origini all'età classica, Milano, 1981, pp. 421 sgg.

[198] A. M. BISI, La ceramica punica, Napoli, 1970, p. 136, n. 126; G. TORE, Elementi culturali semitici nella Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Atti XXII Riunione Ist. Ital. Preist. e Protost. nella Sardegna centro-settentrionale. Sassari 1978, Firenze, 1980, pp. 499 sgg. e P. BARTOLONI, Studi sulla ceramica fenicia e punica di Sardegna, Roma, 1983, pp. 52 sg. e 73.

Si potrebbe pensare, pertanto, che poco tempo dopo che i Fenicio-punici avevano stabilito un loro insediamento nel golfo di Olbia, una posizione chiave lungo la rotta fra l'Etruria e l'Africa, gli Ioni di Focea, in una insenatura a breve distanza ponevano il loro fondaco in concorrenza con i loro rivali. Esso, però, ebbe una vita effimera e non sopravvisse alla battaglia di Alalia del 535 circa, nella quale una coalizione di Cartaginesi e di Etruschi sconfisse in modo decisivo i Focesi, artefici di una fiorente colonizzazione nell'occidente mediterraneo, obbligandoli a rinunciare ai loro disegni di penetrazione in Corsica ed in Sardegna[199]. Della Olbia punica, al centro dell'odierna città, ad oriente della Piazza Regina Margherita, è rimasto molto poco: scarsi resti strutturali di un edificio sacro del III – II secolo a. C. e tre vaste necropoli in regioni Funtana Noa, Abba Ona – alla periferia della quale era quella di Salineddas andata distrutta – Iuanne Canu, riferibili, per lo più, al IV – II secolo a. C., anche se è da supporre che la parte più antica non sia stata ancora esplorata. Ad una certa irradiazione nell'entroterra farebbero pensare ritrovamenti di tesoretti monetari; certo, questa irradiazione deve essere stata geograficamente limitata se la Gallura e le montagne del Nuorese rimasero chiuse.

L'Olbia romana è meglio nota; essa occupava un'estensione molto più ampia di quella punica, come dimostra la cinta muraria che dalla zona del Cimitero e dalla Via Corridoni correva lungo il mare tanto che il poeta Claudiano, alla fine del IV secolo d. C., parlando della città, ricorda le sue „mura litoranee“[200]. La necropoli di Iuanne Canu, la più recente delle tre, ha indubbie prove di utilizzazione nel I secolo dell'impero; sono, poi, pervenuti resti di un edificio termale del I – II secolo d. C. e due moli delle banchine del porto ora interrati dalla sabbia[201]. Nel suo retroterra sono ampiamente attestati i latifondi e le officine ceramiche appartenenti agli imperatori Claudio (41 – 54) e Nerone (54 – 68) e soprattutto ad Atte, la potente liberta e concubina di quest'ultimo; fu lei a dedicare, molto probabilmente ad Olbia, un tempio a Cerere, la dea della vegetazione e dei campi, protettrice delle messi, del quale una parte di epistilio è finito a Pisa, forse come zavorra di nave, nel Camposanto Monumentale[202].

---

[199] E. PAIS, Intorno alla storia d'Olbia in Sardegna, in: ID., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, pp. 541 sgg.; A. MOMIGLIANO, La lotta per la Sardegna tra Punici, Greci e Romani (anno 1936), ora in: ID., Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico, Roma, 1969, pp. 349 sgg.; M. GRAS, À propos de la « bataille d'Alalia », Latomus, XXXI, 1972, p. 706 e n. 1.

[200] De bello Gildonico I, v. 519.

[201] Per tutti D. PANEDDA, Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1953, e ID., L'agro di Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1954. Vedi, inoltre, G. MAETZKE, Olbia (Sardinia, Sassari), Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 (1962), p. 277, nr. 4229: tombe nei pressi di S. Simplicio; dello stesso autore, Olbia. Sarcofago romano in piombo trovato in Via Torino, Notizie Scavi, 1964, pp. 319 sgg.; Olbia. Titolo funerario cristiano da S. Simplicio, Notizie Scavi, 1966, pp. 353 sg.: prima metà del V secolo. Per il porto di Olbia, G. SCHMIEDT, Antichi porti d'Italia, pp. 256 sgg.

[202] CIL XI,1414 = ILSard. 309 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 575 e 632, nr. A 309). E. PAIS, Intorno alla storia d'Olbia in Sardegna, pp. 557 sgg.; E.

Le fonti letterarie ricordano Olbia in alcuni momenti della storia repubblicana; nel 259, durante la prima guerra punica, il console L. Cornelio Scipione, dopo un attacco contro la Corsica, si sarebbe impadronito della città[203], notizia, questa, che suscita notevoli dubbi ed incertezze; è certo, però, che la conquista, anche se vi fu, non durò a lungo e che essa si ebbe, in modo definitivo, soltanto quando tutta l'isola passò sotto Roma a conclusione di quella guerra. Nel 210, poi, nel corso della seconda punica, una flotta cartaginese di quaranta navi condusse azioni di pirateria nella pianura di Olbia e solo l'intervento dell'esercito romano costrinse l'ammiraglio Amilcare a ritirarsi[204]. Nel 56 il fratello di Cicerone, Q. Tullio, si trattenne ad Olbia come legato di Pompeo per collaborare alle operazioni di vettovagliamento della capitale e della penisola che a quest'ultimo erano state affidate[205]. Infine, nell'autunno del 397 d. C., il corpo di spedizione inviato in Africa per soffocare la rivolta di Gildone, si divise dopo che lo aveva colto una tempesta presso le coste orientali della Sardegna, all'altezza dei Monti Insani, forse i monti fra Dorgali e Baunei: una parte cercò riparo nel porto di Olbia prima di congiungersi, col resto delle forze, nel protetto porto di Carales[206].

Il materiale epigrafico ha bisogno di un cenno a parte. Abbiamo un'iscrizione punica dedicatoria del III secolo a. C. – non sappiamo, quindi, se del periodo punico o di quello romano – nella quale del dedicante, che è detto appartenere al „popolo di Qart – Hadasht", probabilmente Neapolis, come abbiamo visto, si dà una lunga serie di antenati; così, almeno, sembra che si debbano intendere i nomi; essi sono ben sedici e ci porterebbero, quindi, all'VIII secolo, tanto che si è supposto che il capostipite fosse stato il primo a stabilirsi nella colonia di Olbia[207]. La comunità sardo-punica sembrerebbe documentata da un'iscrizione latina di Olbia, la quale ricorda la sua *civitas*; essa è, però, opistografa ed il testo in cui appare la *civitas* è posteriore a quello della faccia opposta, che è del secondo decennio del IV secolo d. C., quando, per lo più, il termine acquista quello più generico di 'cittadinanza', 'popolazione', senza riferimento preciso al suo stato giuridico[208]. Qualcuno

---

GABBA, in: Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa. Le antichità, Pisa, 1977, p. 77, nr. A 35 est.

[203] Vedi l'elogio di L. Cornelio Scipione, ILLRP 310 e l'annotazione ai Fasti Triumphales Capitolini, in: Inscriptiones Italiae XIII,1, pp. 76 sg. Per le contrastanti fonti letterarie, Eutropio II,20,3; Zonara VIII,11; Floro I,18,15 sg.; Frontino, Stratagemata III,9,4 e 10,2; anche Valerio Massimo V,1,2; Silio Italico, Punica VI, vv. 671 sg.; Orosio IV,7,11.

[204] Livio XXVII,6,13 sg.

[205] Cicerone, Ad Q. fratrem II,3,7; 4,7; 6,1 e 2; Pro Scauro XVII,39.

[206] Claudiano, De bello Gildonico I, v. 519. Sulla localizzazione dei Montes Insani, M. GRAS, Les « Montes Insani » de la Sardaigne, in: Mélanges offerts à R. Dion, Parigi, 1974, pp. 349 sgg.

[207] M. G. GUZZO, Iscrizioni. Sardegna, 34, col commento alla l. 1. In altro senso – dedica da parte di un gruppo di famiglie organizzate in corporazione – G. GARBINI, Iscrizioni puniche di Antas, pp. 326 sg.

[208] CIL X,7975 e 7976; per la riserva che è nel testo, vedi M. BONELLO, Nuove proposte di lettura, pp. 195 sgg. Il termine post quem è quello del governo nell'isola di T. Septimius Ianuarius, il 312 – 314 o il 315 – 319.

ha supposto che la città avesse raggiunto una condizione di municipio romano, per quanto sia stata citata a possibile conferma l'iscrizione sepolcrale, trovata ad Olbia, di un militare che appare iscritto alla tribù Palatina. Niente prova, in realtà, che egli fosse un sardo e, per di più, di Olbia, e non un cittadino romano che prestava servizio nell'isola. Da questa iscrizione si ricava che ad Olbia era di stanza una delle coorti ausiliarie – o un suo distaccamento – quella dei Liguri equitata, ossia di fanti e cavalieri, della quale il defunto era un decurione[209].

Così è molto probabile che ad Olbia fosse dislocato un reparto della flotta di Miseno, giacchè nel suo immediato retroterra, a Telti, è stata rinvenuta l'iscrizione funeraria di un anziano marinaio già imbarcato su una nave veloce, una liburna[210]. Di un certo interesse, infine, l'iscrizione che ricorda un liberto imperiale *[proc(urator)?] cal(endarii) Olbies*, rinvenuta dentro l'abitato di Olbia[211]; questi avrebbe tenuto il *calendarium* della città, ossia il registro dei prestiti, come già abbiamo detto a proposito di quello supposto per Tharros. Se si accettano l'integrazione e la soluzione dell'abbreviazione, potrebbe trovare una certa conferma l'ipotesi che la città sia stata un municipio di cittadini romani o una colonia nei quali è, nella maggior parte dei casi, attestato il *calendarium*.

Per concludere, ricorderemo l'importanza di Olbia quale porto d'imbarco di derrate destinate al mercato di Roma; se ne può vedere una prova nel fatto che qui risiedette, per un certo periodo, Q. Tullio Cicerone, come già abbiamo detto; ma anche altri dati possono essere citati: il collegamento, attraverso una rete stradale molto efficiente, di Olbia con le altre città sarde ed il gran numero di miliari rinvenuti nel suo retroterra, soprattutto del III secolo d. C., attestanti frequenti opere di restauro di una strada attraverso la quale doveva svolgersi un continuo, intenso movimento di merci provenienti dall'entroterra[212]. Nei decenni precedenti il 450 Olbia, come la maggior parte delle città costiere sarde, dovette subire gli assalti devastanti dei pirati e, a partire dal 439, dei Vandali. La necropoli di Su Cuguttu, posta entro la cerchia muraria di Olbia, sopra resti di ruderi con un denso strato di cenere, denota l'incendio e la distruzione che la città dovette subire, ormai ristretta al suo tessuto urbano. Si tratta di 450 tombe circa, da riportare alla prima metà del V secolo che si suppone appartenenti a militari morti nel respingere una delle tante incursioni dal mare. Certo, però, non si può escludere un oscuro fatto di guerra che avrebbe visto impegnata la guarnigione di Olbia contro i Sardi del retroterra[213].

---

[209] ILS 2595 = ILSard. 313 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 575, nr. A 313). La supposizione è di E. Pais, Sardegna e Corsica, p. 374 e n. 2.

[210] EE VIII,734.

[211] ILSard. 314 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 575, nr. A 314).

[212] P. Meloni, I miliari sardi e le strade romane in Sardegna, Epigraphica, XV, 1953, pp. 42 sgg.

[213] Per la necropoli di Su Cuguttu D. Panedda, Olbia, pp. 72 sgg. e 93 sg., ove la bibliografia precedente; egli la data tra la fine del IV e gli inizi del V secolo.

XX. *Forum Traiani*

Queste erano le più importanti città romane; esse dimostrano che la regione più intensamente urbanizzata e romanizzata fu quella lungo la costa occidentale, da Carales a Turris Libisonis, come, d'altra parte, suggeriscono evidenti condizioni geografiche e precedenti storici. Il resto dell'isola, e soprattutto le regioni centrali, furono urbanizzate in misura molto modesta. I centri abitati a noi noti ci sono pervenuti sostanzialmente nell'elencazione di Tolomeo[214] e nell''Itinerario Antoniniano'[215]. La loro identificazione resta, così, legata in gran parte, oltre che a scarsi resti archeologici di assai dubbia utilizzazione, alle coordinate date dal primo, ed alle distanze in miglia date dal secondo; infine a qualche riferimento epigrafico. Certo, la maggior parte dei centri dell'interno devono essere sorti per esigenze tipicamente militari, a protezione delle fertili pianure dalle azioni di rapina e di razzia degli indigeni del centro montano, la Barbària. Anzitutto è da ricordare Forum Traiani, Fordongianus, in una posizione di eccezionale importanza, giacchè proteggeva la pianura del basso Tirso assicurando una pacifica vita economica alle città dell'Oristanese, Tharros, Othoca, Neapolis.

Il centro era già noto sin dal periodo punico per le sue acque termali ed è da identificare, sulla base delle sue coordinate geografiche, con le Acque Hypsitane che Tolomeo pone fra i centri dell'interno dell'isola[216], rivelando, per questa parte della sua opera, una fonte non posteriore a Traiano. Una conferma del vecchio nome viene da un'iscrizione, oggi smarrita, rinvenuta fra i ruderi delle antiche terme, ove è stato letto *[– – –]lix Ypsit[– – –]/piscina*, con un probabile riferimento a lavori relativi ad una vasca[217]. Ancora oggi è possibile apprezzare, in località Caddas, i ruderi delle terme con la bocca di emissione delle acque termali e la vasca ove queste si mescolavano con quelle fredde provenienti dal monte Grighini, resti di un porticato che si affaccia sulla piscina per i bagni in comune, forse il calidario. A sud del complesso Termale sono state rinvenute tracce di un centro abitato di età imperiale, il foro, due necropoli, suppellettili, monete[218]. Accanto a queste Acque Hypsitane Tolomeo ricorda le Acque Lesitane, nei pressi dell'abitato di Lesa, che i più sono propensi ad identificare con le terme di Benetutti, anche se le coordinate dell'antico geografo non possono essere citate a conferma[219]. Dapprima centro abitato con condizione giuridica di scarso rilievo, forse un *pagus,* o un *vicus,*

---

[214] III,3,7.

[215] Pp. 11 sg. ed. CUNTZ.

[216] III,3,7; per i resti punici S. M. CECCHINI, Ritrovamenti fenici e punici, p. 46.

[217] ILSard. 194 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 568, nr. A 194).

[218] A. TARAMELLI, Fordongianus. Antiche terme di Forum Trajani, Notizie Scavi, 1903, pp. 469 sgg.

[219] Vedi già A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio in Sardegna, II, pp. 328 sg.; E. PAIS, La „formula provinciae" della Sardegna, p. 603, nr. 26 e ID., Sardegna e Corsica, pp. 380 e n. 1 e 391.

Acque Hypsitane furono elevate da Traiano (98 – 117), come denuncia il nuovo nome di Forum Taiani, alla condizione di *forum*, ossia di centro di raccolta delle popolazioni stanziate tutt'attorno e di mercato fra l'economia cerealicola dei latifondi lungo la pianura del basso Tirso e quella pastorale delle popolazioni delle montagne. L'Itinerario Antoniniano lo ricorda lungo la strada da Tibula a Carales per Hafa, fra le stazioni di Othoca, Santa Giusta e Ad Medias, forse Abbasanta[220].

Questa funzione di luogo d'incontro fra due economie e, quel che più interessa, fra due culture, è ampiamente attestata dalla documentazione epigrafica. Un'iscrizione frammentaria, rinvenuta nei pressi dell'edificio termale romano, posta probabilmente sotto Tiberio, subito dopo il 19, ricorda *[– – –civ]itates Barb[ariae– – –]*, le quali facevano atto di sottomissione all'autorità romana sotto il patrocinio del governatore dell'isola[221]. Questo prova che molte delle popolazioni della Barbària gravitavano sulla zona di Forum Traiani e che qui erano più frequenti i contatti con i Romani. In altre occasioni è documentata la presenza del governatore, a dimostrare con quale vigile attenzione Roma seguì la vita di questo centro: poco dopo il 55, nella dedica di un edificio pubblico[222]; probabilmente fra il I secolo d. C. ed i primi decenni del III, in una dedica alle Ninfe protettrici delle acque termali[223]; infine, forse negli anni fra il II e III secolo, sotto Settimio Severo e Caracalla (198 – 209), ancora in una dedica alle Ninfe[224]. Possiamo inoltre ricordare i titoli onorari venuti alla luce, a Fordongianus, dedicati a Caracalla fra il 211 e il 212 ed a Severo Alessandro (222 – 235); infine sembra essere un miliario l'iscrizione, rinvenuta a non molta distanza, col nome di Magno Massimo (387 – 388)[225].

XXI. Sorabile. Austis. Valentia

Probabilmente sotto Traiano un altro governatore sardo, C. Ulpio Severo, nella stazione di Sorabile, sulla via che attraversando la Sardegna centrale collegava Carales con Olbia, poneva una dedica al dio Silvano, protettore del bosco che si stendeva tutt'attorno, il *nemus Sorabense*[226]. L'iscrizione, frammentaria, è stata rinvenuta nell'abitato di Fonni, durante lavori di fondazione, e questo fatto ci consente di porre il Sorabile dell'Itinerario Antoniniano'[227] nella regione odierna di Sorabile, nei pressi del paese, la quale continua ancora il nome antico. Così, dai contrafforti settentrionali del Gennargentu un presidio romano controllava la sicurezza delle comunicazioni fra il nord ed il sud attraverso il cuore dell'isola, per impervie montagne coperte da boschi impenetrabili, idonei a dare protezione alle popolazioni della Barbària, prima e dopo le loro irruzioni; è per questo che il governatore romano, in uno dei suoi giri ispettivi, aveva sostato a Sorabile ed aveva chiesto alla divinità che proteggesse i suoi uomini dalle insidie dei boschi[228].

---

[220] P. 11 ed. CUNTZ.

[221] ILSard. 188 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 567, nr. A 188).

[222] CIL X,7863; vedi anche 7952.

[223] CIL X,7859.

[224] CIL X,7860; vedi, inoltre, le due dediche sempre alle Ninfe, ILSard. 186 e 187, anch'esse di Fordongianus (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 567, nrr. A 186 e A 187).

[225] ILSard. rispettivamente 189, 190, 191 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 568, nrr. A 189, A 190, A 191 rispettivamente).

[226] A. TARAMELLI, Fonni. Iscrizione votiva a Silvano della foresta Sorrabense, rinvenuta entro l'abitato, Notizie Scavi, 1929, pp. 319 sgg. = ILSard. 221 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 569 e 631, nr. A 221).

Ma tutto il Gennargentu era sostanzialmente circondato da presidi; a nord-ovest era quello nei pressi di Austis, che probabilmente continua un antico *Augustis*[229], non ricordato nè da geografi nè da itinerari; la regione Perda Litterada ci ha restituito un numero di iscrizioni abbastanza cospicuo, le quali attestano la vita della guarnigione; una è quella funeraria di un trombettiere della coorte dei Lusitani[230], altre di civili[231], altre, infine, di bambini morti, alcuni a sette anni, uno a tre, probabilmente per epidemia[232]. Nulla conosciamo della condizione giuridica della piccola guarnigione, giacchè l' 'edile' che si suole citare non è un magistrato, ma un nome di persona: *Aedilus* o *Aedilius*[233].

A sud il Gennargentu era chiuso, verso occidente, da Valentia, il cui interesse nel I secolo d. C. è dimostrato dal fatto che il centro è citato da Plinio – i suoi abitanti sono detti Valentini – nella sua *formula* unico fra quelli dell'interno, uno dei sette che egli ricorda in tutta l'isola[234]. I Valentini sono citati anche da Tolomeo e questo ha autorizzato gli editori a correggere in „Valentia" la Valeria che appare nella sua elencazione delle città non costiere della Sardegna[235]. Il centro romano è localizzato nei pressi di Nuragus, che con la sua chiesetta di S. Maria 'e Alenza e la curatoria medioevale di Parte 'e Alenza, riferita ad una zona molto più ampia, ne ha tramandato il ricordo[236].

---

[227] P. 11 ed. CUNTZ.

[228] A. TARAMELLI, La penetrazione militare e politica romana nel centro della Sardegna, Atti II Congr. Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1930, I, Roma, 1931, pp. 363 sgg.

[229] M. PITTAU, Lingua e civiltà di Sardegna, pp. 35 sgg.; si tratterebbe di un locativo plurale.

[230] CIL X,7884.

[231] CIL X,7887; ILSard. 218 e 220; A. MASTINO, Un'iscrizione funeraria inedita proveniente da Austis (Nuoro), Arch. Storico Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 51 sgg. (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 569 e 631, nrr. A 218 e 220; pp. 589 e 640, nr. B 52).

[232] Rispettivamente CIL X,7885, 7886, ILSard. 219 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 569, nr. A 219); CIL X,7888. Questi dati relativi a morti immature non sono stati rilevati a sufficienza da R. J. ROWLAND, JR., Mortality in Roman Sardinia, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 72, pp. 359 sgg.

[233] CIL X,7884 e 7885; esse non sono state bene intese da E. PAIS, Sardegna e Corsica, p. 329 n. 1. Sull'importanza della guarnigione, G. FIORELLI, Austis, Notizie Scavi, 1887, pp. 336 sg., e, dietro relazione di F. VIVANET, A. TARAMELLI, Austis. Nuovo titolo funerario nella necropoli romana in regione „Perda Litterada", sempre in Notizie Scavi, 1930, pp. 269 sgg.

[234] III,7,85. [235] III,3, 6 e 7.

[236] Per la curatoria medioevale F. C. CASULA, Giudicati e curatorie, in: Atlante della Sardegna, Fascicolo II, Roma, 1980, Commenti, p. 98 e Tavole, nr. 39.

La regione era stata interessata dagli scambi col mondo fenicio-punico sin dal VII secolo a. C.[237], ed anche sotto Roma mantenne il suo carattere di centro commerciale, pur vedendo accresciuto quello di presidio militare. Questo aspetto è confermato dal rinvenimento, a Nuragus, di un'iscrizione funeraria di un militare, appartenente ad una delle coorti ausiliarie di stanza nell'isola, morto in servizio a trentadue anni dopo aver militato per sette[238].

La chiesetta su ricordata ci ha conservato un miliario, ora smarrito, del tempo degli imperatori Valentiniano I e Valente (364 – 366), attestante lavori di restauro compiuti lungo la strada che toccava la città, quella a interesse prevalentemente militare che collegava Carales con Olbia attraversando le regioni centrali dell'isola[239]. Estremamente scarsi sono i resti della città romana; dalla parte della necropoli messa in luce si può ricavare che essa fu utilizzata soprattutto nei secoli I e II d. C. e fino alla metà del III[240]. Il materiale epigrafico, modesto e di poco interesse, non offre alcun dato sulla condizione giuridica del centro; ci attesta, però, attraverso l'onomastica, che la popolazione indigena vi coesisteva, forse in rapporto numerico ad essa favorevole, con quella romana o romanizzata[241]. Da rilevare, ancora, che l'iscrizione di un militare della coorte di Aquitani, morto durante il servizio, è stata rinvenuta in territorio di Bitti[242]; quella di un altro militare di reparto ignoto, nei pressi di Busachi[243] e che un diploma militare dell'88, concesso ad un anonimo appartenente ad una delle due coorti gemine di stanza nell'isola, è venuto alla luce a Sorgono[244], anche se, in questo caso, si tratta di località scelta come residenza al momento del congedo, piuttosto che non della sede di dislocazione del reparto.

XXII. Custodia Rubriensis. Luguido

Per concludere, diremo che un carattere tipicamente militare, come lo stesso nome indica, doveva avere Custodia Rubriensis ricordata dall'Anonimo Ravennate come stazione probabilmente lungo la costa centro-orientale sarda[245]; il ricordo dei Rubrensi di Tolomeo nell'enumerazione dei popoli dell'isola[246] non ci aiuta a localizzare la guarnigione, ma un cippo terminale, rinvenuto nei pressi di Barisardo, ove è menzione di *Rubr(enses ?)* ci porterebbe a collocarla in questa regione, sempre che la soluzione dell'abbreviazione sia, come pare, quella esatta[247]. Carattere altrettanto spiccatamente militare doveva avere Luguido, una stazione che l''Itinerario Antoniniano' pone lungo la strada da Hafa, presso Mores, a Tibula, probabilmente S. Teresa di Gallura[248] e che in base alle distanze viene identificata con le rovine in territorio di Oschiri, nei pressi della chiesa di N. Signora di Castro, una zona che ci ha restituito alcune iscrizioni funerarie due delle quali, venute recentemente alla luce sulle rive del bacino del Coghinas, appartengono a due militari[249].

---

[237] G. Lilliu, Rapporti fra la civiltà nuragica e la civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna, Studi Etruschi, XVIII, 1944, pp. 336 sgg.

[238] CIL X,8323. [239] CIL X,8026.

[240] G. Lilliu, Per la topografia di Biora (Serri. Nuoro), Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 43 sg., e n. 23.

[241] CIL X,7850; 8324; ILSard. 174, 175, 176 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 566, nrr. A 174, A 175, A 176). Per i nomi di persona *Urrus, Barex, Debos,* attestati solo in Sardegna, vedi R. J. Rowland Jr., Onomastic remarks on Roman Sardinia, pp. 99 sgg., ma già E. Pais, Sardegna e Corsica, pp. 235 sg.

[242] ILSard. 222 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 570 e 631, nr. A 222).

[243] EE VIII,724. [244] CIL X,7883 = XVI,34.

[245] V,26. E' probabilmente da preferire la forma *Rubrensis,* dati l'etnico *Rubrenses* di Tolomeo e l'incertezza della tradizione manoscritta dell'Anonimo.

A partire da un secolo fa sono stati identificati resti di età romana, di una cinta muraria, di edifici, di un acquedotto, di tombe, mentre continuano a venire alla luce monete, anfore, urne cinerarie, vasellame, tanto da rendere estremamente desiderabile una scavo sistematico. Questa posizione, da una parte controllava per un buon tratto la strada che da Hafa si dirigeva verso Olbia per una lunga valle incassata in alcuni punti, esposta alle insidie provenienti dalle montagne che la chiudevano; dall'altra parte sbarrava lo sbocco della strada tipicamente militare che aggirava ad occidente il monte Limbara e che aveva come stazione più esposta Gemelle, nei pressi di Luras o, piuttosto, di Tempio. Così, anche le fiere e bellicose popolazioni dei Corsi e dei Bàlari, che avevano le loro sedi nella Gallura e nel Logudoro, erano tenute in una soggezione stretta e continua, per quanto possibile[250].

XXIII. Popolazioni non urbanizzate. L'elenco di Tolomeo

Il pericolo che incombeva sulle posizioni romane in Sardegna per gli attacchi delle popolazioni dell'interno è ben descritto dallo storico e geografo greco Strabone per il tempo di Augusto in un passo che, come diremo, è di poco successivo al 6 d. C.:

---

[246] III,3,6.

[247] ILSard. 184 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 567, nr. A 184). E. PAIS, La „formula provinciae" della Sardegna, p. 591, nrr. 15 e 16 e ID., Sardegna e Corsica, p. 327 e n. 3. [248] P. 11 ed. CUNTZ.

[249] CIL X,7892 ed il commento di TH. MOMMSEN; le due iscrizioni di militari sono state pubblicate da F. PORRÀ – I. DIDU, Due nuove iscrizioni di ausiliari in Sardegna, Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica, Atti, X, 1978 – 79, pp. 141 sgg. (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 625 sgg. e 672, nrr. E 37 e E 38); cfr. anche ILSard. 224 (e G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 570, nr. A 224). Vedi anche A. MASTINO, Ancora un titolo sepolcrale dal castrum di Luguido, in: Nuovo Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1984 (1986), pp. 189 – 199 (cfr. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 645, nr. B 160).

[250] A. LA MARMORA, Viaggio in Sardegna, II, pp. 365 sg.; vedi A. TARAMELLI, Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia. Fogli 181 – 182. Tempio Pausania. Terranova Pausania, Firenze, 1939, pp. 251 sg., nrr. 3 – 3 d, ove altra bibliografia; anche G. MAETZKE, Oschiri (Sardinia, Sassari), Fasti Archeologici, XIV, 1959 (1962), p. 277, nr. 4232.

> „La maggior parte della Sardegna è aspra e non pacificata, pur essendo molte delle sue terre adatte a tutte le colture, specialmente a quelle granarie. Vi sono molti centri abitati, ma solo Carales e Sulci sono importanti. Alla bontà delle terre si contrappone una grave limitazione, perchè l'isola, durante l'estate, è insalubre e soprattutto nelle zone fertili; sono specialmente queste ultime ad essere continuamente attaccate dagli indigeni delle montagne che sono chiamati Diaghesbei e che prima si chiamavano Iolei".

Dopo aver accennato al mito di Iolao in Sardegna, facendolo precedere da un prudente „si dice", Strabone così continua:

> „Sono quattro le tribù delle montagne, i Parati, i Sossinati, i Bàlari e gli Aconiti, i quali vivono nelle caverne e se hanno qualche terra adatta alla semina, non la seminano con cura; anzi, compiono razzie contro le terre degli agricoltori e non solo di quelli dell'isola, ma salpano anche contro quelli del continente, soprattutto i Pisani.
>
> I governatori militari, gli strateghi, che vengono inviati contro di loro, in parte respingono i loro attacchi, in parte non li reprimono, quando non è conveniente mantenere a lungo un corpo di spedizione in regioni malsane. Resta, pertanto, la possibilità di usare contro di loro alcuni stratagemmi; così, dopo aver osservato certe abitudini degli indigeni (si riuniscono, infatti, per celebrare feste che si prolungano per molti giorni dopo le loro razzie), li attaccano in quella circostanza e riescono a fare molti prigionieri"[251].

Il passo è notevolmente colorito e dipinge molto bene quel quadro di insicurezza che dominava l'isola sotto Augusto e che persuase l'imperatore ad inviarvi nel 6 d. C. un contingente di truppe legionarie e ad assumerne direttamente il controllo per mezzo di suoi governatori con poteri tipicamente militari, gli „strateghi" dei quali parla Strabone in questo passo, il cui titolo esatto era quello di *pro legati*[252]. La data del 6 d. C., pertanto, costituisce un termine post quem per il passo di Strabone e, quindi, esso è da ritenersi come non molti altri, una successiva aggiunta, se si segue l'opinione più comune secondo la quale la sua opera geografica sarebbe stata sostanzialmente ultimata nel 7 a. C.

Resta da affrontare un argomento di grande interesse per la geografia storica della Sardegna romana: quello delle *civitates* che non avevano un'organizzazione urbana, ma erano strutturate su basi tribali, forse nell'ambito di una rudimentale organizzazione amministrativa, le più importanti delle quali dovevano essere quelle della Barbària, ossia della zona centrale montuosa scarsamente romanizzata. Quali erano queste popolazioni e dove erano stanziate? La risposta al quesito è estremamente dubbia e per darne una che ambisca ad un buon grado di sicurezza occorrerebbe un'approfondita indagine analitica che prendesse in esame dati di antichi geografi, elementi offerti dall'archeologia, indagini linguistiche su toponimi moderni che eventualmente continuino quelli delle antiche *civitates*. Ancora lo stato della ricerca scientifica, per altro notevolmente interessata all'argomento, non consente conclusioni sicure e, quindi, sicure localizzazioni[253].

---

[251] V,2,123. Pomponio Mela, De Chorographia II,7, ricorda solo gli Iliensi e li dice *antiquissimi populorum.*

[252] Per il passaggio della Sardegna dal senato ad Augusto vedi anche Dione Cassio, LV,28,1 all'anno 6 d. C.; il titolo di *pro legato* appare in EE VIII,742 = ILS 105 del 13/14 d. C.

Abbiamo già visto, all'inizio del capitolo, l'elencazione contenuta nella *formula provinciae* di Plinio nella quale, agli etnici di popolazioni senza organizzazione urbana, Iliensi, Bàlari e Corsi, seguono quelli che prendono il nome da centri abitati[254]. Il passo di Strabone ora citato ricorda, per il tempo di Augusto, gli Iolei, allora chiamati Diaghesbei, i Parati, i Sossinati, i Bàlari, gli Aconiti. All'infuori degli Iolei, da identificare probabilmente con i più noti Iliensi delle fonti classiche, ed i Bàlari, gli altri etnici non sono altrimenti attestati. Molto più ampio, infine, per la prima metà del II secolo d. C., è l'elenco dato da Tolomeo sulla base di un criterio geografico da nord a sud, com'egli afferma esplicitamente, e probabilmente da ovest a est. Nella parte più settentrionale i Tibulati (da collegare con Tibula) ed i Corsi, a sud dei quali i Coracensi; poi i Carensi ed i Cunusitani a sud dei quali i Solcitani (da collegare con Sulci, nella strada lungo la costa orientale fra Viniola e Porticenses) ed i Luquidonensi (con Luguido, nella strada da Tibula a Carales, fra Gemelle e Hafa, oppure con Portus Liguidonis o Luguidonis, nella strada lungo la costa orientale, fra Coclearia e Fanum Carisi); poi gli Esaronensi, a sud dei quali i Cornensi, forse Pelliti (con Cornus); poi i Rubrensi (con Custodia Rubriensis), a sud dei quali i Celsitani ed i Corpicensi; poi gli Scapitani ed i Siculensi, a sud dei quali i Neapolitani (con Neapolis) ed i Valentini (con Valentia); infine, all'estremità meridionale, i Solcitani (con Sulci) ed i Noritani (con Nora)[255].

Se l'elencazione di Tolomeo, col suo sia pur relativo ordine geografico, offre un certo quadro d'insieme delle popolazioni sarde, i dati offerti dalle iscrizioni, per la maggior parte cippi terminali, sono estremamente frammentari; per la localizzazione delle popolazioni che essi ricordano si può far ricorso al luogo di rinvenimento e, quando è possibile, a qualche riferimento toponomastico. Non solo, ma in molti casi è dubbio se si tratti di veri e propri etnici di *civitates*, cioè di comunità non urbanizzate, oppure, semplicemente, di etnici riferiti a popolazioni agricole che prestavano la loro opera nei latifondi e talvolta prendevano il nome da essi; sotto questa luce possono essere considerati gli *Euthiciani* o *Eutychiani*, i *Giddilitani* o *Ciddilitani*, gli *Uddadhaddar* (?) che sono detti „delle Numisie" – *Numisiarum* – le padrone del latifondo, gli *[---]uthon* (?) ed i *[---]rarri*, anch'essi delle Numisie, tutti noti da cippi di confine rinvenuti nei dintorni di Cuglieri[256]; i *Maltamonenses* ed i *Semilitenses* ricordati in un cippo dell'agro di Sanluri[257]; infine i *Moddol* (?) il cui nome era in un cippo dell'agro di Villasor[258]. Veri e propri etnici di *civitates*, invece, sembrano essere i seguenti: *Nurr(enses ?)* in un cippo rinvenuto nell'agro di Orotelli[259]; *Altic(enses ?)* e *Rubr(enses ?)* nel cippo già citato dei dintorni di Barisardo[260]; *Celes* (?) e *Cusin* (?), anch'essi in un cippo rinvenuto nell'abitato di Fonni[261], per i quali ultimi è stato tentato un avvicinamento, se pure con riserve, rispettivamente con i Celsitani e i Cunusitani che abbiamo visto ricordati da Tolomeo, per quanto in sedi non vicine fra loro. Ancora un cippo, identificato al confine fra i territori di Berchidda e di Monti, ricorda, assieme ai più noti Bàlari, una popolazione che con loro confinava, forse gli *Enea*(?)*[---]*; i loro limiti erano stati sistemati dal governatore romano fra gli anni di poco successivi al 19 d. C. ed il 67[262]. I *Beroni[cen]ses* ricordati accanto alle *univer[sae] tribus* della iscrizione già citata di S. Antioco, non sono altrimenti attestati ma, come abbiamo detto, erano probabilmente stanziati nei pressi di Sulci. E' possibile pensare, allo stato della nostra documentazione, che i legami fossero quelli dell'*adtributio*, poichè il centro cittadino dal quale le comunità „attribuite" dipendevano era sempre un centro di diritto romano, un municipio o una colonia, e noi sappiamo, come abbiamo visto, che Sulci fu un municipio di cittadini romani[263].

---

[253] Sul contributo degli studi di linguistica vedi: B. TERRACINI, Osservazioni sugli strati più antichi della toponomastica sarda (anno 1926), ora in: ID., Pagine e appunti di linguistica storica, Firenze, 1957, pp. 93 sgg.; C. BATTISTI, Ricostruzioni toponomastiche mediterranee, Studi Sardi, II,1, 1936, pp. 5 sgg.; V. BERTOLDI, Sardo-punica, Parola del Passato, II, 1947, pp. 5 sgg.; G. D. SERRA, Etruschi e Latini in Sardegna, in: Mélanges M. K. Michaëlsson, Göteborg, 1952, pp. 407 sgg.; M. L. WAGNER, Die Punier und ihre Sprache in Sardinien, Die Sprache, III, 1954, pp. 27 sgg. e 78 sgg.; A. SANNA, Introduzione agli studi di linguistica sarda, Cagliari, 1957; M. PITTAU, Studi sardi di linguistica e storia, Pisa, 1958; J. HUBSCHMID, Paläosardische Ortsnamen, Atti VII Congr. Int. Sc. Onomastiche. Firenze 1961, vol. II: Toponomastica, parte II, Firenze, 1963, pp. 145 sgg.; M. SZNYCER, Recherches sur les toponymes phéniciens en Méditerranée occidentale, in: La toponymie antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg. 1975, Leida, 1977, pp. 163 sgg.

[254] III,7,85.

[255] III,3,6.

Due diplomi militari sardi, poi, ricordano gli etnici di due congedati: uno *Fifens(is) ex Sard(inia)*, che non è documentato in altro luogo e che è inutile tentare di identificare sulla base della località di rinvenimento del diploma, i

---

[256] I cippi dei dintorni di Cuglieri sono sei: CIL X,7930 (= ILS 5983 = ILLRP 478 e add. II, p. 387) ed EE VIII,732 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 667, nr. C 117), entrambi anche in CIL I^2, 2,2227; ILSard. 233 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, pp. 571 e 631, nr. A 233); CIL X,7931 e 7932; A. Mastino, Cornus, p. 124, nr. 25. Dello stesso vedi anche: La supposta prefettura di Porto Ninfeo (Porto Conte), Boll. Ass. Archivio Storico Sardo Sassari, II, 1976, pp. 187 sgg.

[257] EE VIII,719.

[258] ILSard. 168 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 566, nr. A 168).

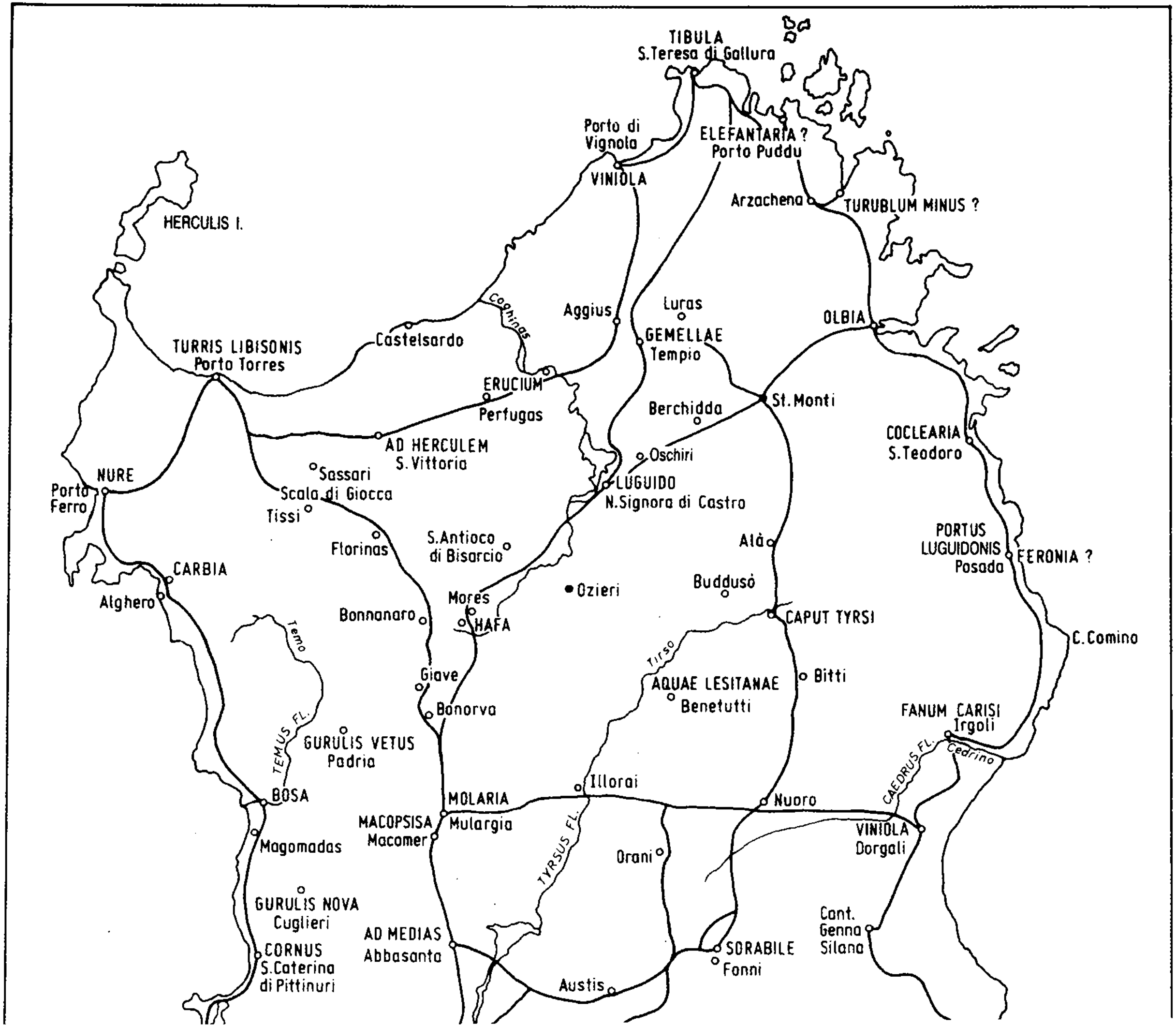
[259] EE VIII,729.

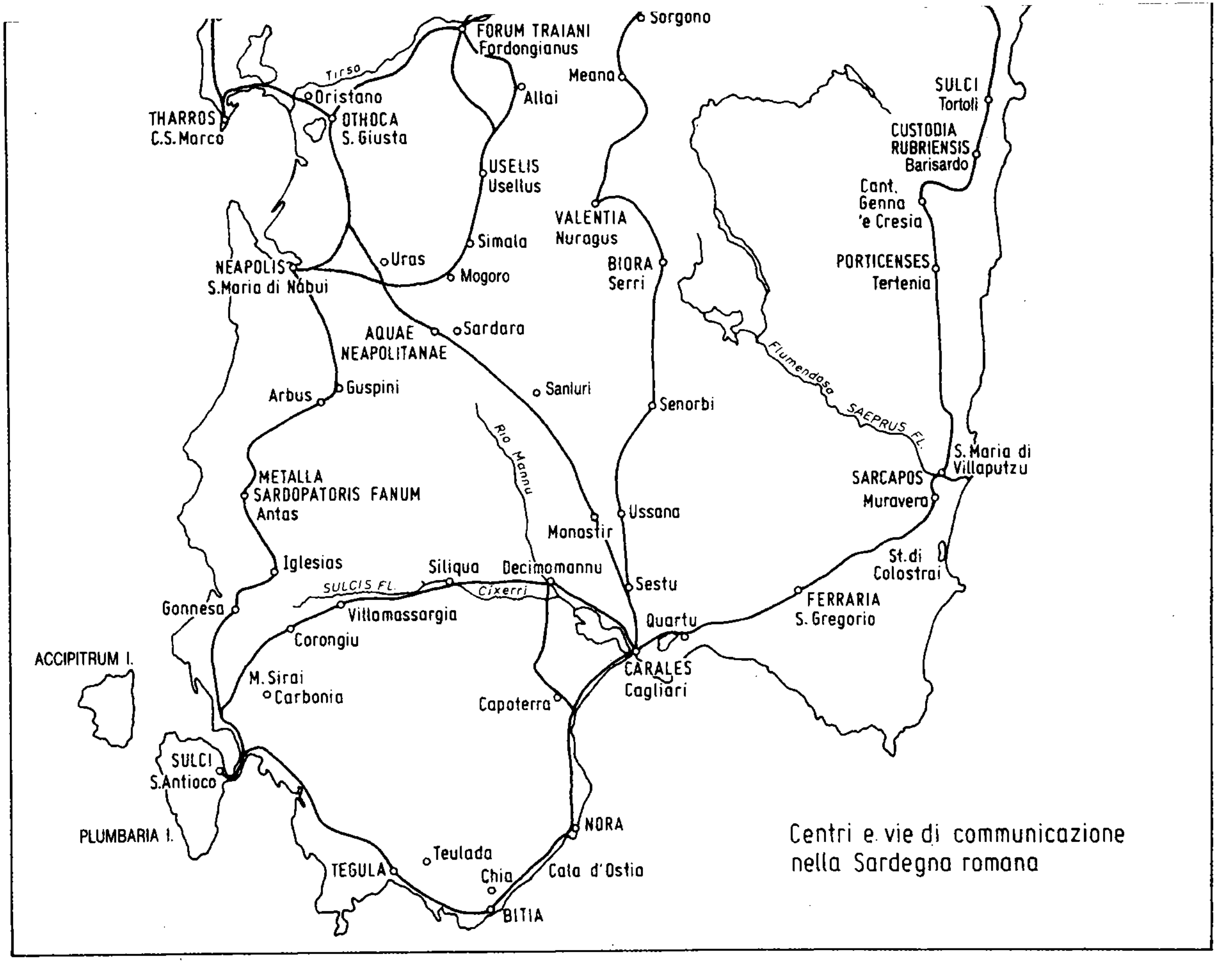
[260] ILSard. 184 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 567, nr. A 184).

[261] CIL X,7889.

[262] P. Meloni, Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta Vth Intern. Congress Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge, 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 241 sgg. = AE 1972, 224.

[263] ILSard. 4 (cfr. G. Sotgiu, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna, infra, p. 555, nr. A 4). Vedi le conclusioni di U. Laffi, Adtributio e contributio, Pisa, 1966, pp. 89 sg.


TIBULA
S.Teresa di Gallura
Porto di Vignola
VINIOLA
ELEFANTARIA ?
Porto Puddu
Arzachena
TURUBLUM MINUS ?
HERCULIS I.
Coghinas
Aggius
Luras
GEMELLAE
Tempio
OLBIA
TURRIS LIBISONIS
Porto Torres
Castelsardo
ERUCIUM
Perfugas
St. Monti
Berchidda
COCLEARIA
S.Teodoro
AD HERCULEM
S. Vittoria
Oschiri
Sassari
LUGUIDO
N.Signora di Castro
NURE
Porto Ferro
Scala di Giocca
Tissi
Florinas
S.Antioco
di Bisarcio
Alà
PORTUS
LUGUIDONIS
Posada
FERONIA ?
CARBIA
Alghero
Ozieri
Buddusò
Mores
HAFA
Bonnanaro
CAPUT TYRSI
C.Comino
Temo
Tirso
Giave
Bitti
AQUAE LESITANAE
Benetutti
Bonorva
FANUM CARISI
Irgoli
TEMUS FL.
GURULIS VETUS
Padria
CAEDRUS FL.
Cedrino
BOSA
Illorai
MOLARIA
Mulargia
Nuoro
MACOPSISA
Macomer
VINIOLA
Dorgali
Magomadas
TYRSUS FL.
Orani
GURULIS NOVA
Cuglieri
Cant.
Genna
Silana
AD MEDIAS
Abbasanta
SORABILE
Fonni
CORNUS
S.Caterina
di Pittinuri
Austis


SULCI
Tortolì
CUSTODIA
RUBRIENSIS
Barisardo
Cant.
Genna
'e Cresia
PORTICENSES
Tertenia
S. Maria di
Villaputzu
SARCAPOS
Muravera
St. di
Colostrai
FERRARIA
S. Gregorio
Flumendosa
SAEPRUS FL.
Sorgono
Meana
VALENTIA
Nuragus
BIORA
Serri
Senorbi
Ussana
Sestu
Quartu
CARALES
Cagliari
FORUM TRAIANI
Fordongianus
Allai
Tirso
Oristano
THARROS
C.S. Marco
OTHOCA
S. Giusta
USELIS
Usellus
Simala
Uras
Mogoro
NEAPOLIS
S. Maria di Nàbui
Sardara
AQUAE
NEAPOLITANAE
Sanluri
Guspini
Arbus
Rio Mannu
METALLA
SARDOPATORIS FANUM
Antas
Monastir
Iglesias
Siliqua
Decimomannu
SULCIS FL.
Cixerri
Gonnesa
Villamassargia
Corongiu
ACCIPITRUM I.
M. Sirai
Carbonia
Capoterra
SULCI
S. Antioco
PLUMBARIA I.
NORA
Teulada
TEGULA
Chia
Cala d'Ostia
BITIA

Centri e vie di communicazione nella Sardegna romana

dintorni di Tortolì[264]; uno *Cares(ius)*, che è stato collegato con Fanum Carisi, lungo la strada della costa orientale fra Portus Liguidonis o Luguidonis e Viniola, nei dintorni di Irgoli, o con la località attestata nel medioevo di Caressus nei pressi di Olbia o, infine, con i Carensi di Tolomeo; il luogo di rinvenimento del diploma è Dorgali[265]. Per concludere, ricorderemo i *Galillenses* ed i *Patulcenses Campani* stanziati a sud del Gerrei, le cui contese di confine sono note dalla tavola di bronzo di Esterzili del 69 d. C.[266]. I primi sono da intendere come una vera e propria popolazione, una *civitas*, i secondi come una popolazione rurale che prendeva il nome dal latifondo nel quale lavorava, quello di membri della gente Patulcia, proveniente dalla Campania; non sappiamo se essi siano da identificare con i *Patulci[enses?]* noti da un'iscrizione proveniente da Cuglieri e che qui era conservata[267].

Bibliografia

Acquaro, E., Una faretrina votiva da Antas, Oriens Antiquus, VIII, 2, 1969, pp. 127 sgg.
- Le monete puniche del Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Roma, 1974.
- Amuleti egiziani ed egittizzanti del Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Roma, 1977.

Addis, O., Il complesso paleocristiano di Cornus, Atti XIII Congr. St. Architettura (Sardegna). Cagliari 1963, Roma, 1966, pp. 181 sgg.

Agus, A. ed altri, Cagliari, „Villa di Tigellio". I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, III, 1980 – 81, pp. 21 sgg.

Alberti, O., La Sardegna nella storia dei concili, Roma, 1964.

Angiolillo, S., Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981.

Astin, A. E., The status of Sardinia in the second century A.D., Latomus, XVIII, 1959, pp. 150 sgg.

Baldacci, O., La Sardegna nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 57, parte II, pp. 142 sgg.

Balil, A., En torno a las relaciones de Cerdeña e Hispania en la epoca romana, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 57, parte II, pp. 130 sgg.

Barreca, F., Notiziario archeologico per la provincia di Cagliari. Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XVI, 1958 – 59, pp. 741 sgg.
- Ricerche puniche in Sardegna, in: Ricerche puniche nel Mediterraneo centrale. Colloquio. Roma 1969, Roma, 1970, pp. 21 sgg.
- La Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., Sassari, 1979.

Barreca, F., ed altri, Monte Sirai, Roma, I, 1964; II, 1965; III, 1966; IV, 1967.
- Ricerche puniche ad Antas. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne di scavi 1967 e 1968, Roma, 1969.

Bartoloni, P., Fortificazioni puniche a Sulci, Oriens Antiquus, X, 1971, pp. 147 sgg.
- Studi sulla ceramica fenicia e punica di Sardegna, Roma, 1983.

---

[264] CIL X,7855 = XVI,79.

[265] CIL X,7890 = XVI,40.

[266] CIL X,7852 = ILS 5947. Per i problemi connessi, M. Bonello, Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di Galillenses e Patulcenses Campani, Studi Sardi, XXV, 1979 – 80, pp. 29 sgg.

[267] CIL X,7933.

– La ceramica fenicia di Bitia, Atti I Congr. Int. Studi Fenici e Punici. Roma 1979, Roma, 1983, pp. 491 sgg.

Bartoloni, P. – Tronchetti, C., La necropoli di Nora, Roma, 1981.

Battisti, C., Ricostruzioni toponomastiche mediterranee, Studi Sardi, II,1, 1936, pp. 5 sgg.

Bellieni, C., La Sardegna e i Sardi nella civiltà del mondo antico, Cagliari, I, 1928; II, 1931.

– La Sardegna e i Sardi nella civiltà dell'alto medioevo, voll. I – II, Cagliari, 1973.

Bellucci, A., I martiri cristiani „damnati ad metalla“ nella Spagna e nella Sardegna. Asprenas, 1958, 1, pp. 25 sgg.; 2, pp. 125 sgg.; 1959, 2, pp. 152 sgg.

Bengtson, H., Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr., Monaco – Berlino, 1962.

Bertoldi, V., Sardo-punica, Parola del Passato, II, 1947, pp. 5 sgg.

Bianchi, U., Sardus Pater, Rend. Accad. Lincei, XVIII, 1963, pp. 97 sgg.

Binaghi, R., La metallurgia in età romana in Sardegna, in: Sardegna Romana, II, Roma, 1939, pp. 39 sgg.

Bisi, A. M., Le stele puniche, Roma, 1967.

– La ceramica punica, Napoli, 1970.

Bissing, F. W. von, Eine ägyptische Triade im Museum von Cagliari, Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache und Altertumskunde, LXIII, 1928, pp. 121 sgg.

Boersma, S., Opgrating op Sardinië het Palazzo di Re Barbaro-complex in Porto Torres, Spiegel Historiael, 1973, pp. 140 sgg.

Bondì, S. F., Le stele di Monte Sirai, Roma, 1972.

– Osservazioni sulle fonti classiche per la colonizzazione della Sardegna, Saggi Fenici, I, 1975, pp. 49 sgg.

Bonello, M., Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di Galillenses e Patulcenses Campani, Studi Sardi, XXV, 1978 – 80, pp. 29 sgg.

– Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, III, 1980 – 81, pp. 179 sgg.

Boninu, A., Torralba, località Code (Sassari), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 98 sgg.

– Turris Libisonis. Porto Torres romana. Storia della ricerca e degli studi, in corso di stampa.

Boninu, A. – Stylow, A. U., Miliari nuovi e vecchi della Sardegna. Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 29 sgg.

Bonu, A., Titolo commemorativo di Tharros, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII, 1952 – 54, parte I, pp. 483 sgg.

Breglia, L., Spunti di politica monetale romana in Sicilia e in Sardegna, Rend. Accad. Napoli, XXIV – XXV, 1949 – 50, pp. 13 sgg.

Broughton, T. R. S., The magistrates of the Roman Republic, New York, I, 1951; II, 1952; Supplemento, 1960.

Brunt, P. A., Italian manpower: 225 B.C. – A.D. 14, Oxford, 1971.

Campus, L., Nuovi miliari della Sardegna, Arch. Classica, XXIX, 1977, pp. 411 sgg.

Cecchelli, C., Tre deportati in Sardegna: Callisto, Ponziano ed Ippolito, in: Sardegna Romana, II, Roma, 1939, pp. 55 sgg.

Cecchini, S. M., I ritrovamenti fenici e punici in Sardegna, Roma, 1969.

Chiera, G., Testimonianze su Nora, Roma, 1978.

Clemente, G., La presunta politica di scambio dei governi provinciali fra imperatore e senato nel I e II secolo, Parola del Passato, XX, 1965, pp. 195 sgg.

Contu, E., Porto Torres (Sassari), Bollettino d'arte, LII, 1967, p. 205 e LIII, 1968, p. 148.

Courtois, Chr., Les Vandales et l'Afrique, Parigi, 1955, pp. 187 sgg.

Cross, F. M., An interpretation of the Nora Stone, Bull. Amer. School Or. Research, CCVIII, 1972, pp. 13 sgg.

De Felice, E., La Sardegna nel Mediterraneo in base alla toponomastica costiera antica, Studi Sardi, XVIII, 1962–63, pp. 73 sgg.

– Le coste della Sardegna. Saggio toponomastico storico-descrittivo, Cagliari, 1964.

A. Degrassi, Duoviri aedilicia potestate, duoviri aediles, aediles duoviri, in: Studi in onore di A. Calderini e R. Paribeni, I, Milano, 1956, pp. 152 sgg., ora in: Id., Scritti vari di antichità, I, Roma, 1962, pp. 179 sgg.

Delehaye, H., Commentarius perpetuus in Martyrologium Hieronymianum, Bruxelles, 1931.

De Ruggiero, E., L'arbitrato pubblico presso i Romani, Boll. Ist. Dir. Romano, V, 1892, pp. 350 sg. e 403 sgg.

De Sanctis, G., Storia dei Romani, 2ª ed., Firenze, III,1, 1967; 2, 1968.

Didu, I., Il supposto invio di coloni romani in Sardegna nell'anno 378/7 a.C., Athenaeum, L, 1972, pp. 310 sgg.

– La cronologia della moneta di M. Azio Balbo, Centro Studi Doc. Italia Romana, Atti, VI, 1974–75, pp. 107 sgg.

– I centri abitati della Sardegna romana nell'Anonimo Ravennate e nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, III, 1980–81, pp. 203 sgg.

Dubuisson, M., Procédés de la diplomatie romaine. L'annexion de la Sardaigne et le sens de συγκαταβαίνειν, Rev. Ét. Lat., XVII, 1979, pp. 114 sgg.

Duncan Jones, R., Equestrian rank in the cities of the African provinces under the Principate: an epigraphic survey, Papers Brit. School Rome, XXXV, 1967, pp. 147 sgg.

Dyson, L. S., Native revolt patterns in the Roman Empire. II: Sardinia and Corsica, in: Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt (ANRW), II, 3, Berlino – New York, 1975, pp. 144 sgg.

Eck, W., Zum Rechtsstatus von Sardinien im 2. Jahrh. n. Chr., Historia, XX, 1971, pp. 510 sgg.

Equini Schneider, E., Catalogo delle sculture romane nel Museo Naz. Sanna di Sassari, Sassari, 1979.

Fantar, M., Les inscriptions, in: Ricerche puniche ad Antas, Roma, 1969, pp. 47 sgg.

Farris, G., Le aree paleocristiane di Cornus, Cagliari, 1976.

Ferrero, E., Iscrizioni classiarie di Cagliari, Atti Accad. Torino, XXI, 1886, pp. 959 sgg.

Ferron, J., La seconde inscription archaïque de Nora: CIS 145, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, LXXII, 1969, pp. 62 sgg.

– Le dieu des inscriptions d'Antas (Sardaigne), Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971–72, pp. 269 sgg.

Figus, A., L'enigma di Lucifero di Cagliari, Cagliari, 1973.

Filia, D., La Sardegna cristiana, I, Sassari, 1909.

Fiorelli, G., Austis, Notizie Scavi, 1887, pp. 336 sg.

Fois, F., I ponti romani in Sardegna, Sassari, 1964.

Forteleoni, L., Le emissioni monetali della Sardegna punica, Sassari, 1961.

– Monete e zecche della Sardegna punica, Quaderni di Numism. dell'Ass. Numism. Sarda V. Dessì., I, Sassari, 1975, pp. 3 sgg.

– Riconiazione romane di monete puniche in Sardegna, Annali Ist. It. Numism., XVIII – XIX, 1971 – 1972, pp. 113 sgg.

Fuchs, W., Archäologische Forschungen und Funde in Sardinien 1949 – 1962, Archäologischer Anzeiger, 1963, coll. 277 sgg.

Gaiffier, B. de, La Passion de S. Gavin, martyr de Sardaigne, Analecta Bollandiana, LXXVIII, 1960, pp. 309 sgg.

Galli, F., Archeologia del territorio: il comune di Ittireddu (Sassari), Sassari, 1983.

Gallo, L., „Neapolis" in Palladio 4, 10, 16, Annali Sc. Norm. Sup. Pisa, IX, 1979, pp. 179 sgg.

Garbini, G., Le iscrizioni puniche di Antas (Sardegna), Annali Ist. Or. Napoli, XIX, 1969, pp. 317 sgg.

GASCOU, J., La politique municipale de l'Empire romain en Afrique proconsulaire de Trajan à Septime Sévère, Roma, 1972.
– La politique municipale de Rome en l'Afrique du Nord, I e II, in: ANRW, X, 2, Berlino – New York, 1982, pp. 136 sgg. e 230 sgg.
GRANT, M., From Imperium to Auctoritas, 2ª ed., Cambridge, 1969, pp. 149 sgg.; 205 sg.
GRAS, M., À propos de la « bataille d'Alalia », Latomus, XXXI, 1972, pp. 698 sgg.
– Les importations du VIᵉ siècle av. J.-C. à Tharros, Mélanges École Fr. Rome, LXXXVI, 1974, pp. 79 sgg.
– Les Montes Insani de la Sardaigne, in: Mélanges offerts à R. Dion, Parigi, 1974, pp. 349 sgg.
– Céramique d'importation étrusque à Bithia, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973 – 74, parte I, pp. 131 sgg.
GROTTANELLI, C., Melqart e Sid tra Egitto, Libia e Sardegna, Riv. Studi Fenici, I, 1973, pp. 153 sgg.
GUARDUCCI, M., Sibari e i Serdaioi, Almanacco Calabrese, 1970 – 71, pp. 45 sgg.
GUZZO AMADASI, M. G., Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in occidente, Roma, 1967.
– Neapolis = Qart-Hadasht in Sardegna, Riv. Studi Orientali, 43, 1968, pp. 19 sgg.
– Note sul dio Sid, in: Ricerche puniche ad Antas, Roma, 1969, pp. 95 sgg.

HUBAUX, J., Sardes, Sardiens et Véiens, Bull. Acad. Belg., XXXIX, 1953, pp. 696 sgg.
HUBSCHMID, J., Paläosardische Ortsnamen, Atti VII Congr. Int. Sc. Onomastiche. Firenze 1961, vol. II: Toponomastica, parte II, Firenze, 1963, pp. 145 sgg.

JASHEMSKI, W. F., The origins and history of the proconsular and the propraetorian imperium to 27 B.C., Chicago, 1950, pp. 119 sgg.
JEHASSE, J. – BOUCHER, J. P., La côte orientale corse et les relations commerciales en Méditerranée, Études Corses, XXI, 1959, pp. 45 sgg.

KOTULA, T., Les principes gentis et les principes civitatis en Afrique romaine, Eos, LV, 1965, pp. 347 sgg.

LA CORTE, G., I Barbaricini di Procopio, Torino, 1901.
LA MARMORA, A., Viaggio in Sardegna (ed. francese, Torino, 1839 – 40), trad. ital., II, Cagliari, 1927.
– Itinerario dell'isola di Sardegna (ed. francese, Torino, 1860), trad. ital., Cagliari, 1868.
LANZONI, F., Le diocesi d'Italia dalle origini al principio del secolo VII (604), II, Roma, 1927, pp. 656 sgg.
LEUZE, O., Die Kämpfe um Sardinien und Korsica im ersten punischen Kriege, Klio, II, 1910, pp. 406 sgg.
LEVI, D., The amphitheater in Cagliari, Amer. Journ. Arch., XLVI, 1942, pp. 1 sgg.
– Le necropoli puniche di Olbia, Studi Sardi, IX, 1949, pp. 5 sgg.
– L'ipogeo di San Salvatore di Cabras in Sardegna, Roma, 1949.
LILLIU, G., Rapporti fra la civiltà nuragica e la civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna, Studi Etruschi, XVIII, 1944, pp. 323 sgg.
– Le stele puniche di Sulcis (Cagliari), Monumenti Antichi Accad. Lincei, XL, 1944, coll. 293 sgg.
– Per la topografia di Biora (Serri. Nuoro), Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 27 sgg.
– Notiziario archeologico (1940 – 1947). Padria, Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, p. 262.
– Carbonia. Scoperta di tombe romane in località Campo Frassoi, Cabud'Aquas, Sa Cresiedda ed altre tracce archeologiche nel Sulcis, Notizie Scavi, 1947, pp. 312 sgg.
– Scoperte e scavi di antichità fattisi in Sardegna durante gli anni 1948 e 1949. Cagliari, Studi Sardi, IX, 1949, pp. 474 sgg.
– Sculture della Sardegna nuragica, Cagliari, 1966.

– L'architettura nuragica, Atti XIII Congr. St. Architettura (Sardegna). Cagliari 1963, Roma, 1966, pp. 17 sgg.
– La civiltà dei Sardi, 2ª ed., Torino, 1967.
– Gravisca (Tarquinia). Scavi nella città etrusca e romana. Campagne 1969 e 1970, Notizie Scavi, 1971, pp. 289 sgg.

LUZZATTO, G. I., In tema di organizzazione municipale della Sardegna, in: Studi in onore di G. Grosso, I, Torino, 1968, pp. 293 sgg.

MAETZKE, G., Scavi e scoperte nelle province di Sassari e Nuoro 1959–61. Porto Torres, Studi Sardi, XVII, 1959–61, pp. 659 sgg.
– Olbia (Sardinia, Sassari), Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 277, nr. 4229.
– Oschiri (Sardinia, Sassari), Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 277, nr. 4232.
– Olbia. Sarcofago romano in piombo trovato in via Torino, Notizie Scavi, 1964, pp. 319 sgg.
– Porto Torres. Necropoli romana in regione Marinella, Notizie Scavi, 1965, pp. 318 sgg.
– Porto Torres. Necropoli romana a lato della via nuova di Balai, Notizie Scavi, 1965, pp. 324 sgg.
– Porto Torres. Tombe romane a camera con arcosolio in località Scoglio Lungo, Notizie Scavi, 1965, pp. 328 sgg.
– Architettura romana in Sardegna, Atti XIII Congr. St. Architettura. Cagliari 1963, Roma, 1966, pp. 155 sgg.
– Olbia. Titolo funerario cristiano da S. Simplicio, Notizie Scavi, 1966, pp. 353 sgg.
– Porto Torres. Tomba paleocristiana con rivestimento in mosaico, Notizie Scavi, 1966, pp. 355 sgg.
– Scavi e scoperte nel campo dell'archeologia cristiana negli ultimi dieci anni in Toscana e in Sardegna, Atti II Congr. Naz. Archeologia Cristiana. Matera 1969, Roma, 1971, pp. 312 sgg.

MALAISE, M., Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie, Leida, 1972.
– Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie, Leida, 1972.
– La diffusion des cultes égyptiens dans les provinces européennes de l'Empire romain, ANRW, II, 17,3, Berlino–New York, 1984, pp. 1615 sgg.

MASTINO, A., La supposta prefettura di Porto Ninfeo (Porto Conte), Boll. Ass. Archivio Storico Sardo Sassari, II, 1976, pp. 187 sgg.
– Un'iscrizione funeraria inedita proveniente da Austis (Nuoro), Arch. St. Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 51 sgg.
– Una nuova iscrizione della necropoli di S. Pietro di Bosa, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975–77, pp. 209 sgg.
– Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979.
– Ancora un titolo sepolcrale dal castrum di Luguido, Nuovo Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1984 (1986), pp. 189–199.

MAZZA, M., Vita pubblica e privata nella Sardegna antica. Le testimonianze epigrafiche fenicie e puniche, Antiqua, III,10, 1978, pp. 7 sgg.

MAZZARINO, S., Su un'iscrizione trionfale di Turris Libisonis, Epigraphica, II, 1940, pp. 292 sgg.

MELONI, P., Gli Iolei ed il mito di Iolao in Sardegna, Studi Sardi, VI, 1945, pp. 43 sgg.
– La cronologia delle campagne di Malco, Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 105 sgg.
– Note su Tigellio, Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 115 sgg.
– Un'iscrizione di Turris Libisonis in onore di Galerio, Studi Sardi, VIII, 1948, pp. 86 sgg.
– Sei anni di lotte di Sardi e Corsi contro i Romani (236–231 a.C.), Studi Sardi, IX, 1949, pp. 121 sgg.
– Turris Libisonis romana alla luce delle iscrizioni, Epigraphica, XI, 1949 [1951], pp. 88 sgg.

– I miliari sardi e le strade romane in Sardegna, Epigraphica, XV, 1953, pp. 20 sgg.
– Un nuovo miliario sardo e le iscrizioni di Magno Massimo, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII, 1952 – 54, parte I, pp. 509 sgg.
– L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958.
– Libisonis Turris, Dizionario Epigrafico, IV, 1958, pp. 947 sgg., sotto voce.
– Un nuovo miliario di Settimio Severo, in: Studi Storici in onore di F. Loddo Canepa, II, Firenze, 1959, pp. 269 sgg.
– Sul valore storico di alcuni riferimenti contenuti nelle Passioni dei martiri sardi, Atti Convegno Studi Religiosi Sardi. Cagliari 1962, Padova, 1963, pp. 53 sgg.
– Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta Vth Intern. Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge, 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 241 sgg.
– La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975.
– La geografia della Sardegna in Tolomeo. I. Le coste. 1. I dati, in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di Studi Classici in onore di E. Manni, V, Roma, 1980, pp. 1533 sgg.
– Stato attuale della ricerca sulla Sardegna romana, in: Atti Convegno di Studio 'Stato attuale della ricerca storica sulla Sardegna'. Cagliari 27 – 28 – 29 maggio 1982, Arch. Storico Sardo, XXXIII, 1982, pp. 73 sgg.
– Un nuovo miliario di Magno Massimo rinvenuto in territorio di Berchidda (Sassari), Nuovo Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1984, in corso di stampa.

Merante, V., Malco e la cronologia cartaginese fino alla battaglia di Imera, Κώκαλος, XIII, 1967, pp. 105 sgg.

Mesnil du Buisson, R. du, Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'Empire romain, Leida, 1970.

Miller, K., Itineraria romana, Stoccarda, 1916, coll. 406 sgg.

Mingazzini, P., Sul tipo architettonico del tempio punico di Cagliari, Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 51, pp. 161 sgg.
– Il santuario punico di Cagliari, Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 51, pp. 165 sgg.
– Quattro marmi del Museo Sanna provenienti da Turris, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII, 1952 – 54, parte I, pp. 495 sgg.

Mistretta, P., Il teatro romano di Nora, Dioniso, 35, 1961, pp. 28 sgg.

Mocci, A., L'antica città di Cornus, Bosa, 1897.

Möhring, H. R., The persecutions of the Jews and the adherents of the Isis cultus at Rome A.D. 19, Novum Testamentum, III, 1959, pp. 293 sgg.

Momigliano, A., La lotta per la Sardegna tra Punici, Greci e Romani (anno 1936), ora in: Id., Quarto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico, Roma, 1969, pp. 349 sgg.

Mommsen, Th., Decret des Proconsuls von Sardinien L. Helvius Agrippa, Hermes, II, 1867, pp. 102 sgg. (= Id., Gesammelte Schriften, V, Berlino, 1908, pp. 325 sgg.).

Moscati, S., La penetrazione fenicia e punica in Sardegna, Memorie Accad. Lincei. XII, 1965 – 66, pp. 215 sgg.
– Africa ipsa parens illa Sardiniae, Riv. Filol., XCV, 1967, pp. 385 sgg.
– Fenici e Cartaginesi in Sardegna, Milano, 1968.
– Il popolo di Bitia, Riv. Studi Orientali, 43, 1968, pp. 1 sgg.
– Tra Cartagine e Roma, Milano, 1971.

Moscati, S. – Uberti, M. L., Le stele puniche di Nora nel Museo Nazionale di Cagliari, Roma, 1970.

Mossa, V., Rilievi e pensieri sul patrimonio monumentale di Porto Torres, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 57, parte I, pp. 373 sgg.

Motzo, B. R., S. Saturno di Cagliari, Arch. St. Sardo, XVI, 1926, pp. 3 sgg.
– Una nuova iscrizione bizantina, in: Id., Studi di Storia e Filologia, I, Cagliari, 1927, pp. 81 sgg.
– La Passione di S. Antioco, in Studi cit., I, pp. 98 sgg.
– La Passione dei ss. Gavino, Proto e Gianuario, in Studi cit., I, pp. 129 sgg.

– La posizione dei Montes Insani della Sardegna, Atti II Congresso Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1930, I, Roma, 1931, pp. 379 sgg.
– Norake e i Fenici, Studi Sardi, I, 1, 1934, pp. 116 sgg.
– La Passione di S. Lussorio o S. Rossore, Studi Sardi, I,1, 1934, pp. 145 sgg.
– Cesare e la Sardegna, in: Sardegna Romana, I, Roma, 1936, pp. 23 sgg.

NICOSIA, A. F., La Sardegna nel mondo classico, in: Ichnussa. La Sardegna dalle origine all'età classica, Milano, 1981, pp. 421 sgg.

PAIS, E., Il popolo dei Barbaricini nella Sardegna, Riv. Filol., VI, 1878, pp. 482 sgg.
– Intorno alla storia d'Olbia in Sardegna, in: ID., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, pp. 541 sgg.
– Due iscrizioni greche trovate in Sardegna, in Ricerche cit., pp. 569 sgg.
– La „formula provinciae" della Sardegna nel I secolo dell'impero secondo Plinio, in Ricerche cit., pp. 579 sgg.
– Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano, Roma, 1923.
PANEDDA, D., Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1953.
– L'agro di Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1954.
PANI ERMINI, L. – MARINONE, M., Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981.
PATRONI, G., Nora colonia fenicia in Sardegna, Monumenti Antichi Accad. Lincei, XIV, 1904, coll. 109 sgg.
PERANTONI SATTA, G., Rinvenimenti in Sardegna di monete della repubblica romana, Ann. Ist. Ital. Numism., V – VI, 1958 – 59, pp. 195 sgg.
PESCE, G., Neapolis, Capo Frasca near Guspini (Sardinia, Cagliari), Fasti Archaeologici, VI, 1951 [1953], pp. 356 sg., nr. 4672.
– Sarcofagi romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1957.
– Sardegna punica, Cagliari, 1961.
– Un dipinto romano in una tomba dell'antica Sulcis, Bollettino d'Arte, XLVII, 1962, pp. 264 sgg.
– Scavi e scoperte puniche nella provincia di Cagliari. Enosis, Oriens Antiquus, II, 1963, p. 142.
– Case romane a „Campo Viale" in Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XIX, 1964 – 65, pp. 329 sgg.
– Le statuette puniche di Bithia, Roma, 1965.
– Tharros, Cagliari, 1966.
– Chia (Cagliari). Scavi nel territorio, Notizie Scavi, 1968, pp. 309 sgg.
– Nora. Guida agli scavi, 2ª ed., Cagliari, 1972.
PFLAUM, H.-G., Les procurateurs équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, Parigi, 1950.
– Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, Parigi, I, 1960; II, 1960; III, 1961. Supplement, 1982.
PIREDDA, M. E., L'approvvigionamento idrico di Cagliari in età punica e romana, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973 – 74, parte I, pp. 149 sgg.
PITTAU, M., La romanizzazione linguistica della Sardegna e del centro montano, in: ID., Questioni di linguistica sarda, Brescia, 1956, pp. 11 sgg.
– Studi sardi di linguistica e storia, Pisa, 1958.
– Lingua e civiltà di Sardegna, Cagliari, 1970.
PORRÀ, F., Su una dedica ad un patronus coloniae in Sardegna, Annali Fac. Magistero Cagliari, VI, 1982, parte I, pp. 83 sgg.
PORRÀ, F. – DIDU, I., Due nuove iscrizioni di ausiliari in Sardegna, Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica, Atti, X, 1978 – 79, pp. 141 sgg.
PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, G., Problemi della storia di Sibari, Almanacco Calabrese, 1969, pp. 48 sgg.

PUXEDDU, C., La romanizzazione, in: Diocesi di Ales-Usellus-Terralba, Cagliari, 1975, pp. 165 sgg.

ROUGÉ, J., Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain, Parigi, 1966.
ROWLAND, R. J. JR., Mortality in Roman Sardinia, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 72, pp. 359 sgg.
– Onomasticon Sardorum Romanorum, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, VIII, 1973, pp. 81 sgg.
– Onomastic remarks on Roman Sardinia, Names, XXI, 1973, pp. 82 sgg.
– Isis in Roman Sardinia: addenda to Malaise's *'Inventaire'*, Class. Philol., LXXI, 1976, pp. 169 sgg.
– Aristo and Mutumbal Ricoce, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, XII, 1977, pp. 286 sg.
– Numismatic and the military history of Roman Sardinia, Akten XI. Intern. Limeskongresses. Székesfehérvár, 1976, Budapest, 1978, pp. 87 sgg.
– Two Sardinian notes, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, XXX, 1978, pp. 166 sgg.
– I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981.

SANNA, A., Introduzione agli studi di linguistica sarda, Cagliari, 1957.
– La romanizzazione del centro montano in Sardegna, Filologia Romanza, IV, 1957, pp. 30 sgg.
ŠAŠEL, J., Pro legato, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 467 sgg.
SBLENDORIO, M. T., La multa imposta a Sulci (Bell. Afr. 98,2), Boll. Studi Latini, VII, 1977, pp. 39 sgg.
SCHMIEDT, C., Antichi porti d'Italia, L'Universo, XLV, 1965, pp. 225 sgg.
SCHMITT, H. H., Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 338 bis 200 v. Chr., Monaco, 1969.
SECHI, M., Nota a un episodio di storia sarda nelle „Puniche" di Silio Italico, Studi Sardi, VII, 1947, pp. 153 sgg.
SERRA, G. D., Etruschi e Latini in Sardegna, in: Mélanges M. K. Michaëlsson, Göteborg, 1952, pp. 407 sgg.
SERRA, P. B., Miliari romani del Basso Impero (Bonorva, loc. Mura Menteda), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 103 sgg.
– Reperti tardoantichi e altomedioevali nella Nurra, Quaderni Soprintendenza Antichità Sassari e Nuoro, Nr. 3, 1976.
SIMONETTI, M., Appunti per una storia dello scisma luciferiano, Atti Convegno Studi Religiosi Sardi. Cagliari 1962, Padova, 1963, pp. 67 sgg.
SMALLWOOD, E. M., Some notes on the Jews under Tiberius, Latomus, XV, 1956, pp. 314 sgg.
SOTGIU, G., Un miliario sardo di L. Domitius Alexander e l'ampiezza della sua rivolta, Arch. St. Sardo, XXIX, 1964, pp. 151 sgg.
– La Sardegna e il patrimonio imperiale nell'alto impero, Epigraphica, XIX, 1957, pp. 25 sgg.
– Sardi nelle legioni e nella flotta romana, Athenaeum, XXXIX, 1961, pp. 78 sgg.
– Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 5 sgg.
– Le iscrizioni latine del tempio del Sardus Pater ad Antas, Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 70, pp. 7 sgg.
– Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta Vth Intern. Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 247 sgg.
– Un miliario di Gallo e Volusiano „riscoperto" a Villanova Truschedu, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 72, pp. 290 sgg.

– Iscrizioni di S. Antioco (Sulci), Annali Fac. Lettere Cagliari, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 97 sgg.
– Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X,7588, in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di Studi Classici in onore di E. Manni, VI, Roma, 1980, pp. 2023 sgg.
– L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il C.I.L. X e l'E.E. VIII, in questo stesso volume (ANRW, II, 11,1), infra, pp. 552 sgg.

SPANO, G., Strade antiche della Sardegna, Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1855, pp. 170 sgg.; II, 1856, pp. 15 sgg.; pp. 42 sgg.
– Antico mosaico della Crucca, Bull. Arch. Sardo, III, 1857, pp. 82 sgg.
– Aquae Neapolitanae, ossia Bagni di Sardara, Bull. Arch. Sardo, V, 1859, pp. 20 sgg.
– Descrizione dell'antica Neapolis, Bull. Arch. Sardo, V, 1859, pp. 129 sgg.
– Antichità di Gelithon presso Sorso, Bull. Arch. Sardo, VI, 1860, pp. 129 sgg.
– Antichità di Muru de Bangius, Bull. Arch. Sardo, IX, 1863, pp. 57 sgg.

STYLOW, A. U., Un titolo sepolcrale di Bitia, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973–74, parte I, pp. 213 sgg.
– Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Strasse Karales Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 515 sgg.

SZNYCER, M., Note sur le dieu Sid et le dieu Horon d'après les nouvelles inscriptions puniques d'Antas (Sardaigne), Karthago, XV, 1969–70, pp. 69 sgg.
– L'assemblée du peuple dans les cités puniques d'après les témoignages épigraphiques, Semitica, XXV, 1975, pp. 47 sgg.
– Recherches sur les toponymes phéniciens en Méditerranée occidentale, in: La toponymie antique. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 1975, Leida, 1977, pp. 163 sgg.

TAMASSIA, N., I Barbaricini, Arch. St. Ital., XXXI, 1903, pp. 432 sgg.

TAMPONI, P., Oristano, Notizie Scavi, 1891, p. 363.

TARAMELLI, A., Fordongianus. Antiche terme di Forum Trajani, Notizie Scavi, 1903, pp. 469 sgg.
– Zeppara. Scoperta di iscrizione di età romana, Notizie Scavi, 1906, pp. 198 sgg.
– S. Antioco. Scavi e scoperte di antichità puniche e romane nell'area dell'antica Sulcis, Notizie Scavi, 1908, pp. 145 sgg.
– Sardara. Scoperta di una necropoli di età romana in regione „Masone Oneddu", Notizie Scavi, 1909, pp. 332 sgg.
– La necropoli punica di Predio Ibba a S. Avendrace (Cagliari), Monumenti Antichi Accad. Lincei, XXI, 1912, coll. 126 sgg.
– Iglesias. Iscrizione greca di età imperiale rinvenuta in regione di Grugua, Notizie Scavi, 1913, pp. 89 sgg.
– Iglesias. Frammento di un nuovo miliario della via romana da Carales a Sulcis rinvenuto in regione Corongiu, Notizie Scavi, 1916, pp. 187 sgg.
– Cuglieri. Ricerche ed esplorazioni nell'antica Cornus, Notizie Scavi, 1918, pp. 285 sgg.
– Cabras. Tavoletta votiva con bassorilievi ed iscrizione egiziana, rinvenuta nell'area dell'antica Tharros, Notizie Scavi, 1919, pp. 135 sgg.
– S. Antioco. Esplorazione delle catacombe sulcitane di Sant'Antioco e di altri ipogei cristiani, Notizie Scavi, 1921, pp. 142 sgg.
– Nuovi acquisti del museo di Cagliari, Bollettino d'Arte, V, 1925–26, pp. 42 sgg.
– Un omaggio delle „civitates Barbariae" ad Augusto, Atti I Congresso Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1928, I, Roma, 1929, pp. 269 sgg.
– Fonni. Iscrizione votiva a Silvano, della foresta Sorrabense, rinvenuta entro l'abitato, Notizie Scavi, 1929, pp. 319 sgg.
– Austis. Nuovo titolo funerario nella necropoli romana in regione „Perda Litterada", Notizie Scavi, 1930, pp. 269 sgg.
– La penetrazione militare e politica romana nel centro della Sardegna, Atti II Congresso Naz. Studi Romani. Roma 1930, I, Roma, 1931, pp. 363 sgg.

- Dorgali. Esplorazioni archeologiche nel territorio del Comune, Notizie Scavi, 1933, pp. 347 sgg.
- Scavi nell'antica Bitia a Chia (Domus de Maria), Bollettino d'Arte, XXVII, 1933, pp. 288 sgg.
- Chi i Romani trovarono in Sardegna?, in Sardegna Romana, II, Roma, 1939, pp. 5 sgg.
- Edizione Archeologica della Carta d'Italia, Firenze, Foglio 216: Capo San Marco, 1929; Foglio 208: Dorgali, 1929; Foglio 194: Ozieri, 1931; Foglio 207: Nuoro, 1931; Foglio 195: Orosei, 1933; Foglio 205: Capo Mannu, 1935; Foglio 206: Macomer, 1935; Fogli 181 – 182: Tempio Pausania. Terranova Pausania, 1939; Foglio 193: Bonorva, 1940.

TERRACINI, B., Osservazioni sugli strati più antichi della toponomastica sarda (anno 1926), ora in: ID., Pagine e appunti di linguistica storica, Firenze, 1957, pp. 93 sgg.

- Gli studi linguistici sulla Sardegna preromana (anno 1936), ora in: ID., Pagine cit., pp. 111 sgg.

TESTINI, P., Il complesso paleocristiano di Cornus (reg. Columbaris) in Sardegna, Actas VIII Congr. Int. Arqueología Cristiana. Barcelona 1969, Barcellona, 1972, pp. 537 sgg.

TETTI, V., Appunti sulle strade romane nella zona di Bonorva (Sassari), Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973 – 74, pp. 191 sgg.

TEUTSCH, L. Gab es „Doppelgemeinden" im römischen Afrika?, Rev. Int. Droits de l'Antiquité, VIII, 1961, pp. 281 sgg.

THÖRNELL, G., Studia Luciferiana, Uppsala, 1934.

THOMASSON, B. E., Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der Provinz Sardinia, Eranos, LXX, 1972, pp. 72 sgg.

TORE, G., Elementi culturali semitici nella Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Atti XXII Riunione Ist. Ital. Preist. Protost. nella Sardegna centro-settentrionale. Sassari 1978, Firenze, 1980, pp. 487 sgg.

TORE, G. – ZUCCA, R., Testimonia antiqua Uticensia, Arch. Storico Sardo, XXXIV, 1983, fasc. I, pp. 11 sgg.

TORELLI, M., Colonizzazioni etrusche e latine di epoca arcaica: un esempio, in: Gli Etruschi e Roma. Incontro di studi in onore di M. Pallottino. Roma 1979, Roma, 1981, pp. 71 sgg.

TRONCHETTI, C., Per la cronologia del tophet di S. Antioco, Riv. Studi Fenici, VII, 1979, pp. 201 sgg.

VARDABASSO, S., L'industria mineraria in Sardegna al tempo della dominazione romana, in: Sardegna Romana, II, Roma, 1939, pp. 17 sgg.

VISMARA, C., Sarda Ceres. Busti fittili di divinità puniche della Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1980.

VIVANET, F., Cagliari, Notizie Scavi, 1886, pp. 104 sgg.

- Sorgono. Di una gemma incisa scoperta nel territorio del Comune, Notizie Scavi, 1894, pp. 220 sg.
- Sardinia. Statuetta di bronzo rappresentante la dea Iside, Notizie Scavi, 1898, p. 128.

WAGNER, M. L., La lingua sarda, Berna, 1951.

- Die Punier und ihre Sprache in Sardinien, Die Sprache, III, 1954, pp. 27 sgg. e 78 sgg.

WALBANK, F. W., A historical commentary on Polybius, Oxford, I, 1957; II, 1967.

WILKES, W. G. ST. J. – MACNAMARA, E., Underwater exploration of the ancient port of Nora, Sardinia, Papers British School Rome, XXXV, 1967, pp. 4 sgg.

WILSON, R. J. A., Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire. Aspects of the archaeological evidence, Atti V Congr. Int. Studi Sicilia Antica. Palermo – Etruria meridionale – Sardegna, 1980, Κώκαλος, XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 81, tomo I, pp. 219 sgg.

ZANCANI MONTUORO, P., Sibariti e Serdei, Rend. Accad. Lincei, vol. XVII, 1962, pp. 1 sgg.

ZEDDA, C., La dottrina trinitaria di Lucifero di Cagliari, Roma, 1950.

ZUCCA, R., I bolli laterizi urbani della Sardegna, Arch. Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 49 sgg.
– Il centro fenicio-punico di Othoca, Riv. Studi Fenici, IX, 1981, pp. 99 sgg.
– Neapolis, Studi Etruschi, XLIX, 1981, pp. 524 sg.
– Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum, Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984, pp. 237 sgg.
– Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bull. Arch. Sardo, I, 1984, in corso di stampa.

L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna dopo il C.I.L. X e l'E. E. VIII*

di GIOVANNA SOTGIU, Cagliari

Sommario

A. Iscrizioni edite e inedite già pubblicate da G. SOTGIU (1961) 553
  - Miliarii 577
  - Instrumentum domesticum 581

B. Iscrizioni venute alla luce e pubblicate dopo il lavoro di G. SOTGIU o comunque non comprese in esso 581
  - Miliarii 599
  - Instrumentum domesticum 603

C. Nuove letture, correzioni e aggiunte che riguardano iscrizioni edite nel C.I.L., X e nell'E. E., VIII 607

D. Pubblicazioni che hanno come base della ricerca le iscrizioni 614

E. Iscrizioni inedite 616

F. Additamenta 629

  A. 629
    - Miliarii 633

  B. 633
    - Miliarii 649
    - Instrumentum domesticum 652

  C. 658

  D. 669

  E. 670

Bibliografia 672

Indici 683
  1. Onomastica (nomi di persona menzionati nelle iscrizioni) 683
  2. Divinità 709
  3. Imperatori 710
  4. Geographica 715
    a) Nomi di luoghi, di popoli ed etnici menzionati nelle iscrizioni 715
    b) Luoghi di rinvenimento delle iscrizioni (limitatamente ai comuni) 716
  5. Notabilia 717

---

* [...] = rimandi aggiunti a cura della redazione.

6. Tavole di conguaglio con le principali raccolte di iscrizioni 732
7. Elenco delle iscrizioni per le quali è dato un additamentum 737
Indice delle illustrazioni 737

„alla dolcissima memoria della mia amata sorella Francesca"

Le iscrizioni della Sardegna furono raccolte sistematicamente per la prima volta nel X volume del 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum' (nrr. 7513–8033), edito nel 1883. Pochi anni dopo, nel 1889, nell'VIII volume dell''Ephemeris Epigraphica' (nrr. 709–798) si dava notizia del nuovo abbondante materiale venuto nel frattempo alla luce. In seguito E. PAIS pubblicava i risultati di una sua campagna epigrafica nell'isola nei Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, III, 1894, pp. 911–940, con il titolo: Prima relazione intorno ai viaggi fatti per la compilazione dei Supplementa Italica al C.I.L.

I rinvenimenti successivi sono compresi nel presente lavoro, che pertanto è così ordinato:

A. Iscrizioni edite e inedite già pubblicate da G. SOTGIU, Iscrizioni Latine della Sardegna (Supplemento al Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, X e all'Ephemeris Epigraphica, VIII) [= IL Sard], I, Padova, 1961. Si conserva la stessa numerazione; si dà il testo completo solamente di alcune epigrafi; si danno talvolta correzioni e nuove letture; per la bibliografia di ciascuna iscrizione si aggiungono i nuovi elementi, non tralasciando però le corrispondenze con L'Année Epigraphique e con le altre principali raccolte. Del II volume, destinato all'Instrumentum domesticum, è uscito il primo fascicolo (Padova, 1968), che comprende soltanto le lucerne. – B. Iscrizioni venute alla luce e pubblicate dopo il lavoro di G. SOTGIU (v. A) o comunque non comprese in esso. Vengono dati completi testo e bibliografia, talvolta anche breve commento, correzioni e note. – C. Nuove letture, correzioni e aggiunte che riguardano iscrizioni edite nel C.I.L., X e nell'E. E., VIII. – D. Pubblicazioni che hanno come base della ricerca le iscrizioni. – E. Iscrizioni inedite. – F. Additamenta. – Indici.

A. Iscrizioni edite e inedite già pubblicate da G. SOTGIU (1961)

SANT'ANTIOCO (*SULCI*)

A 1 – Località Is Narbonis, nell'area dell'antica Sulci: lastra marmorea in frammenti, mancante della parte sinistra. *[Imp(eratori) Caes]ari divi / [Nervae ne]p(oti) divi / [Traiani] f(ilio) Traia/[no Hadrian]o Aug(usto) /*

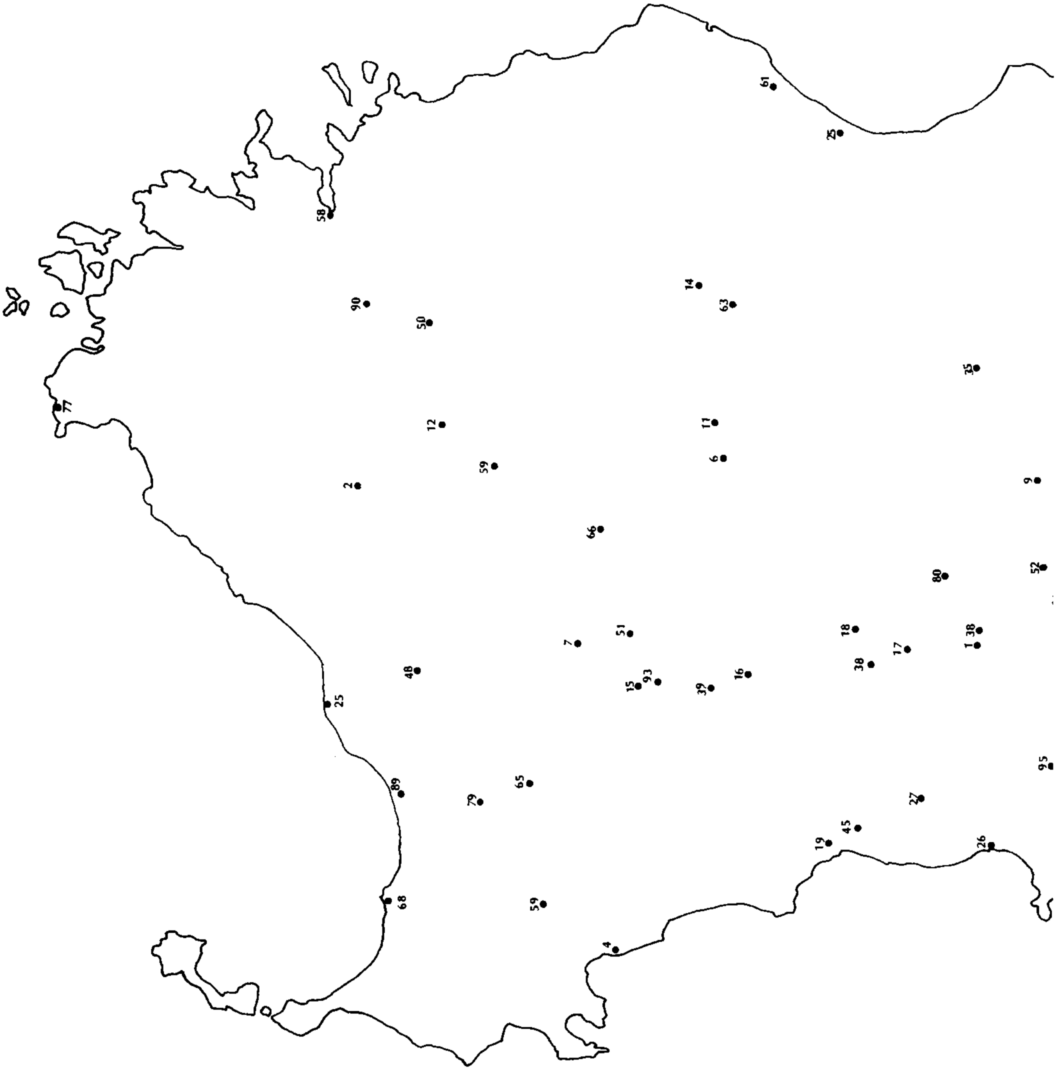
[pont(ifici) ma]x(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) / [II co(n)s(uli)] II, p(atri) p(atriae) / [Sulc]itani.
Data: 118 d. C. per il secondo consolato di Adriano.

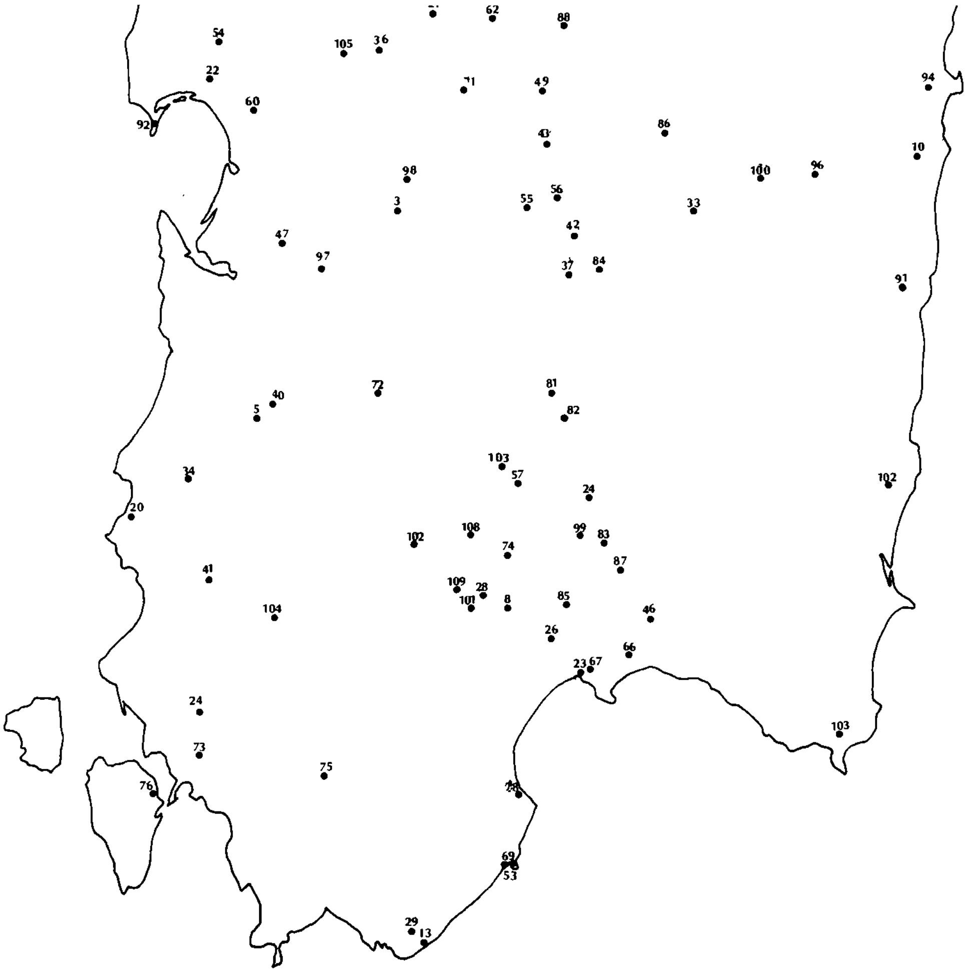
A 2 – Piccolo frammento di lamina in osso, ove tra l'altro è la parola *proco(n)s(ul)*.

A 3 – Grossa lastra marmorea. *Sidon(ii) / C. Caelio C. f. Quir(ina) / Magno / dec(urioni) IIIIvir(o) II iu[re dic(undo)] / flam(ini) Augusto[rum] / pontif(ici) s(acrorum) p(ublicorum faciendorum) p[atrono] / civitat(is) ex d[ec(reto)] / splendidiss(imi) [ord(inis) / ---].*
La parola della l. 1, messa in rilievo entro una tabella ansata, non è in realtà una sigla misteriosa, S·D·C·N·, ma, come è risultato da un recente controllo,

---

1) Abbasanta
2) Aggius
3) Ales
4) Alghero
5) Arbus
6) Anela
7) Ardara
8) Assemini
9) Austis
10) Barisardo
11) Benetutti
12) Berchidda
13) *Bitia* (Chia)
14) Bitti
15) Bonnannaro
16) Bonorva
17) Borore
18) Bortigali
19) Bosa
20) Buggerru
21) Busachi
22) Cabras
23) Cagliari
24) Carbonia
25) Castelsardo
26) *Cornus*
27) Cuglieri
28) Decimomannu
29) Domusdemaria
30) Donori
31) Dorgali
32) Elmas
33) Esterzili
34) Fluminimaggiore
35) Fonni
36) Fordongianus
37) Gergei
38) Ghilarza
39) Giave
40) Guspini
41) Iglesias
42) Isili
43) Laconi
44) Macomer
45) Magomadas
46) Maracalagonis
47) Marrubiu
48) Martis
49) Meana Sardo
50) Monti
51) Mores
52) Neoneli
53) *Nora*
54) Nurachi
55) Nuragus
56) Nurallao
57) Nuraminis
58) Olbia
59) Olmedo
60) Oristano
61) Orosei
62) Ortueri
63) Orune
64) Oschiri
65) Ossi
66) Ozieri
67) Pirri (Ca)
68) Portotorres
69) Pula
70) Quartu Sant'Elena
71) Samugheo
72) San Gavino
73) San Giovanni Suergiu
74) San Sperate
75) Santadi
76) Sant'Antioco
77) Santa Teresa di Gallura
78) Sarrok
79) Sassari
80) Sedilo
81) Selegas
82) Senorbì
83) Serdiana
84) Serri
85) Sestu
86) Seulo
87) Soleminis
88) Sorgono
89) Sorso
90) Telti
91) Tertenia
92) Tharros
93) Torralba
94) Tortolì
95) Tramatza
96) Ulassai
97) Uras
98) Usellus
99) Ussana
100) Ussassai
101) Uta
102) Vallermosa
103) Villagreca
104) Villamassargia
105) Villanova Truschedu
106) Villaputzu
107) Villasimius
108) Villasor
109) Villaspeciosa


61
25
58
14
63
90
50
35
77
12
11
6
59
2
9
66
80
52
18
38
1
51
7
17
38
48
16
93
15
39
25
95
27
89
65
79
45
19
26
68
59
4



62
88
54
105
36
94
22
49
60
92
86
43
10
100
96
98
56
55
3
33
42
47
97
37
84
91
72
81
40
5
82
103
57
34
24
102
20
102
108
99
83
74
87
41
109
28
101
8
85
104
46
26
66
23
67
24
103
73
75
76
69
53
29
13

Fig. 1. Sardegna

una parola, *Sidon( )*, da completare probabilmente in *Sidon(ii)* e da intendere come *signum* del personaggio menzionato successivamente (cfr. R. Cagnat, Cours d'épigraphie latine, Paris, 1914, pp. 56–59; I. Kajanto, Supernomina. A study in Latin epigraphy, Helsinki, 1966, pp. 42 sgg.). E' in preparazione su questo *Sidon(ius)* una mia nota che sarà presto pubblicata in Epigraphica.

A 4 – Grossa lastra in calcare: *[--- / ...]ra[.....]in[...]/mae civitati Nea[poli]/tanorum univer[sae] / tribus et Beroni[cen?]/ses ob merita sua [me-]/ moria per[e]nni [...].*

A 5 – Piccolo frammento marmoreo con la sola parola *Sulci* o *Sulci[tani]*.

A 6 – A. E., 1964, 100. Frammento che ricorda degli *horre[a]* o un *horre[arius]*.

A 7 – Su un piccolo pilastro marmoreo: *Germa/nus*.

A 8 – Iscrizione funeraria di Aemilia Urbana. H. Solin, Analecta Epigraphica. XXXII. Zu Sardischen Inschriften, Arctos, X, 1976, p. 87, alle ll. 5–6 intende *mater filie incomparav(ili) et infelicissime* invece di *mater fili(a)e incomparavit* (sic) *infelicissim(a)e*, sostenendo, sulla base della fotografia, la somiglianza delle *I* con le *E*. Pur essendo propensa ad accettare la sua interpretazione di *incomparav(ili)*, un riesame dell'iscrizione mi porta ad escludere la somiglianza tra le due lettere: le *E* hanno ben chiare le tre sbarrette trasversali.

A 9 – Frammento di iscrizione funeraria posta da Alia.

A 10 – *Antonia L. [f. ---]ulla annic[ula], / L. Antonius L. [f. ---]lus vix(it) an[n(is) ---] / L. Antonius L. l. [---] / sibi et suis fec[it ---] / pater hoc natis i[---] / miser ecce su[m ? ---].*

A 11 – Iscrizione funeraria di Gargilia L. f. Gemella, posta dai figli Pompei Felix, Senecio, Docimus, Quinta.

A 12 – Sull'abaco di una piccola colonna marmorea iscrizione funeraria di C. Iulius Optatus.

A 13 – Iscrizione funeraria di L. Pompeius Marcianus, posta dalla madre Avionia Restituta.

A 14 – Iscrizione funeraria posta da *Pompeius Mustulus Pontian(us)* al fratello P. Pompeius Dativus. Fa ancora parte della collezione Biggio di Sant'Antioco: nel 1961 si credeva che fosse andata perdata durante la seconda guerra mondiale.

A 15 – Piccolo frammento con la parola *C]orneli[---]*.

A 16 – Piccolo frammento con la parola *L. Horten[si ---]*.

A 17 – Frammento di iscrizione funeraria menzionante un *ser(vus)*.

A 18 – Frammento che ricorda un *P. Doceim[---]*, ma v. H. Solin, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 87, che legge *P. Docetiu[s]*.

A 19 – A 21 – Frammenti con poche lettere.

A 22 – Framento marmoreo ancora conservato nella catacomba di Sant'Antioco (Fig. 2).

Misure: alt. cm 17; largh. cm 19; spess. cm 2; alt. lettere cm 7. Probabile iscrizione imperatoria.

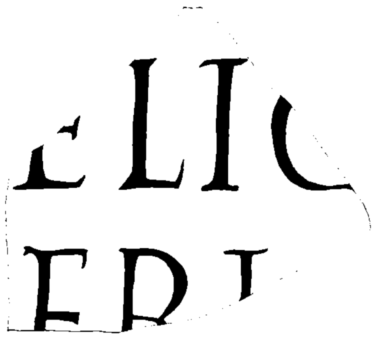


Fig. 2. A 22

A 23 – Sarcofago forse cristiano. Su uno dei lati minori: *Laurentius*.

A 24 – Frammento di iscrizione, ove è menzionato un + *Luci[– – –]*.

A 25 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria di + *Ur[– – –]*. Vi è ricordata la ind. V.

A 26 – A 27 – Tracce di iscrizioni cristiane nella catacomba di Sant'Antioco.

A 28 – A 29 – Diehl, 2348 adn. Resti di iscrizioni cristiane in due frammenti di una stessa transenna o ciborio di arte e di età bizantina. Un terzo frammento, rinvenuto recentemente, è stato pubblicato da R. Serra, La chiesa quadrifida di S. Elia a Nuxis (e diversi altri documenti altomedievali in Sardegna), Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 1970 [1971], p. 43 e nota 31, tav. XXIII, 1: *FESTINA ETERN.*

A 30 – A 32 – Diehl, 2790 a b. Iscrizioni corsive latine dipinte in una catacomba giudaica. Nella prima è dato il nome Beronice.

A 33 – Iscrizione dipinta in rosso sulla fronte dell'arcosolio di una tomba giudaica. Vi è nominato un *Iud(a)*.

SANTADI

A 34 – Iscrizione funeraria posta da M. Scribonius Nicomachus per sè e per la moglie Helpis.

SAN GIOVANNI SUERGIU

A 35 – Grosso blocco di calcare rinvenuto presso il ponte di S. Caterina del Sulcis: *[– – –] Aug(usto) Germanico / [– – –] co(n)s(uli) IIII / [– – –] L. f. Quir(ina) Saturninus / [– – –] dedicavit*, da integrare forse con C.I.L., X, 7515, per cui si avrebbe: *[Ti. Cl]aud(io) Caesar[i] // Aug(usto) Germanico / [– – –] VIII imp(eratori) XV[I] // co(n)s(uli) IIII / [– – –]ocium L. Aemil[ius] // L. f. Quir(ina) Saturninus / [– – –] dedicavit*. La data in questo caso sarebbe l'a. 48 d. C.

FLUMINIMAGGIORE

A 36 – Località Seddaxiu o Seddaxia, presso Antas: frammento.

A 37 – Località Campigeddus: frammento con il nome *[So]phronia* (?).

A 38 – Miniera di Santa Lucia: piccolo frammento.

GUSPINI

A 39 – Frammento d'iscrizione. Nella l. 1 la lettura *L. Quinctioli* deve essere corretta in *L. Quinctio L. l(iberto)* (Cf. anche A. TARAMELLI, Archivio Storico Sardo, XI, 1915, p. 230). E' probabile, ma non certo, che *Antioch[– – –]* della l. successiva sia il *cognomen* di questo liberto. V. invece SOLIN, Analecta Epigraphica. XXIII, p. 87. Vi è nominato anche un *Faust[– – –]*.

SAN GAVINO

A 40 – Blocco marmoreo con il nome di C. Asinius Tucurian[us]. Un riesame dell'iscrizione molto rovinata ha permesso di aggiungere qualche particolare alla lettura proposta in precedenza: la l. 3 dà *procos. Sa[rd.]* e conferma così la perfetta identità del personaggio con quello ricordato in C.I.L., X, 7516 = I.L.S., 5352 (cf. P.I.R.^{2}, I, 1254). Egli sarebbe stato anche *[cos.] des.* e forse nuovamente *[pro]cos.* (l. 7). Data non precisabile, ma compresa in uno dei periodi di amministrazione senatoria per l'isola.

J. H. OLIVER, The descendants of Asinius Pollio, American Journal of Philology, LXVIII, 1947, p. 159, nota 27 = A.E., 1949, 8, pensa ad una possibile identificazione di C. Asinius Tucurianus, che pone nella seconda metà del I sec. d. C., con il benefattore di Coronea in Messenia restituendo il suo nome, Γ. 'Ασίνιος [Τουκουρι]ανός, nell'iscrizione pubblicata da N. VALMIN, Rapport préliminaire de l'expedition en Messénie 1933, Arsberätelse, Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 1934 – 1935, I, pp. 44 – 46.

A 41 – Località Giba Onidi. Iscrizione funeraria di Silvanus Tantilianus posta dalla moglie Felicitas.

SARROK

A 42 – A. E., 1929, 156. Tra le rovine della chiesetta di San Nicola, ora in comune di S. Pietro di Pula: *Dis deabusque / secundum interpreta/tionem oraculi Clari / Apollinis.*

Lo stesso testo si ripete in C.I.L., III, 2880 = I.L.S., 3230 a (Corinium, Dalmazia); VII, 633 = I.L.S., 3230 = R.I.B., 1579 (Borcovicium, vallum Hadriani, Britannia); VIII, 8315 = I.L.S., 3230 b (a sud di Cuicul, Numidia); A.E., 1976, 782 = R. THOUVENOT, Un oracle d'Apollon de Claros à Volubilis, Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine, VIII, 1968 – 1972, pp. 221 – 227 = M. EUZENNAT, Une dédicace volubilitaine à l'Apollon de Claros, Antiquités Africaines, X, 1976, pp. 63 – 68 (Volubilis, Mauretania Tingitana). A queste iscrizioni si può aggiungere il frammento pubblicato da R. THOUVENOT, Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 1946 – 1949, p. 437, nr. 1, rinvenuto nel 1947 a Banasa (Mauretania Tingitana) e così completato da EUZENNAT, cit., p. 64: *[Dis deabusque, secundum interpretationem] oraculi C[larii Apollinis].*

In base alla menzione del dedicante in quella britannica, la *cohors I Tungrorum*, E. BIRLEY, Die cohors I Tungrorum und das Orakel des Klarischen Apollo, Germania, XXIII, 1939, pp. 189 – 190, aveva proposto come data per tutte la fine del II o gl'inizi del III sec., pensando che Settimio Severo od uno della sua famiglia avesse fatto porre la stessa iscrizione in località così lontane tra loro. Ora invece lo stesso autore (Cohors I Tungrorum and the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 511 – 513), dopo aver rifatto la storia del soggiorno della coorte in Britannia e nel Vallum Hadriani, tenendo particolarmente conto del passo di Dione Cassio, LXXVII, 15, 5 – 7, che per l'a. 213 ricorda Caracalla ammalato fisicamente e spiritualmente chiedere aiuto a varie divinità, preferisce pensare a queste iscrizioni come al risultato di una risposta che lo stesso imperatore aveva ricevuto dall'oracolo di Apollo Clario. Il dio avrebbe prescritto che lo si onorasse insieme a tutti gli dei e le dee in tutto l'impero. (Erra THOUVENOT, cit., nell'attribuire a privati l'epigrafe di Volubilis). EUZENNAT, cit. p. 65, esaminate ancora altre testimonianze ed in particolare un'iscrizione di Efeso, crede di poter stabilire come data per l'insieme delle sei epigrafi un periodo che va dall'autunno o inverno del 213 agli inizi del 214 al più tardi; una serie di osservazioni portano ancora questo autore a pensare che il male dell'imperatore che sembra essere stato all'origine delle nostre dediche e le dediche stesse rappresentino, in mancanza di un argomento cronologico determinante, un elemento nuovo nella comprensione della 'Constitutio Antoniniana'. Contro la spiegazione rigorosamente fiscale di Dione Cassio porterebbero la conferma della parte che in una decisione di così grande importanza hanno potuto avere motivi religiosi e del tutto personali.

PULA (*NORA*)

A 43 – A. E., 1964, 99. Iscrizione frammentaria dedicata a Settimio Severo e Caracalla e forse anche a Geta. Data: aa. 198 – 211 d. C.

A 44 – Frammento di iscrizione dedicata a un imperatore, non anteriore al III sec.

A 45 – Base di statua: *Q. Minucio Q. f. Pio IIIIvir(o) / i(ure) d(icundo) tert(ium), flam(ini) Aug(usti) prim(o) dec(urionum) suf(fragio) cre(ato) / flam(ini) Aug(usti) [pe]rpet(uo) prim(o) et apsen(ti) cre(ato) / dec(urionum) decret(o).* E' da notare che alle ll. 2 e 3 invece di *pr(imum)* si è qui letto *prim(o)* considerando la parola non più un avverbio, ma un aggettivo, per cui Q. Minucius Pius deve essere inteso come il primo nel tempo tra i *flam(ines) Aug(usti)* e i *flam(ines) Aug(usti) [pe]rpet(ui)* della città di Nora.

A 46 – *D(is) M(anibus) / (A)elia Cara Marcelli/na sibi sufficie(n)s / vixit annis LX, men/ses VIIII, dies XX, vid/uavit annis VIIII, / me(n)ses XI, dies X Au/relia Victoria / patron(a)e inconp/arabili* (sic).

A 47 – A 48 – Frammenti con poche lettere.

CAGLIARI (*KARALES*)

A 49 – L. VIDMAN, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berolini, 1969, pp. 240 – 241, nr. 519. Frammento di piccolo skhent in steatite verde (Tav. I 1.2): *A. Vitellius / Urbanus d. d. / mag. Augusta. / minister.* Si discute sullo scioglimento delle abbreviazioni di questa iscrizione. A. Vitellius Urbanus è probabilmente un liberto dell'imperatore Vitellio, che con l'iscrizione offre alla divinità rappresentata nella statuetta un dono, per cui le *d. d.* di l. 2, contrariamente a quanto da me già in precedenza affermato, vanno intese preferibilmente *d(ono) d(at)* o *d(edit)* e non *d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).* Il problema maggiore è costituito dalla carica rivestita dal dedicante. Già il PAIS ed ora il VIDMAN intendono *mag(istrorum) Aug(ustalium) minister* mentre io avevo preferito prendere in considerazione quasi una successione di incarichi in ordine discendente, *mag(ister) Aug(ustalis) minister*, soprattutto perchè, almeno finora, per tutto il periodo imperiale non ci è giunta testimonianza di *ministri* che non fossero schiavi: il nostro A. Vitellius Urbanus sarebbe stato pertanto *minister* quando era ancora schiavo e sarebbe diventato *magister* dopo la manomissione. Il ragionamento era forse un po' contorto ed è infatti più facile intendere che egli, benchè liberto, abbia avuto il modestissimo incarico di *minister* dei *magistri Augustales* [per i quali cf. R. DUTHOY, Les *Augustales, ANRW II 16,2, Berlin – New York, 1978, pp. 1287 – 1289]. E' però da sottolineare ancora che il nostro è anche l'unico *minister* di questi *magistri* finora conosciuto.

A 50 – A. E., 1897, 133 = I.L.S., 5350. *Imp(eratori) Caesari div[i Aug(usti)] / Vespasiani f(ilio) Do[mitiano] / Aug(usto), pont(ifici) max(imo) / tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) II, imp(eratori) III, p(atri) p(atriae), [c]o(n)s(uli) / VIIII, des(ignato) X, Sex. Laecanius Labeo pro[c(urator)] / Aug(usti), praef(ectus) provinci[ae] / Sardin(iae) plateas et c[– – –] / itinera municipii C[aralit(anorum)] / sternenda et cloacas / f]aciendas et t[e]g[endas] / p(ecunia) p(ublica) et privata [curavit].*
Data: 1 gennaio – 13 settembre dell'83 d. C.

A 51 – A. E., 1910, 33. Lastra opistografa (v. B 43). *Hor[rea ---] / Imp(eratoris) Caesar[is divi Severi (?) f(ili)] / M. Aureli A[ntonini p(ii) felicis) Aug(usti)], / L. Ceion[ius ---] / Alienu[s v(ir) e(gregius), proc(urator) Aug(usti)] praef(ectus) [prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)] / a solo [restituit ?].*

Se le integrazioni proposte sono esatte, la data può essere compresa tra gli aa. 212 – 217, sotto Caracalla. E' però anche possibile che l'imperatore ricordato sia Elagabalo (aa. 218 – 222): per un'altra sua iscrizione in Sardegna v. B 91.

A 52 – A. E., 1951, 203. Blocco di calcare, appartenuto probabilmente con altri due laterali alla base di una statua, non posteriore ad Antonino Pio: *[---] Ti. fil(io) Quir(ina) I[--- / ---] Italicae trib(uno) mil(itum) le[g(ionis) --- / ---] quaestor[i --- / ---] praetori, pr[--- / ---] Karalitanor[um --- / --- pe]cunia publi[ca ---].*

A 53 – Frammento di lastra opistografa (v. A 111): poche lettere di un'iscrizione monumentale.

A 54 – Frammento di iscrizione monumentale con il nome di *P. Aelius Per[---]* forse da identificare con P. Aelius P. f. Papiria Peregrinus (STEIN, P.I.R., I^2, nr. 231).

A 55 – A. E., 1951, 204. Base di statua: *Benniae [---]ca / Flavia [.....]a / Neriti O[....]e / cum L. Bennio L. f. Quir(ina) Felice / Miniciano XVvir(o) [s(acris) f(aciundis)] / nepote.*

A 56 – Parte di cippo funerario in calcare con menzione della tribù *Col(lina).*

A 57 – A. E., 1929, 167. Il recente riordinamento di una parte del museo di Cagliari ha riportata alla luce il cippo che sembrava scomparso (Tav. II 1). E' stato così possibile controllarne e completarne le misure e darne una nuova esatta lettura.

Misure: alt. totale cm 103; alt. della parte superiore centinata cm 12, della base cm 18; largh. super. cm 50, al centro cm 43,5, alla base cm 51; spessore rispettivamente cm 44, 37, 42; campo inscritto alt. cm 45, largh. cm 37; alt. lettere cm 3 – 3,5. *L. Tettius Crescens / domo Roma / vix(it) ann(is)* (spazio non inscritto) / *expeditionib(us) interfui(t) / Daciae bis Armeniae / Parthiae et Iudaeae / se vivo sibi fec(it).*

Le varianti rispetto alla lettura del Taramelli sono:
l. 1: il *nomen* preceduto anche dal *praenomen*, non più *Bettius*, ma *L. Tettius*;
l. 3: lo spazio destinato ad essere occupato dal numero degli anni non presenta nessuna traccia di scrittura;
l. 4: il nesso IB permette di intendere *expeditionib(us)* invece di *expeditio-n(i)b(us)*, mentre manca la T finale della parola successiva, che del resto potrebbe anche essere *interfui* e non *interfui(t)*;
l. 5: dopo *Daciae* l'avverbio *bis* fa chiaro riferimento ad ambedue le spedizioni daciche di Traiano;
l. 7: *se vivo* è seguito da *sibi*.
Data: intorno alla metà del II sec. d. C.

A 58 – Mosaico: *M. Ploti Silisonis f. Rufy*; si tratta forse del nome del proprietario del locale, probabilmente una *fullonica*, sul cui pavimento si legge.

A 59 – Iscrizione funeraria posta da C. Iulius Trophimus alla figlia Antonia Naevia e alla moglie Valeria Salvia.

A 60 – Frammento dell'iscrizione *Apertiae S[---]di* (dat.).

A 61 – L'iscrizione, già edita sulla base di un foglio dell'archivio della Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Cagliari, è stata ritrovata usata nella costruzione della facciata della basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno (Tav. III). I lavori di restauro, eseguiti in seguito ai gravi danni subiti dalla basilica stessa durante la seconda guerra mondiale, hanno nascosto e rovinato una parte del testo visto a suo tempo dall'anonimo lettore. Ora è possibile stabilire il tipo del monumento, dare le misure della parte ancora visibile, correggerne per questa parte la lettura. Si tratta di un cippo in calcare, di forma parallelepipeda; un semplice solco divide la parte anteriore in riquadri.

Misure: alt. (quasi certamente quella originale) cm 44; largh. visibile cm 44 (largh. dell'unico scomparto completo cm 27); spess. cm 53. Alt. lettere cm 3 – 3,5.

Il testo di a (primo scomparto) va completato e modificato nelle ll. 2, 4, 6, 7: *D(is) M(anibus) / [Ca]eciliae Ap/olloniae / vixit ann(is) LXXVIII / Caecilia Ty/che lib(erta) patro/nae b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

Il testo di b (secondo scomparto, visibile nella metà s.) è quasi completamente scomparso; si leggono soltanto le lettere *VIX AN.* Il terzo scomparto è nascosto del tutto. Mancano così il nome della defunta, *Caecilia A[....]sse*, e quello ancora di Caecilia Tyche, che dedica alla patrona.

A 62 – Iscrizione funeraria di Ti. Claudius Agathangelus posta dalla *patrona Musa.*

A 63 – Cippo funerario di Ti. Claudius Marcellus posto dalla moglie Claudia Sameramis.

A 64 – Cippo funerario di Faustina posto dal marito C. Probus.

A. 65 – Iscrizione funeraria di Gabinia posta dal marito C. Gabinius Felix.

A 66 – Cippo funerario dell'*alumnus Gelasinus* posto da Damophilus.

A 67 – Cippo a forma di botte con doppia iscrizione funeraria: a) ad Herennia Procula dalla madre Valeria Secunda; b) a Vaterius Luciferus da Secunda.

A 68 – Cippo funerario di *L. Pompeius C. libertlus* (sic) *Optimus.*

A 69 – Cippo funerario di *Primitibus Pompei servus.*

A 70 – Cippo funerario posto dal marito Victor alla moglie Olympias. La lettura di quest'ultimo nome, già inteso dubitativamente *[So]emihas*, è certa (Tav. II 2).

A 71 – Cippo funerario posto da Fusca a Vera Cassia.

A 72 – Le indicazioni, per quanto vaghe, date dal foglio dell'archivio della Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Cagliari, foglio che aveva permesso la pubblicazione dell'iscrizione, consentono, mi pare, di identificarla con quella che appare sulla parte inferiore di un grosso cippo funerario del giardino posteriore della basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno. E' rimasta la base del cippo al completo e solamente una piccola parte del tronco con le due ll. di scrittura già lette in maniera non esatta.

Misure: alt. totale residua cm 56; alt. base cm 29; largh. base cm 70, tronco cm 63; spessore base cm 68, tronco cm 64. Altezza lettere l. 1 cm 3,5; l. 2 cm 4. *[---] / Carsioni (?) patron(o) / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

A 73 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria ove compare un riferimento alla *Sardin[ia].*

A 74 – Frammento: *Apronio Iuli[---].*

A 75 – Frammento: vi si legge il nome Iulius.

A 76 – Frammento.

A 77 – Iscrizione funeraria di Ulpia Matrona posta dal marito Hilarus.

A 78 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria: vi è il nome *Stab[---].*

A 79 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria: vi è menzionato un Gaius.

A 80 – Doppia iscrizione funeraria, in cui è menzionato un C. *M[---] Felix.*

A 81 – A 88 – Frammenti.

A 89 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria. Vi è forse nominato un *Capri[us].*

A 90 – Frammento: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [Ama?]bilis.*

A 91 – Frammento.

A 92 – Frammento: *D(is) [M(anibus) / F]lamin[ius* vel *ia ---].*

A 93 – A. E., 1924, 122 = DIEHL, 2450. Pilastrino in calcare: *[I]n n(omine) d(omini) D(e)i / n(ostr)i Ih(es)u XP(is)ti im(munes?) / salinarum / pertinent[es].* Data: VI secolo d. C.

A 94 – Frammento con la parola *episc(opus).*

A 95 – A 96 – Lastra opistografa. Nella prima parte iscrizione funeraria di *Iomisus clericus.*

Nel lato opposto le iscrizioni sono due: a) *B(onae) m(emoriae) Ionisus clericus qu/i vixit annis XLV dep/ositus VX* (sic) *k(a)l(endas) No(vem)b(r)e(s)*; b) *B(onae) m(emoriae) Dulcitia qui vixit / annis LXX deposita ter(tium) idus Febr(uari)as / cesquet* (sic) *in pace.*

A 97 – Frammento funerario cristiano.

A 98 – Iscrizione funeraria di Aelia Bonavia posta all'*alumna* da Aelia Nerfis (= Nereis ?).

A 99 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria posta da un *A]ntonius.*

A 100 – Diehl, 753 = Carm. Lat. Epigr., 1599. Iscrizione funeraria di Arrius Callistus posta dalle due Arriae, Chia e Crispinilla sue *patronae.*

A 101 – Iscrizione funeraria cristiana in cui sono menzionati un Celius e un *Fort?]unatus.*

A 102 – *Puero innocenti E/ytychio filio dulcissi/mo pater Eutychian/us mater Felicissima / contra votum fecer/unt qui bixit ann(os) / XXI me(n)ses VI, dies XIIII.*

A 103 – Diehl, 3061 C. Iscrizione funeraria di + Faustina; vi è menzionata la *in(dictio) XIIII.*

A 104 – Frammento d'iscrizione funeraria ove è menzionato un *Q. Flav[ius ---]tus.*

A 105 – Diehl, 4641 adn. Iscrizione cristiana frammentaria, che menziona un Herennius. Nella l. 1 è il chrismon.

A 106 – Iscrizione funeraria di Hilarinus posta dalla moglie Salvia Prima.

A 107 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 108). *Bonae (me)moriae homi/ni bono Ireneo rari / exempli, qui vixit annis / XLVI m(ensibus) VIII d(iebus) XVIII, h(oris) V. Per/petua marito incompa/rabili et Ireneus pa/tri contra votum fe/cerunt.*

Il testo di questa iscrizione e di quella successiva è riportato senza variazioni da L. Pani Ermini, Note su alcuni cubiculi dell'antico cimitero cristiano di Bonaria in Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XX, 1966–1967 [1968], p. 156 nota 8.

A 108 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 107). *B(onae) m(emoriae) homo bonus innox / et incomparabilis Munatius / Ireneus vixit in XP(isto) annis / XXXXVI, m(ensibus) VIII, d(iebus) XVIII, hor(is) V. / Perpetue uxor coniuge virgino / dulcissimo item Ireneus / qua et patri carissimo con(tra) / votum su(u)m fecerunt.*

A 109 – A 110 – Iscrizioni dipinte in un cubicolo cristiano.

A 111 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 53). Iscrizione funeraria di + Iohannacius; vi è menzionata la *ind. prima.*

A 112 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 114). Iscrizione funeraria di + Iohannes *ex tribunu*; vi è indicata la *ind. decima.*

A 113 – Su un'unica lastra le tre iscrizioni funerarie di + Laurentius, + Agnes, + Dominica; vi è indicata la *ind. q(uarta)* vel *q(uinta).*

A 114 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 112). Iscrizione funeraria di *Menas notar(ius) subregionarius s(an)c(t)ae Rom(anae) eccl(esiae) et rec(tor)*; *ind. prima.*

A 115 – Iscrizione funeraria di + Merula.

A 116 – Iscrizione funeraria di + Ianuarius.

A 117 – Iscrizione funeraria di + Restituta.

A 118 – Diehl, 4564. Iscrizioni di + Sabastus, + Iuhannes, + Iulia, + Frontosus.

A 119 – C. Gallavotti, Iscrizioni latine di Sardegna, Rivista di Filologia, XCIII, 1965, p. 304, osservando che si tratta di un'iscrizione metrica, dà per conclusa la parte destra e considera l'epitaffio composto di esametro, pentametro, esametro, con mancante il primo emistichio di ogni verso; in prosa sono invece le ultime due ll. Il testo deve essere inteso pertanto: *[--- / ---] quiescit stemmate Taurus / [---] semper ad astra ferent / [---] primum provincia caepit. / Quievit in pace prid[ie / --- pi]etatis exemplum vixit annis [---].*

A 120 – Diehl, 3061 B. Iscrizione di + Thedote; *ind. secund(a).*

A 121 – Frammento funerario; vi è menzionato un *Verati[---].*

A 122 – Diehl, 3061 D. Iscrizioni di + Vitalis e + Musa.

A 123 – Parte dell'iscrizione funeraria di *[---]ubius Pauli[---].* Tra le due lettere dell'*adprecatio* ai Mani è incisa un'ascia.

A 124 – Frammenti con i nomi Memor e Peregrinus.

A 125 – Frammento con il nome + Ianuarius.

A 126 – Frammento con il nome + *[Raeceptu[s]* (?).

A 127 – A 151 – Frammenti di iscrizioni funerarie.

PIRRI

A 152 – Cippo funerario di A. Caspidius Secundus.

A 153 – Cippo funerario di Luciferus ed Aelius Tosuna (?).

A 154 – Parte del cippo funerario di *Sex. Se[...]us.*

A 155 – Frammento.

QUARTU SANT'ELENA

A 156 – A 157 – Frammenti.

MARACALAGONIS

A 158 – A.E., 1928, 117. Lastra opistografa (v. A 160): *[In honorem Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L. Septimi Severi / et Imp(eratoris) C]aes(aris) M. Aur[eli Antonini et] / P. Septimi Getae nob[ilissimi Caesaris] / thermas Rufianas vetustate c[orruptas] / curante M. Domitio Tert[ullo? proc(uratore) Aug(ustorum duorum)].* Il nome di Geta è eraso. Le *thermae Rufianae* dovevano

sorgere certamente nel capoluogo della provincia [ma cf. R. J. ROWLAND JR., The Archaeology of Roman Sardinia: a Selected Typological Inventory, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11, 1), infra pp. 745 e 748].
Data: aa. 198 – 209.

A 159 – Iscrizione funeraria di Iulius Pelagius.

A 160 – A. E., 1928, 117. Lastra opistografa (v. A 158). Iscrizione funeraria di *Iohannes p(res)b(iter) huius aecl(esiae).*

ELMAS

A 161 – Località Santa Caterina. Un esame diretto del monumento permette di completare le notizie già date e di proporne una nuova più esatta lettura. Si tratta di un cippo in calcare bianco, costituito da base, tronco e coronamento, che si conclude con un frontone centinato e pulvini laterali. La parte posteriore non è lavorata.

Misure: alt. totale cm 87; alt. della base cm 23, del tronco cm 34, del coronamento cm 30; largh. base cm 47, tronco cm 39, coronamento cm 44; spessore base cm 33, tronco cm 31, coronamento cm 36,5. Alt. lettere l. 1 cm 3,5; ll. 2 – 5 cm 2,5. Ai lati della l. 1 fogliette d'edera ornamentali.
D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] / L. Amu[r]io Puden/tiano vixit / ann(is) LIII, m(ensibus) III / [he]r[es] p(osuit).
Il *nomen Amu[r]ius* aveva finora fatto dubitare della sua stessa esistenza, soprattutto perchè la testimonianza più sicura era costituita da un fabbricante di *vascula*, C. Amurius, che si preferiva in genere considerare come appartenente alla *gens Camuria*. Un frammento di vaso aretino rinvenuto in territorio di Teanum Apulum con il bollo *L. AMVRI* (cfr. A. RUSSI, Teanum Apulum. Le iscrizioni e la storia del municipio, Roma 1976, p. 134) attesta ora l'esistenza di questa *gens*. Per i *nomina* Amulius e Amunius anch'essi possibili e ugualmente poco noti, cf. W. SCHULZE, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Kl., N.F. 5, 5, Berlin 1904, ristampa anast. ib., 1966, p. 121. Pudentianus, poco diffuso in genere (cfr. KAJANTO, Latin Cognomina, p. 264), è nuovo per la Sardegna.

ASSEMINI

A 162 – Iscrizione funeraria di Emilia (?) posta dal marito Licinius.

A 163 – Località Macchiareddu. Frammento.

DECIMOMANNU

A 164 – Iscrizione funeraria di Fortunata.

A 165 – Iscrizione funeraria di Q. Valerius Gellianus posta dalla madre Sempronia Donata.

A 166 – Frammento d'iscrizione cristiana.

SAN SPERATE

A 167 – Frammento.

VILLASOR

A 168 – Cippo terminale: *Limit(es) fundi / Moddol( ).*

DONORI

A 169 – Iscrizione funeraria di + Purpuria.

NURAMINIS

A 170 – Iscrizione funeraria di Novia Hygia, posta della madre *Vic[to]ria.*

VILLAGRECA

A 171 – Iscrizione illeggibile.

GERGEI

A 172 – Località Prabazzedda. *D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae Marcia/neti inconparab(i)l(is) / speciae omnibus / amabilis, quae non / digna aetate citto / caruit, qu(a)e vix(it) annis / XXVI, m(ensibus) III mar(itus) et paren(tes) / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).*

ISILI

A 173 – Iscrizione funeraria di Fabia Flora e Baleria Flora posta da *Fl(avius) Florus.*

NURAGUS (*VALENTIA*)

A 174 – A. E., 1904, 53. Iscrizione di *Antonia Urri f(ilia).*

A 175 – Iscrizione di *I[. .]us Barecis filius* posta dalla moglie Tilia.

A 176 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Debos Pat.* Sul lato destro dell'urna in pietra è applicata una piccola ascia di metallo.

ALES

A 177 – A. E., 1907, 119. Località Genna Angius presso Zeppara: *Mislius Cora[. . . .] / Benets Celele f[. . .] / Bacoru Sabdaga / Obrisio imp(ensis) suis / f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) Mario et Afini/o co(n)s(ulibus).*
Data: a. 62 d. C., consoli P. Marius Celsus e L. Afinius Gallus.
E' da notare che alla l. 4 tra *OB* e *RISIO* pare esservi un segno d'interpunzione, per cui è stato prevalentemente inteso *ob Risio*: poichè però nell'iscrizione si ha un elenco di nomi è anche possibile che *Obrisio* si debba considerare come uno di essi, soggetto con gli altri del verbo che segue.

NURALLAO

A 178 – Iscrizione funeraria di C. Avidius Speratus posta dal padre C. *Av(i)dius Speratus.*

A 179 – Frammento.

LACONI

A 180 – Iscrizione poco chiara. Forse i nomi di Semerhai e Inivus.

SEULO

A 181 – A. E., 1898, 78. Su lamina di bronzo poi riadoperata per un diploma militare (Tav. IV 1) (v. A 182): *C. Aes[---] / trib. mil. [---] / praef. c[oh. ---].*

A 182 – A. E., 1898, 78 = C.I.L., XVI, 127. Frammento di diploma militare (Tav. IV 1.2) (v. A 181). Da una parte: *A(nte) d(iem) III idus Maias / Severo et Ponpeiano* (sic) *co(n)s(ulibus), / ex gregale / C. Tarcutio Tarsaliae fil(io) / Hospitali Caralis ex Sard(inia). / Descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabula ae(ne)a qu(a)e / fixa est Rom(a)e in muro pos(t) / templ(um) / divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam.* Dall'altra: *L. Pulli Marcionis / L. Publici Luperci / M. Iuni Pii / Ti. Claudi Cassandri / Ti. Claudi Epinici / L. Pulli Benigni / Ti. Iuli Dativi.*
Data: 13 maggio 173 d. C.

MEANA SARDO

A 183 – Località Genna de Domos: *[Vides ? d]uas berpas / [sum ?] tertius qui / lego.*

BARISARDO

A 184 – In una chiesa rurale. Cippo terminale: a) *Altic( )*; b) *Rubr( )*. Da intendere forse *Altic(ienses)* e *Rubr(enses)*: v. i ῾Ρουβρήνσιοι di Ptol. III, 2, 6 e *Custodia Rubriensis* dell'Anon. Ravenn. V, 26.

USSASSAI

A 185 – Frammento.

FORDONGIANUS (*FORUM TRAIANI*)

A 186 – *Nymphis / Aug(ustis) Aescu[l(apio)].*

A 187 – *Nymph(is) salutar(ibus) / [---].*

A 188 – A. E., 1921, 86. *[--- Caesa]ri Aug(usto) p[ont(ifici) max(imo) --- / --- civ]itates Barb[ariae --- / --- prae]f. provincia[e Sard(iniae) ---].*

Data: aa. 8–9 d. C. sotto Augusto, per il quale veniva proposta la XXXI potestà tribunicia (A. TARAMELLI, Notizie degli Scavi, 1920, p. 348); età di Tiberio, però dopo il 19 d. C. (P. MELONI, L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958, pros. 3; ID., La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975, pp. 131, 255) [cf. ID., La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I–III, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11,1), sopra p. 466 e nn. 89,90]; aa. 6–13 d. C. (B. E. THOMASSON, Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der Provinz Sardinia, Eranos, LXX, 1972, pp. 73–75).
Per le *civitates Barbariae* v. C.I.L., XIV, 2954 (Preneste).

A 189 – *[---] Aug. pon[t. / m]ax. trib. po/[t. ---]I cos. III p(atri) / [---] divi Severi / [---].*
Data: aa. 211–213 d. C.

A 190 – *[Imp(eratori)] Cae[s(ari) / M. Aur]elio S[evero / Alexandro p]io [fel. ---].*
Data: aa. 222–235 d. C.

A 191 – F. ZEDDA, Forum Traiani, Cagliari, 1906, p. 42. Località Santa Marras: *D(ominis) n(ostris duobus) / Mag[no] / Maximo / et Fl(avio) Victori / e[..]m[.]pfd/ [---].*
Data: estate 387–28 agosto 388 d. C.

A 192 – Frammento d'iscrizione imperatoria: *---]um pro salute [---.*

A 193 – Altro frammento d'iscrizione imperatoria.

A 194 – Dalle terme: iscrizione incompleta, con chiaro riferimento nella l. 2, *YPSIT[---]*, alle *aquae Ypsitanae*, le Ὑψιτανὰ Ὕδατα di Ptol. III, 3, 7.

A 195 – Località Paules: C. Valerius / Priscianus.

A 196 – Località Su Planu 'e Pischinas. Iscrizioni funerarie di *Bflsa* (o *Belsa* o *Beisa*) *Cariti* e di *Benit[---].*

A 197 – Località Cravianus. Iscrizione funeraria molto consunta.

A 198 – Iscrizione funeraria di *G[er]mana.* Forse, nella parte posteriore, un'ascia.

A 199 – F. ZEDDA, Forum Traiani, Cagliari, 1906, p. 42. Frammento dell'iscrizione di *[---]us Corisc[us*, rinv. presso la chiesa di S. Lussurgiu.

A 200 – Piccolo frammento d'iscrizione imperatoria.

A 201–A 205 – Frammenti.

A 206 – Località Sa Rocchitta. Croce monogrammatica scolpita entro un cerchio su un sasso.

SAMUGHEO

A 207 – Località Santa Maria di Abbasassa. Iscrizione funeraria di *Taretius Faric( ) Corneli.*

A 208 – Stessa località. Iscrizione funeraria di Valerianus Verseius.

A 209 – Stessa località. Iscrizione funeraria di *Tarcuinus Fili f.* (?) *Neroneius* posta da *Lucinius Aur(   ).*

BUSACHI

A 210 – Località Campizeddu. Frammento funerario.

GHILARZA

A 211 – Località Sa Manentia. Frammento funerario.

SEDILO

A 212 – Località Sa Tanca de Su Conte: *Foronto.*

A 213 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Curelus Nercati* (?).

BORORE

A 214 – Località Mura 'e Puttu: *D(is) M(anibus) / Urseli / Nispeni/ni / coniugi / b(ene) m(e)r(enti) / f(ecit).*

MACOMER

A 215 – Iscrizione funeraria di *L. Corne[lius] Felix* posta da *C. Iani[---].*

BORTIGALI

A 216 – Frammento.

ORTUERI

A 217 – Località Trigaccori o Perda Litterada: iscrizione funeraria di Acareltorte.

AUSTIS

A 218 – Iscrizione funeraria di Cornelius Memor posta da M. Fabius Faustus.

A 219 – Iscrizione funeraria di L. Lucretius.

A 220 – Località Sa Perda Litterada. Iscrizione funeraria di *Secunda Secundi l(iberta)* posta dal fratello Iucundus.

FONNI

A 221 – *[Numi]n[i deo] Silvano / [n]emoris Sorabensis / C. Ulpius Severus / proc(urator) Aug(usti) / praef(ectus) prov(inciae) S[ard[iniae)].*

Data piuttosto incerta: sotto Traiano (P. MELONI, L'amministrazione della Sardegna, pros. 16; H.-G. PFLAUM, Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, Paris, 1969, p. 1044); sotto Adriano o forse Antonino Pio (A. E. ASTIN, The Status of Sardinia in the Second Century A. D., Latomus, XVIII, 1959, p. 151).

BITTI

A 222 – A. E., 1920, 96. Località Sa Pattada: *Decumus Cirneti / f(ilius), Cniensis c(o)hort(is) / Aquitanorum / annorum XXXII, stupendiorum XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*. Per una *cohors Aquitanorum* in Sardegna cfr. C.I.L., X, 7596 e soprattutto E 38.

BENETUTTI

A 223 – Frammento.

OZIERI

A 224 – G. MAETZKE, Stele scoperta ad Ozieri, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962), p. 267, nr. 4063, fig. 77. Località Cuzzi o Santu Giuanneddu. Iscrizione funeraria di *Ferentius Miloni f.*

THARROS

A 225 – Iscrizione funeraria di L. Aemilius Pacatus posta dai genitori L. Aemilius Honoratus e Cassia Severa.

A 226 – Iscrizione funeraria di Aristia.

A 227 – Iscrizione funeraria frammentaria di *[V]aleria [---]* posta da *Sossius [---]*.

A 228 – Frammento in cui forse può leggersi il nome della città: *T(h)arr[os]*.

A 229 – BÜCHELER, Carm. Lat. Epigr., II (1), nr. 646. C. GALLAVOTTI, Iscrizioni latine di Sardegna, Rivista di Filologia, XCIII, 1965, pp. 302–303, tenendo conto anche del fatto che il testo è costituito da quattro esametri, propone una nuova lettura, non ricordando però l'*adprecatio D(is) M(anibus)* della l. 1:

> *Hic situs in tumulo Gentius / nomenque Valerius*
> *Anto/niaes subules, vixi bis septe/nos in annis* (sic),
> *et patris ut / nomen ⟨ti⟩tuler Rogatus aetate, /*
> *set genitus brebiter voluit / me tollere fatus.*

Il nome del defunto diventa così Valerius Gentius, anche se, proprio per la quasi identità di I e T nell'iscrizione, osservata dal GALLAVOTTI, non vi è quasi differenza tra il *Gentius* della l. 1 e il *genitus* della l. 7. Seguono altre interessanti osservazioni.

A 230 – Frammento.

A 231 – Frammento ove è ricordato un *[---]us Re[---]*.

TRAMATZA

A 232 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Socara Nercanf* (?).

CUGLIERI

A 233 – A. E., 1894, 153 = I.L.S., 5983 a. Località Sessa, regione Baragiones 'e Busadde: cippo terminale: a) *Terminus / quintus / Uddadhaddar / Numisiarum*; b) *Eutychiani*.
Su vari problemi riguardanti questo ed altri cippi rinvenuti nella stessa zona cfr. ora A. MASTINO, La supposta prefettura di Porto Ninfeo (Porto Conte), Bollettino dell'associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, II, 1976, pp. 187–205.

BOSA

A 234 – Iscrizione funeraria di L. Valerius Tatianus posta da Verrius Proculus e Rutilia Amalia.

GIAVE

A 235 – Iscrizione funeraria di Secunda.

ARDARA

A 236 – Località Scala 'e Rena: Frammento con il nome di *L. Iul[---] eques*.

OSSI

A 237 – G. MAETZKE, Milliario scoperto ad Ossi, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 267, nr. 4048. *Pro salute et / [in]columitate et victo/[ria / d(omini) n(ostri) (I)mp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M. Quin/[till]o felici invicto / [ponti]fici maximo / [tribuniciae po]estatis / [---]*.
Data: a. 270 d. C.

SASSARI

A 238 – Cippo opistografo (v. A 238bis). *[---]rr[--- / pont(ifici)] max(imo) / [tri]b(unicia) potest(ate) II / [co(n)s(uli) proco(n)s(uli) / [---]p [---]d[---]d/p[---]p / [c]urante / [M. Calpur]nio Cae/[li]ano / [proc(uratore) et] praef(ecto) / [prov(inciae) S]ard(iniae) e(gregio) v(iro)*.
Data: aa. 253–257 d. C. per il governatore già noto (v. A 383).

A 238 bis – Cippo opistografo (v. A 238). Sono leggibili solo poche lettere: *[---]o C. f. Ce/[---]no / [---] viro [---]*.

PORTOTORRES (*TURRIS LIBISONIS*)

A 239 – A. E., 1932, 63 = L. VIDMAN, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berolini, 1969, p. 240, nr. 521. Ara votiva: *Cn. Cornelius / Cladus I(sidi) v(otum) s(olvit).*

A 240 – A. E., 1904, 213. Regione Zunchini: frammento in cui è menzionato il *[geni]um villae.*

A 241 – A. E., 1948, 178 = A. E., 1951, 252. Base: *Fortissimo principi / Galerio Valerio Maxi/miano nobilissimo / Caesari Valerius Domi/tianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) praeses prov(inciae) / Sardiniae / dev/otus) n(u)m(ini) eo(ru)m) / referentibus L. Aemil(io) / Rustico et Val(erio) Rutilio / iter(um) IIvir(is) q(uin)q(uennalibus) / d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica).* Data: intorno all'a. 305 d. C.

A 242 – Frammento: *[---] aedil. IIvir. / [--- A]ugustor(um) / [---] q. a. / [---]XVII / [---] fecit.*

A 243 – A. E., 1904, 211. Frammento: *[---]o VIvir(o) A[ug(ustali)] / aed(ili) IIvir(o) vi[xit] / ann(is) XLV / filius piissim[us].*

A 244 – Frammento. Vi è il nome di un *M. A[---] IIvir.*

A 245 – A. E., 1904, 212. Frammento: *[---] ripae Turr[itanae --- / ---]um p(ecunia) s(ua) f(ecit).*

A 246 – Frammento: *[---]mens [--- / ---]ius A. f. Fal(erna) [--- / --- dom ?]o Telesia trib[unus ? --- / --- u]xori optima[e ---].*

A 247 – Iscrizione funeraria incompleta di *Agria V[---].*

A 248 – Frammento con il nome Alassia. SOLIN, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 87, propone *[Th]alassia.*

A 249 – Iscrizione funeraria di *[Q.] Allius Memor* posta dal padre Q. Allius Telesphorus.

A 250 – Iscrizione funeraria posta da *[.] Annius [M]aximus* alla moglie *[---] Lais.*

A 251 – Frammento di iscrizione con i nomi di C. *Apronius* C. *[---], Servilia C. l. Mo[---]* e *C. Apronius C. f. [---] Postumianus.*

A 252 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Ateius Victorini.*

A 253 – A. E., 1966, 170 = G. MAETZKE, Portotorres (Sassari). Iscrizioni funerarie romane, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1964, p. 323, fig. 1. Iscrizione funeraria di C. Calpurnius Felix posta dalla madre Valeria Saturna.

A 254 – Frammento funerario con il nome di un *Claud[ius ---]nus.*

A 255 – Iscrizione funeraria di Clodia Hygia posta dai figli Clodius Asellianus e Clodia Euphrosyne.

A 256 – Iscrizione funeraria di Crysis.

A 257 – Iscrizione di Felicissimus.

A 258 – Diehl, 3913 adn. Iscrizione funeraria di *[---] Felix*, posta dal figlio *[---] Proculus*.

A 259 – Iscrizione funeraria di C. Germanus Valens.

A 260 – Iscrizione funeraria di Heracula posta dalla moglie Saturnina.

A 261 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Irena alumna*.

A 262 – Iscrizione funeraria di Iulius Paratus posta dal fratello Iulius Hermogenes.

A 263 – Iscrizione funeraria di *[Iul?]ia Sa[tur]nina*.

A 264 – Iscrizione funeraria di Licinia Valentina. Solin, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 88, alla l. 5 intende *fil(iae)* invece di *f(i)l(iae)*.

A 265 – Iscrizione funeraria di Luria Privata posta dal marito *Sympho-r(us)*.

A 266 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 267). Iscrizione funeraria di Marcianus.

A 267 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 266). Iscrizione funeraria di *Martialis C(aesaris) n(ostri) ser(vus)* posta dalla moglie Veneria. Solin, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 88, alla l. 3 intende *C(ai) n(ostri) ser(vus)* considerando singolare la formula *C(aesaris) n(ostri) ser(vus)*, che, per quanto rara, è pure testimoniata. Oltre H. Chantraine, Die Freigelassenen und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser. Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur, Wiesbaden, 1963, pp. 200, 202, citato dal Solin, v. anche P. R. C. Weaver, Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves, Cambridge, 1972, p. 76 e note 3,4 e G. Sotgiu, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della *familia Caesaris* in Sardegna), in: ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1980, VI, pp. 2023–2045.

A 268 – Iscrizione di Quinta Numitoria posta dal marito Silius Tabernarius.

A 269 – Iscrizione posta Otaciliae Itageni dal figlio *A[e]lius Doci[m(us)]*. Solin, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 88, per il dativo *Itageni* propone un nominativo *Ithagenis* derivato dal greco 'Ιθα(ι)γένης.

A 270 – A. E., 1966, 171 = G. Maetzke, Scavi e scoperte nelle provincie di Sassari e Nuoro 1959–1961, Studi Sardi, XVII, 1959–1961 [1962], p. 660 = Id., Portotorres (Sassari). Iscrizioni funerarie romane, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1964, p. 326, fig. 4. Iscrizione funeraria di Felix posta da L. Paccius Cornelianus.

A 271 – Diehl, 4003 adn. Frammento dell'iscrizione funeraria di *Petr[---]*.

A 272 – Iscrizione funeraria di Rutilius Ostesis posta dal figlio Amantius.

A 273 – Iscrizione funeraria di C. Sittius Egnatianus posta dalla moglie Prima.

A 274 – Iscrizione funeraria di Tertiolus.

A 275 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Valen[tin]us*.

A 276 – Iscrizione funeraria di Valeria Messali. Secondo Solin, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 88, da intendere *Messali(na)* o *Messall(ina)*.

A 276bis – A. E., 1966, 172 = G. Maetzke, Portotorres (Sassari). Iscrizioni funerarie romane, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1964, p. 324, fig. 2. Iscrizione di L. Valerius Hermesianax posta dalla liberta Zmyrna a cura di *[Tr]ypho Vale[---]* (Tav. V).

A 277 – Iscrizione funeraria di Bitalius.

A 278 – Urna cineraria: *P. Vitruvi Coeti*.

A 279 – Iscrizione funeraria di *M. Ulpius M. f. Theopompus*.

A 280 – Frammento con i nomi Crisa e Memor.

A 281 – A 298 – Frammenti.

A 299 – Diehl, 1358: *Puer Victori/nus fidelis re/cessit in pace / die mercur(i)s / VI kal(endas) No(vem)b(res), Ho/nori X et Teo/dosi VI, qui / vixit an(nis) pl(us) m(inus) / XV*. Alla l. 4, Solin, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 88, preferisce *die Mercur(iu)s*.
Data: a. 415 d. C.

A 300 – A. E., 1964, 102. Iscrizione funeraria di + *Martialis, v(ir) c(larissimus)*; è ricordata la *ind. duodec[ima]*.

A 301 – Diehl, 3913 adn. Iscrizione funeraria di + Preiecta.

A 302 – Frammento: *[---]iudici [---/ ---] nullus aude[re ? --- / ---] stare ossa m[ea ? --- / --- s]ub d(ie) VIII [--- / ---]s ind(ictione) V.*

A 303 – Diehl, 3869 A. Frammento opistografo (v. A 306): *[---] / per diem [---] / anima ventura [---] / sepultura mea [---] / requiebit in [pace ---] / idus Sept[embr(es)].*

A 304 – Diehl, 3063 adn. Iscrizione funeraria di + Ioilus.

A 305 – Diehl, 691. Iscrizione funeraria di + Mukanus.

A 306 – Frammento opistografo (v. A 303).

CASTELSARDO

A 307 – Frammenti.

SANTA TERESA DI GALLURA

A 308 – A. E., 1964, 101. Iscrizione funeraria di Helia Victoria, Longonensis, posta dalla figlia Aelia Annia.

OLBIA (*OLBIA*)

A 309 – C.I.L., XI, 1414. Frammento di epistilio: *[C]ereri sacrum / [Claudia] Augusti) lib(erta) Acte.*
Data: 1 sec. d. C., età neroniana (Atte è la famosa liberta di Nerone).

A 310 – Frammento: *[--- glo]riosissimorum [--- / --- numin]i maiestatique [eorum ---].*

A 311 – C.I.L., XVI, 60. Frammento di diploma militare: *Imp(erator) Caesar divi N[ervae f. Nerva] / Traianus Optimu[s Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus)] / Dacicus pontif(ex) ma[xim(us) tribu]/nic(ia) potestat(e) X[VIII], / imp(erator) VI, co(n)[s(ul), p(ater) p(atriae)] / iis qui naviga[verunt in qua]driere Ope et [militaverunt in] / classe praetor[ia Misenensi] / sub Q. Marcio Tu[rbone, quorum] / nomina subsc[ripta sunt, ipsis] / liberi[s posterisque eorum civitatem dedit.*
Data: estate dell'a. 114 d. C.

A 312 – C.I.L., XVI, 86. Frammento di diploma militare: a) *[Imp(erator) Caesar] divi T[raiani Parthici f. divi Nervae n]epos T[raianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) m]ax(imus), tri[b(unicia) pot(estate) ---]*; b) *[--- dimissis honesta] missi[one, quorum nomina subscripta] sunt, ip[sis liberis posterisque eorum] civitat[em dedit et conubium cum uxoribus] quas t[unc habuissent ---].*
Data: aa. 117 – 138 d. C.

A 313 – A. E., 1892, 137 = I.L.S., 2595. *C. Cassio Pal(atina) Blaesiano / dec(urioni) coh(ortis) Ligurum / principi equitum / ipsi familiae posteris / libertis libertabusque eius / Ti. Claudius Actes l(ibertus) Eutychus / amico optimo ex testamento / eius fecit.*
Data: I secolo d. C., età neroniana.

A 314 – Iscrizione funeraria: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]co Aug(usti) libe[rto / proc(uratori) ?] cal(endarii) Olbies / [A]rethusa c[oniugi / [---] cum quo [vixit / ---] XV.*

A 315 – Iscrizione funeraria di Fortunata posta dai figli *[Cre]scentilla* e *[Cresce]ntianus.* Cfr. SOLIN, Analecta Epigraphica, p. 88, il quale intende *ANCIIIOSA* (l. 3) dell'ignoto lettore = *ancill(ae) os(s)a.*

A 316 – Frammento di incerta lettura con riferimento alla navigazione.

A 317 – Frammento con il nome *[Cl]audia.*

A 318 – Frammento: *[V]aleri[---].*

A 319 – Frammento: *Augus?]ti lib(ertus).*

A 320 – A 321 – Frammenti.

A 322 – Da Telti: *Cl(audius) Sentiu[---].*

A 323 – A 328 – Frammenti.

A 329 – Iscrizione di + Benenatus.

IGNOTA PROVENIENZA*

A 330 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 331). *Ser. G[---] / Ca[---] / conse[cravit] / Fortu[nae].*

A 331 – Lastra opistografa (v. A 330). *[--- Caes]ari / [---]io Aug(usto) / [---] imp(eratori) V / [---] l.*

A 332 – A. E., 1964, 103. Un nuovo esame del cippo consente di proporre una diversa lettura dell'iscrizione, più completa di quella proposta da L. VIDMAN, Listy Filologické, LXXXVI, 1963, p. 260. Il testo è pertanto da intendere probabilmente: *D(is) M(anibus) / [Va]lerio Fronton[i / q(ui) v(ixit)] ann(o) I, m(ensibus) V, d(iebus) XX / [. Va]lerius Fro[nto / m(iles)] cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Misen(ensis) / [IIII] Minerva pate[r, / Volu ?]mnia Flora ma(ter) / [car]issimo fec(erunt).*

A 333 – Iscrizione funeraria di Antonianus posta dal padre Ircunnis (?).

A 334 – Iscrizione funeraria di *Aur(elius) Atimetianus.*

A 335 – Cippo funerario di L. Clodius Festus posto dal figlio L. Clodius Saturninus.

A 336 – Iscrizione funeraria di Crescens.

A 337 – Iscrizione funeraria di Deutera posta dai genitori Paezusa ed Hermogenes.

A 338 – Cippo funerario di L. Herennius Saturus posta dal figlio L. Herennius Faustillus.

A 339 – Frammento con i nomi *Antigon[---]* e *[H]ilarius.*

A 340 – Un riesame del cippo ha permesso una nuova più completa lettura, per cui l'iscrizione deve essere intesa: *D(is) M(anibus) / Lucio H( ) Faus/to Lucius H( ) / Aristius Luc/ius H( ) Faustio / Lucius H( ) Geme[l)/lus p(atrono) v(ivo ?) f(ecerunt), vixit / annis XXXV.*
E' l'unico caso, per quel che mi risulta, in cui nell'epigrafia della Sardegna vien dato per intero il *praenomen* ed abbreviato con una sola lettera il *nomen.* I gentilizi con *H* iniziale non sono molti e quello più noto a Cagliari, da cui provengono quasi tutti gli ess. isolani, è Herennius: C.I.L., X, 7556, 7651, 7658, 7659, 7660, 7661, 7662, 7663; E. E., VIII, 717; A 67, A 105 e anche A 338.

A 341 – Iscrizione di Q. Lucrinius Peptitus.

A 342 – Frammento di grossa lastra: *Malli[---] / Celeri [---].*

---

* Per comodità conserviamo il loro numero ad alcune iscrizioni già date come provenienti da località sconosciute. E' stata accertata la provenienza di: A 332, A 335, A 340, A 341, A 345, A 365 rinvenute a Cagliari, nella zona circostante la basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno; A 360, A 364, A 368 (insieme ad E 41) rinvenute ugualmente a Cagliari, durante scavi presso il deposito AGIP di Sant'Avendrace; A 338 rinvenuta a Vallermosa nell'a. 1954, in proprietà di FRANCESCO CARCANGIU.

A 343 – Iscrizione di Merodorus e Petronia Fortunata posta dal figlio M. Scribonius Gallus. SOLIN, Analecta Epigraphica, XXIII, p. 88 intende *Me(t)rodorus*.

A 344 – Iscrizione funeraria di Trofime posta da Genus (?) e altri.

A 345 – Cippo funerario di L. Valerius Victorinus posto dal fratello L. Valerius Creius.

A 346 – Frammento con il nome *Valeria [---]*.

A 347 – Frammento funerario di *A[..]st[---] Sp. f. Du[---]*.

A 348 – Frammento funerario: vi si legge *Flo[---]*.

A 349 – Frammento funerario: alla l. 1 *Mai[---]*.

A 350 – Frammento con il nome *Euty[---]*.

A 351 – Frammento.

A 352 – A 358 – Frammenti funerari; A 358, cristiano *A[---]ttus*.

A 359 – *Crescen[s] (*palmetta*)*.

A 360 – Iscrizione di + Felix.

A 361 – Iscrizione di + Iannarius.

A 362 – Iscrizione di + Iohanna[---].

A 363 – Iscrizione di + Luxuria.

A 364 – Iscrizione di *+ Leont[---]*.

A 365 – Iscrizione di + M. Decianus Vigio.

A 366 – Iscrizione di + Sabbatius.

A 367 – A 369 – Frammenti di iscrizioni funerarie cristiane.

– Miliarii

Via NORA – BITIAM

A 370 – A. E., 1959, 244. Località Nuraxeddus, presso la torre di Cala d'Ostia (Pula): *D(ominis) n(ostris duobus) / Magno M(aximo et Fl(avio) Victore / [s]em[p(er)] Aug(ustis) / nobi(lissimo) Caexa(re)* (sic) / *[.]v[..]oex[.]v/ [.]er[.]o[..] pr(aeside) / pro(vinciae) Sard(iniae)*.
Data: estate 387 – 28 agosto 388 d. C.

Via KARALIBUS – SULCOS

A 371 – Regione Corongiu: *[---] Sulcis vetust[ate / cor]ruptam re[stituit]* vel *re[stituerunt]*.

A 372 – A. E., 1966, 169 = G. SOTGIU, Un miliario inedito sardo di L. Domitius Alexander e l'ampiezza della sua rivolta, Archivio Storico Sardo,

XXIX, 1964, pp. 151–158. Località Sirai (Carbonia): *M(ilia) p(assuum) XI. / D(omino) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) L. Domitio Alexan/dro p(io) f(elici) inv(icto) Aug(usto) proc(urante) / Papio Pa/catiano v(iro) p(erfectissimo) pr(a)es(ide) / prov(inciae) Sard(iniae).*
Data: aa. 309–311 d. C. (?).
E' da sottolineare l'eccezionale importanza di questo documento, che testimonia l'estendersi anche alla Sardegna, oltre che alle province africane, dell'insurrezione dell'usurpatore L. Domizio Alessandro al tempo di Massenzio. (Vedi T. KOTULA, En marge de l'usurpation africaine de L. Domitius Alexander, Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, XL, 1962, pp. 159–177, che non conosce ancora l'iscrizione sarda.) Per il momento in cui egli avrebbe legato a sè l'isola (309 o inizi del 310), v. R. ANDREOTTI, Problemi di epigrafia costantiniana. I: La presunta alleanza con l'usurpatore L. Domizio Alessandro, Epigraphica, XXXI, 1969, p. 167 = A. E., 1969–1970, 205. Per il governatore della provincia Papius Pacatianus, che sembrava altrimenti sconosciuto, una interessante identificazione è stata proposta da H.-G. PFLAUM, Une page nouvelle de l'histoire de l'Afrique au IV^{e} siècle: Constantin et Domitius Alexander, Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1965, pp. 52–53; ID., L'alliance entre Constantin et L. Domitius Alexander, Bulletin Archéologique Algérienne, I, 1962–1965 [1967], pp. 159–161 (= ID., Scripta Varia I: Afrique Romaine, Paris, 1978, pp. 226–228). Egli crede che questo personaggio sia quello stesso che fu prefetto del pretorio alla fine del regno di Costantino, L. Pap. Pacatianus (v. l'iscrizione trovata nel 1924 a Tubernec: I. L. Tun., 814; ma L. Papinius Pacatianus in P.-W., XVIII [3] [1949], c. 948, nr. 7 e XVIII [2] [1942], c. 2057, nr. 2) ed era stato vicario della Britannia nel 319 (Cod. Theod. XI, 7, 2) e console nel 332. Egli propone una correzione al gentilizio non facilmente decifrabile e variamente letto – Ovinius, Fabius, Papinius – del Pacatianus ricordato appunto come console insieme al collega in una delle lettere pasquali indirizzate da S. Atanasio ai suoi fedeli. Cfr. ancora A. H. M. JONES – J. R. MARTINDALE – J. MORRIS, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1971, p. 656.

A 373 – Località Tanì (Carbonia). *XVI./ Imp(erator) Caesar divi / Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) / tr(ibunicia) p(otestate), co(n)s(ul), p(ontifex) m(aximus) / [– – –].*
Data: a. 98 d. C., ma forse meglio aa. 98–117.

A 374 – A quattro chilometri ad est del villaggio di Villamassargia. *M(ilia) p(assuum) XXII / D(omino) n(ostro) imp(eratori) / Caes(ari) Gal(erio) / V[al(erio) M]ax/[imiano – – –].*
Un più attento controllo del miliario ha permesso di leggere anche il nome dell'imperatore, per cui credo non debbano esservi dubbi nell'attribuirlo a Galerio piuttosto che a Massimino Daia. Il nome di quest'ultimo, Cesare, poteva seguire quello del suo Augusto. Per miliari di carattere onorifico, come questo nostro, dedicati in occidente a imperatori ai quali era stata assegnata la parte orientale dell'impero v. ad es. C.I.L., VIII, 22490 = I.L.S., 8933 (Numidia, tra Diana e Zarai): *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / C. Val(erio) Gale/rio*

Maxim/[i]ano et C. V/alerio Galerio Max/imino nob/ilissimo C/aes(ari) r(es) p(ublica) D(ianensis).
Data: aa. 305 – 311 d. C.

Via KARALIBUS – TURREM

A 375 – A. E., 1960, 360. Sestu. *[M(ilia) p(assuum) ..] / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Mar/ci filius, divi Pii / nepos, divi Hadriani / pronepos, divi Traia/ni et divi Nervae abnepos, L. Septimius Se/verus Pius Pertinax / Aug(ustus) Arab(icus) Ad[iab(enicus)] Parth(icus) / [ma]x(imus), tribuniciae potes/tatis XV, co(n)s(ul) [III], p(ater) p(atriae) et / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Severi Aug(usti) fil(ius), / [d]iv[i] Marci nepos, divi / Pii pronepos divi Ha/driani et divi Traiani / abnepos M. Aurelius An/toninus pius Aug(ustus) trib(uniciae) / potest(atis) X, co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriae) et / [--- / --- / ---].*
Data: a. 208 d. C.
Le ultime ll. sono erase.

A 376 – A. E., 1973, 275. G. Sotgiu, Un miliario di Gallo e Volusiano 'riscoperto' a Villanova Truschedu, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 1972 [1973], pp. 290 – 292, tavv. I – III. Località Perda Arroia, a quattrocentocinquanta m. dalla strada statale Oristano-Fordongianus. Il miliario, di cui era stata data notizia soltanto sulla base della segnalazione alla Soprintendenza, è stato 'riscoperto' ed eccone la nuova lettura: *M(ilia) p(assuum) LXXI. / [Im]p(eratoribus) d(ominis) n(ostris duobus) sanctis/[simis] et piissimis / [C. Viviu]s Trebonianus / [Gallu]s pius felix i[nv]ic/[tus A]ug(ustus) et C. Vivius Afini/[us Ve]ldumianus Belusi/[an]us* (sic) *pius felix invic/tus Aug(ustus), curante M. Sep/timio Heraclito proc(uratore) / suo e(gregio) v(iro).*
Data: aa. 251 – 253 d. C. Per il governatore M. Septimius Heraclitus v. B 97.

A 377 – Località S'abba Frida (Fordongianus). Frammento: *Caeliano v(iro) e(gregio) proc(uratore) suo.*
Data: tra gli aa. 253 – 257 d. C.

A 378 – A. E., 1893, 47. Località Santa Marras o Plana Maiore (Ghilarza). *[L]XXVII a Turre./ [Ti. Cl]audius Caesar Aug(ustus) / [Ger]manicus pont(ifex) max(imus) / [tr(ibunicia) pot(estate)] VI p(ater) p(atriae) imp(erator) XI co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus) IIII / [L. Aurel]io Patroclo / praef[ecto]* vel *praef(ecto) [prov(inciae)] Sard(iniae).*
Data: a. 46 d. C.

A 379 – Località del precedente. Frammento con il nome dell'imperatore Diocleziano (aa. 284 – 305).

A 380 – Località del precedente. Frammento con l'indicazione delle miglia: *M. p. LXX*; non è identificabile l'imperatore nominato.

A 381 – Regione Berraghe (tra Bonorva e Macomer). Frammento.

A 382 – Stessa località. Frammento.

A 383 – A. E., 1939, 140. Rinv. tra Torralba e il nuraghe di Santu Antine. *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aemilius / Aemilianus pius fel(ix) inv(ictus) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) trib(unicia potestate) proc(onsul) vi/am q(uae) d(ucit) a Tu(rre) K(arales) v(etustate) c(orruptam) res[tit(uit)] / curante / M. Calpurnio / Caeliano / proc(uratore) suo / e(gregio) v(iro).*
Data: a. 253 d. C.
Per il governatore M. Calpurnius Caelianus in Sardegna fino al 257 v. A 238, A 377, A 389.

Via KARALIBUS – OLBIAM

A 384 – Località Cungiadura Manna (Serri). *D(ominis) n(ostris duobus) [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) Fl(avio)] Mag(no) M[agnentio p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto) et Im]p(eratori) Ma[g(no) Decentio n(ostro) fort(issimo) Caes(ari) ---].*
Data: tra il 351 d. C. e la tarda estate del 352.

A 385 – Località Su Cotigone (Mores): Frammento giuntoci in forma molto dubbia. Un tentativo di ricostruzione è dato da A. E., 1975, 467 = A. U. Stylow, Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales – Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, p. 527, nota 44: *[M. p. CXX--- / d. n. Imp. Caes. C. Messio / Quinto Traiano Decio pio fel. / Aug. et (imp.?) Q. Herennio Etrusco / Messio Decio et C. Val. Hostiliano] / Messi[o Quinto nobilissimis Caesari]/bus principibus iu[ventutis, fil.] / d. n. Trai[a]ni Aug., [via(m) qu(a)e du]/cit [a?] Karalis Ul[bi(a)e vetustate corruptam] / restituerunt [curante] / M. An[t.] Sept. Her[aclito (e. v.?)] / [proc. eorum].*
L'attribuzione del miliario (a Decio ed ai i figli) e la data (tra aprile giugno del 250 e giugno del 251) sono quelle gia note in precedenza, mentre è nuova la lettura del nome del governatore, M. Antonius Septimius Heraclitus, per il quale v. B 97.

A 386 – Tra la cantoniera di Telti e il fiume Spadulaggiu. Frammento.

A 387 – Località Pasana, poco lontano da Olbia. Frammento.

A 388 – Località Su Cuguttu (Olbia). *[M(ilia p(assuum) --- / D(ominis)] n(ostris quattuor) / [Imp(eratoribus) Cae]s(aribus) G. Valerio / [Dio]cletiano et M. Aurelio / [Val]erio Maxsimiano* (sic) *p(iis) f(elicibus) / [invictis] Aug(ustis duobus) et Flavio / [Valerio C]ostantio et Gale[rio / Valeri]o Maxsimiano / [nobili]ssimis Cae[saribus / via(m) qu(a)e] duc(it) a K[aral(ibus) Olbi(ae) / cura]nte Aure[lio Marco / v(iro)] p(erfectissimo) pr(a)eses / p(rovinciae) S[ard(iniae), / s(enatus) c(onsulto).*
Data: 23 maggio 293 – 1 maggio 305 d. C.
Lo stesso governatore Aurelius Marcus è in E. E., VIII, 760, 777, 778.

A 389 – Località Pedra Zoccada (Olbia). *[--- XI] / [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari)] P. Licini[o Valeriano / p(io) f(elici) A]ug(usto) pont(ifici) m[axim(o)] trib(unicia) / [pot(estate), co(n)s(uli),] proco(n)s(uli) et / [Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P.] Licinio Egnatio Gallenio* (sic) */ [p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto)], pont(ifici) maximo, trib(unicia) pot(estate), co(n)s(uli), / [proco(n)s(uli)], viam quae*

ducit a Karalibus / [Olbiae vet]ustate corrupta(m) restituerunt / [curante M. C]alpurn[i]o [Cae]liano / [pr]oc(uratore) suo.
Data: aa. 253–257 d.C.
Il miliario è considerato da alcuni, forse con ragione, uguale a C.I.L., X, 8033: cfr. P. TAMPONI, Silloge epigrafica olbiense, Sassari, 1895, p. 16; A. U. STYLOW, Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales – Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, p. 524, nota 34.

– Instrumentum domesticum

A 390 – A 510 – *Lucernae.*
G. SOTGIU, Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna (Supplemento al Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, X e all'Ephemeris Epigraphica, VIII) [= IL Sard], II. Instrumentum domesticum, 1. Lucernae, Padova, 1968, 167 pp. e XXII tavv. Le lucerne prese in esame sono duecentottantatre, di cui duecentoquarantaquattro inedite; i loro bolli riguardano un centinaio di fabbricanti, dei quali quarantatre già noti in Sardegna e cinquantasette nuovi per l'isola. Ed ancora: diciotto di essi compaiono finora solamente in Sardegna (nrr. 392, 396, 397, 405, 407, 416, 427, 430, 446, 447, 460, 462, 474, 480, 486, 490, 491, 492) e nove solamente in Sardegna e nelle province africane (nrr. 413, 426, 429, 431, 459, 466, 468, 469, 475).

B. Iscrizioni venute alla luce e pubblicate dopo il lavoro di G. SOTGIU *o comunque non comprese in esso*

SANT'ANTIOCO (*SULCI*)

B 1 – A.E., 1971, 130 = G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, p. 59, nr. 79 e fig. Frammento di marmo ove, forse, alla l. 2 può intendersi: *Apolli]ni et Ascl[epio.*

B 2 – A.E., 1971, 129 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., p. 58, nr. 78, tav. I. Lastra di marmo: *Lyde Ti(beri) Germanici (serva) / vixit annos XX / Secundio conservos eecit* (sic). Sostengo ancora, contro A.E., che con *Ti(berius) Germanicus* s'intende l'imperatore Claudio prima della sua elevazione al trono (cfr. MOMMSEN, C.I.L., VI, p. 899 e ora G. BARBIERI, «L'Année Epigraphique», 1969–70 e 1971, Paris 1972 e 1974, Epigraphica, XXXVI, 1974, p. 281).

B 3 – A.E., 1974, 353 = G. SOTGIU, Iscrizioni di S. Antioco (Sulci). Collezione Giacomina, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXVI, 1973, p. 97, nrr. 1–2, tav. I. Frammento di lastra opistografa: da una parte è forse ricordato *[M. Do]mitius [Tertullus proc.] Auggg.* sotto Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Geta (v. A 158).

B 4 – A.E., 1974, 354 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 99–104, nr. 3, tav. II. Lastra marmorea: *L. Remmio Exsuper[– – –] / Claudia Pompeia uxor et Remmia [– – –] / fecerunt et sibi posterisque sui[s – – –].* Alla l. 1 il *cognomen* può essere variamente completato: *Exsuper, Exsuperans, Exsuperatianus* etc.

B 5 – A.E., 1974, 355 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 104–106, nr. 4, tav. II. Lastra marmorea: *D(is) M(anibus) / Luciliae Caes/arum n(ostrorum) ser(vae) vix(it) / annis plus mi/nus XXXI, Fruc/tus Caesar(um) n(ostrorum) ser(vus) / coniugi car(issimae) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit) s(ibi) p(osteris)q(ue).*

B 6 – A.E., 1974, 356 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 106–108, nr. 5, tav. III. Lastra marmorea: *Daniciae / Consultae / vix(it) ann(is) XI, m(ense) I / M. Danicius / Buccula fil(iae) dulcissimae et pientissim(ae).*

B 7 – A.E., 1974, 357 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 108–112, nr. 6, tav. III. Lastra marmorea: *D(is) M(anibus) / Liciniae Gallae / C. Iulius Procul/us et Q. Iulius / Herennianus / matri b(ene) m(erenti) fece/runt.*

B 8 – A.E., 1974, 358 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 112–117, nr. 7, tav. IV. Lastra marmorea: *D(is) M(anibus) / M. Valerio Rufo par(enti) / et Iuliae Karae con(iugi) / C. Clodius Gallus / sibi posteri[s]que suis.*

B 9 – A.E., 1975, 461 = G. SOTGIU, Un nuovo 'carmen epigraphicum' e le iscrizioni del Museo di S. Antioco, Epigraphica, XXXVII, 1975, pp. 124–129, nr. 1, fig. 1. Lastra marmorea: *D(is) M(anibus) / L. Cornelio Annali patri / bene merenti L(uci duo) Corneli / Felix et Annalis, Cornelia / Peregrina fili et s(ibi) p(osterisque) s(uis) fecer(unt).*

Quod decuit patri maiorum rite sacramus.
Fas erat ut sinerent fata manere diu.
Nunc ubi praetexta, quo nunc abiere secures?
Aut ubi iam clara luce relicta iaces?
Purpurx (sic) *quem teguit solis heu mensib(us) VIII,*
tam cito crudeli funere terra tegit.

Cfr. P. CUGUSI, In margine al carmen epigraphicum del Museo di S. Antioco (Sulci), ibid., pp. 142–152.

B 10 – A.E., 1975, 462 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 129–131, nr. 2, fig. 2. Lastra marmorea: *Diis Manibus / M. Arruntio Rogato / filio piissimo / et Arruntio Gallo f(ecit) / L. Arruntius Teres.*

B 11 – A.E., 1975, 463 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 131–133, nr. 3, fig. 3. Frammenti di lastra marmorea: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Fabiae Ni[ce] / L. Pompeius / Pelagianu/[s] mam[mae / pie]nt[issim(ae)].*

B 12 – A.E., 1975, 464 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 133–135, nr. 4, fig. 4. Frammenti di lastra marmorea: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [– – –]ae Phoebe / [patr]onae et ma/[tri be]ne mer(en)ti / [– – –] Gorge f(ecit) s(ibi) p(osteris)q(ue).*

FLUMINIMAGGIORE

B 13 – A. E., 1971, 119 = G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni latine del tempio del Sardus Pater ad Antas, Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 1970 [1971], pp. 8 – 15, tavv. I – VII. Gli scavi recenti del tempio di Antas hanno portato alla scoperta di nuovi frammenti dell'epistilio inscritto, permettendo una nuova più completa lettura di C.I.L. X, 7539 e l'identificazione della divinità alla quale il tempio stesso era dedicato, per cui alla l. 1 abbiamo: *Imp(eratori) [Caes(ari) M.] Aurelio Antonino Aug(usto) p(io) f(elici) temp[l(um) d]ei [Sa]rdi Patris Bab[. .].* Per la l. 2 si può proporre: *[vetustate c]on[lapsum] restitue[ndum] cur[avit] Q. Co[el]ius* vel *Co[cce]ius Proculus.*
Data: aa. 213 – 217, Caracalla solo imperatore.

B 14 – A. E., 1971, 120 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 15 – 20, nr. 2, tav. VIII, = A. E., 1972, 227 = P. Meloni, Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 244. Piccola tabella di bronzo trovata nello stesso tempio di Antas: *Sardo Patri / Alexander / Aug(usti) ser(vus) / regionarius / d(ono) d(edit).* Il titolo di *regionarius* deve essere riferito all'amministrazione di proprietà imperiali in Sardegna, probabilmente nella stessa zona sud occidentale dell'isola.

BUGGERRU

B 15 – A. Taramelli, Iglesias. Iscrizione greca di età imperiale romana rinvenuta in regione di Grugua, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1913, pp. 89 – 93 = C. Comparetti, Iglesias. Iscrizione greca di Grugua, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1913, p. 423. Lastra di calcare bianco (cm 22 × 25): Τὴν ἀγαθὴν 'Αμ(μ)ίαν Διο/νύσιος ὧδε τέθεικεν μη/τέρα καὶ κυρίαν καὶ σύμβιον / ζήσασαν σὺν αὐτῷ ἔτη μ'. / 'Αξίας οὔσης τὸ μνημεῖον / κατασκεύασεν· εὐψύχει κυ/ρία· οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος· ταῦτα.
L'iscrizione metrica nelle prime tre ll., è in prosa nel resto, con contaminazioni e spostamenti tra le due parti. „Restituendo le parole al loro posto e al loro caso secondo il metro e la sintassi" la lettura corretta del testo sarebbe secondo il Comparetti:

Τὴν ἀγαθὴν 'Αμίαν Διονύσιος ὧδε τέθεικεν
μητέρα καὶ κυρίαν καὶ σύμβιον ἀξίαν οὖσαν.
ζησάσης σὺν αὐτῷ ἔτη μ' τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν.
εὐψύχει κυρία. οὐδεὶς ἀθάνατος, ταῦτα.

Il Taramelli propone una data alquanto più tarda dell'età degli Antonini.

DOMUSDEMARIA

B 16 – A. U. Stylow, Un titolo sepolcrale di Bitia, Studi Sardi, XXIII (1), 1974 [1975], pp. 213 – 216, tav. I. Lastra marmorea proveniente da Chia (ant. Bitia): *D(is) M(anibus) / C. Valer/ius / Geni/alis vixit / anno I, m(ensi-*

bus) / VIIII, d(iebus) XVII / filio dulcissim/o p(arentes) b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)c(e)r(unt).

PULA (*NORA*)

B 17 – A. E., 1971, 121 = G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, p. 6, nr. 1 e fig. Frammento di grossa lastra marmorea: *[---]us Mulcibero / [d(onum)] d(edit)* vel *d(edicavit)*. Dedica a Vulcano, raramente chiamato con il solo titolo di Mulcibero.

B 18 – A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 251: sulla piccola base (alt. cm 2,6; larga cm 7,7) di una statuetta frammentaria di Venere si legge *Vener[i s]acrum.*

B 19 – A. E., 1971, 122 = G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 7 – 9, nr. 2 e fig. Frammenti di una grossa lastra marmorea ove è nominata la *[domus] divina*, il nome di un *deus Ma[---]* e il titolo di un governatore della provincia *[proc(urator) A]uggg. pra[ef(ectus) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)].*
Data: per l'erasione della terza G di *AUGGG*. il testo è da porre preferibilmente tra gli aa. 209 – 211.

B 20 – A. E., 1971, 123 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 9 – 11, nr. 3 e fig. = A. E., 1974, 359. Quattro frammenti (tre combacianti tra loro) di lastra marmorea con una probabile dedica a Giove da parte di un anonimo governatore della Sardegna, del quale sembra essere dato in ordine discendente il *cursus honorum*: a, b, c) *[---]m Iovi (?) / [--- proc.] Augg[g. / praef. prov.] Sard., proc. pr/[ov. --- su]perior., proc. / [---];* d) *[--- pr]aef. c(o)h.* (vel *c(ohortis) H[---]) / [---]iore / [---]ssu / [---].*
Data: per l'erasione della terza G di *AUGGG* è da porre preferibilmente tra gli aa. 209 – 211.
A. E., 1974, 359 preferisce intendere alla l. 1: *[---]mio Vi/[---].*

B 21 – A. E., 1971, 124 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 12 – 13, nr. 4 e fig. Lastra di marmo in tre frammenti, mancante delle parti sinistra e inferiore: *D(omino) n(ostro) / [P. Cornelio] Licinio Salo/[nino Valeria]no nobilis/[simo Caes(ari) pr]incipi iuven/[tutis filio do]mini nostri / [Imp(eratoris) P. Licini Egn]ati Gallieni pii / [fel(icis) Aug(usti) inv(icti), nep(oti) d(omini) n(ostri) I]mp(eratoris) P. Licin[i / Valeriani ---].*
Data: probabilmente tra la seconda metà del 257 e poco dopo l'estate del 260 d. C.

B 22 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 14, nr. 5 e fig. Frammento d'iscrizione imperatoria non anteriore al III secolo.

B 23 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 15, nr. 6 e fig. Frammento d'iscrizione in cui forse è il nome di *[T. Ae]lius [Hadri]anus [Antonin]us Au[g(ustus) Pius].*

B 24 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 16, nr. 7 e fig. Frammento d'iscrizione imperatoria non anteriore al III secolo d. C.

B 25 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 16–17, nrr. 8–9 e figg. Frammento di lastra opistografa. Sui due lati elementi di titolatura imperiale; il nr. 8 è dedicato dai *[No]renses.*

B 26 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 18, nr. 10 e fig. Frammento: *[pro salu]te im[p(eratoris) ---].*

B 27 – A. E., 1971, 125 a = G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 18–19, nrr. 11–12 e figg. Frammento opistografo. Su un lato (nr. 11): *[--- decre]to ordi/[nis Norensiu]m devo/[ti numini maiestatique]* (?).

B 28 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 20, nr. 13 e fig. Due frammenti di grande lastra marmorea con la menzione di un imperatore: *I[m]p. Ca[es. --- / ---] Anto[ni---].*

B 29 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 20, nr. 14 e fig. Frammenti d'iscrizione dedicata ad un imperatore.

B 30 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 21–22, nrr. 15–16 e figg. Frammenti di lastra opistografa. Su un lato (nr. 15) si leggono le parole *[Nore]nse[s]* e *Sard(inia).*

B 31 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 22–25, nrr. 17–21 e figg. Frammenti d'iscrizioni anche importanti per la forma e le dimensioni delle lettere. Al nr. 17 un *M. Aelius [---].*

B 32 – A. E., 1971, 125 b = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 25, nr. 22 e fig. Frammento marmoreo: *[---]us cur[ator rei pub(licae)* (?) */ --- b]asilicam [--- / ---]m p(ecunia) p(ublica) faci[und. curavit].*

B 33 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 27–40, nrr. 23–45 e figg. Frammenti marmorei di iscrizioni anche importanti per la forma e la grandezza delle poche lettere rimaste.

CAGLIARI (*KARALES*)

B 34 – A. E., 1972, 226 = G. Pesce, Case romane a Campo Viale in Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XIX, 1964–1965 [1966], pp. 346–347, tav. VII = P. Meloni, Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 243. Lastra marmorea mancante delle parti destra e superiore (Tav. VI): *--- al]ae Gallor(um) / [... ci]vium R(omanorum) miliariae, trib(uno) / [--- H]ispanorum tironum / [..... L]atobicorum equitatae / [...] II Breucorum peditatae / [..... ho]noribus in patria functo / [...] Aureli / [.....]nus, Victor, Montanus, / [.....]cola, Silvanus, / [...]untia, Saturnina, / [..... A]ug(usti) Antonini Pii.*

Dedica ad un anonimo cavaliere, del quale è dato il *cursus honorum*, da parte di liberti di un *Aug(ustus) Antoninus Pius* che può essere, a mio parere, Caracalla, l'unico dei tre imperatori *M. Aureli Antonini* ad apparire nelle iscrizioni con questa forma del nome (v. ad es. C.I.L., VI, 210).

B 35 – G. SOTGIU, Un liberto dei Flavi in una nuova iscrizione cagliaritana, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 55–57, tavv. I–II. Cippo funerario in calcare: *D(is) M(anibus) / T. Flavio Iusto / vix(it) [a]nnis XVIII, / di[e]bus XXVIIII / T. [Fl]a[v]ius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) / Ma[r]tialis filio / [pi]issimo / et [Fl]aviae Pri/m[it]ivae filiae / et [F]laviae Auxesi / coniugi / b(ene) m(erentibus) f(ecit).* Età dei Flavi o inizi del II sec. d. C.

B 36 – A.E., 1971, 134 = G. SOTGIU, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 65–66, nr. 88, tav. V = L. PANI ERMINI, Iscrizioni cristiane inedite di S. Saturno a Cagliari. Contributo allo studio del 'Defensor Ecclesiae' nell'antichità cristiana, Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XXIII, 1969, pp. 9–18, fig. 2. Lastra marmorea: *Hic iacet b(onae) m(emoriae) Deusdedit / defensor s(an)c(ta)e ec(c)lesi(a)e Kar(a)l/itan(a)e, qui bixit ann(os) plus / minus XLII, requiebit in pa/ce su(b) d(ie) II id(us) Nobembres* (sic) / *ind(ictionis) decim(a)e Karali(bu)s.* Il titolo di *defensor sanctae ecclesiae* creato da Onorio nel 407, compare raramente in documenti epigrafici. Per *Crysogonus* e *Maximus defensores ecclesiae Aquileiensis* e *Bonosus* e forse *[Ca]nt[ius] def. eccl. Tergestinae* cfr. A. DEGRASSI, Scritti vari di Antichità, III, Venezia–Trieste, 1967, pp. 92–93; P. L. ZOVATTO, Il 'defensor ecclesiae' e le iscrizioni musive di Trieste, Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XX, 1966, pp. 1–8; e più recentemente G. CUSCITO, Le epigrafi musive della basilica martiriale di Trieste, Aquileia Nostra, XLIV, 1973, pp. 140–143 = A.E., 1975, 422 g h i n.

B 37 – A.E., 1971, 135 = G. SOTGIU, ibid., p. 66, nr. 89, tav. V = L. PANI ERMINI, ibid., pp. 18–19, fig. 3. Lastra marmorea: *Hic iacet bon(ae) m(emoriae) Istefan/us archiepresbiter* (sic) / *s(an)c(ta)e ec(c)les(iae) Ka(ra)litan(a)e, qui / bixit ann(os) pl(us) minus LXX.*

B 38 – L. PANI ERMINI, ibid., pp. 2–9, fig. 1. Lastra marmorea: *Miserere mei D(eu)s secundum magna(m) / misericordiam tuam et secundum / multitudinem miserationum tuarum / dele iniquitatem meam amplius laba me /* (5) *ab iniustitia mea et a delicto meo munda mae* (sic). / (croce) *Hic iacet b(onae) m(emoriae) Gaudiosus b. d. optio / dracconarius* (sic) *no. dr.s. qui bixit annis / pl(us) min(us) XXIIII quiebit in pace sub d(ie) / XVI k(alendas) Agustas ind(ictionis) primae* (hedera) / (10) *o michi patri tuo qui tal(em) dolor(em) osit/*(croce)*endisti* (sic) (croce).

E' da sottolineare l'importanza della prima parte dell'iscrizione che cita l'inizio del salmo 50 di Davide. Nella seconda, quella che riguarda più precisamente il defunto, alcune sigle non sono molto chiare e presentano problemi d'interpretazione. Le proposte di scioglimento della PANI ERMINI non sempre sono convincenti.

l. 6: *b.d.* = non *b(eneficiarius) d(omicurius)*, ma meglio *b(ir) d(evotus)*. E' ben vero che *beneficiarius*, più spesso abbreviato nelle iscrizioni *bf*, compare anche con la sola *b*, ma è diverso il caso di *domicurius*. Intanto osserviamo che questa carica non è molto nota. Conosciamo per il momento solamente due epigrafi provenienti da Lambesi (Numidia) – C.I.L., VIII, 2797 e p. 1739 = I.L.S., 2413 e A.E., 1917–1918, 52 – ove è nominata la stessa persona *Aemilius Florus b(ene)f(iciarius) domicurius*, che dedica la prima ad un anonimo *[leg. Aug. pr. pr. provinc]iae [Numidi]ae et leg(ionis) III Aug. Gallienae* suo patrono e la seconda a *Vergilia Florentina c(larissima) f(emina), coniux Iuli Fortunatiani c(larissimi) v(iri)* suoi patroni. Iulius Fortunatianus, da identificare senza dubbio con l'anonimo legato della prima iscrizione, il cui nome completo era C. Iulius Sallustius Saturninus Fortunatianus (cfr. per tutti PETERSEN, P.I.R., IV, 1966, p. 268, nr. 540), fu governatore della Numidia tra il 262 e il 268 e a tale epoca devono essere attribuite le nostre iscrizioni (v. tra l'altro il soprannome di *Galliena* della *legio III Augusta*). La stessa carica è ricordata, ma con un termine leggermente diverso, in una iscrizione anch'essa di Lambesi e ugualmente del III sec., dedicata da *P. Geminius Gallonianus b(ene)f(iciarius) domicurator* a *[C. P]omponius Magnus leg. Augg. pr. pr.* della Numidia sotto Caracalla e Geta (cfr. G. BARBIERI, L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino (193–285), Roma, 1952, p. 100, nr. 425). Oltre il fatto che solo questi sono gli esempi a nostra disposizione, è da sottolineare, pur osservando che i due titoli di *beneficiarius* e *domicurius* risultano accostati (e su questa testimonianza ha basato la sua integrazione l'editrice), che il nostro Gaudiosus è vissuto almeno due secoli dopo, quando molti cambiamenti si erano avuti nell'ordinamento dell'esercito.

Pertanto pare più esatto lo scioglimento *b(ir) d(evotus)* anche perchè nella nostra iscrizione abbiamo sempre la *b* al posto della *v*: l. 4: *laba*; l. 7: *bixit*; l. 8: *quiebit*. Per *v(ir) d(evotus)*, che segue sempre il nome del defunto, vedi DIEHL, 216, 342, 344 e adn., 438, 466, 475 etc.

l. 7: *NORDS*, secondo la PANI ERMINI = *(de) n(umer)o dr(aconiariorum ?) s(eniorum ?)*. Questa sigla indica certamente il reparto nel quale il nostro Gaudiosus ha militato come *draconarius* e quindi è giusto intendere per le prime lettere *(de) n(umer)o* o *(ex) n(umer)o*; è molto probabile anche lo scioglimento dell'ultima, *s(eniorum)*. La perplessità nasce invece per *DR*, che deve dare il nome del *numerus*. Escluderei senz'altro *dr(aconariorum)* per il significato preciso che vien data concordemente alla parola *draconarius*, uguale „colui che porta il vessillo con l'insegna del dragone" (cfr., in base alle testimonianze delle fonti letterarie: FIEBIGER, P.-W., V(2) (1905), c. 1634; Dizionario Epigrafico, II (3), (1910), p. 2069; per il tipo d'insegna, ancora FIEBIGER, ibid., cc. 1633–1634, s. v. draco). Un reparto costituito da vessilliferi non è facilmente concepibile. I soli *numeri*, tra quelli che conosciamo, i cui nomi abbiano come iniziale la lettera *D* e poi la *R* sono i *numeri* dei *defensores seniores* e dei *directores*: per i primi vedi Not. Dign. Oc., V, 117, 227, 267; VII, 80, 93; per i secondi Not. Dign. Oc., XL, 26 (ediz. O. SEECK, Notitia Dignitatum, Berlin, 1876, ristampa anast. Frankfurt a. M., 1962). Non è possibile però accettare o l'uno o l'altro di questi nomi; è preferibile per ora aspettare altre valide testimonianze.

B 39 – A. E., 1971, 136 = G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, p. 67, nr. 90. Lastra marmorea: *[Hic iace]t b(onae) m(emoriae) Fortuna/[--- vixi]t annis plus / [minus ---] XXV requiebit / [in pace s(ub) d(ie) ---] k(alendas) Oct(obres) [---].*

B 40 – A. E., 1971, 137 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 67, nr. 91, tav. V. Lastra marmorea: *Hic iacet b(onae) m(emoriae) Muscula q/ui vixit annis pl(us) minus XXIIII, / requievit in pace sub d(ie) / (octavo) kal(endas) Decembres in/dictione duod(ecima).*

B 41 – A. E., 1971, 138 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 68, nr. 92 e fig. Lastra marmorea: *B(onae) m(emoriae) Paula vi/xit ann(os) pl(us) m(inus) / LXXX, req(uievit) in p(ace).*

B 42 – A. E., 1971, 139 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 69, nr. 93 e fig. Lastra marmorea: *Hic est positus Sabba/tius VIII kal(endas) Feb(ruarias) qui vixit / ann(os) p(lus) m(inus) XXX.*

B 43 – A. Taramelli, Cagliari. Iscrizione imperiale e tombe di età cristiana, scoperte in regione Bonaria, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1909, p. 186. Lastra di marmo opistografa (v. A 51). Iscrizione funeraria cristiana in lingua greca.

☧

ΠΑΡΘЄΝΙΚΗΝΗΝЄϹΧϲ
ЄΚΦΡΥΓΙΗϹΑΛΟΧΟΝΤЄΜοι
ΡΗΛΙΟΠΤЄΥϹΑϹΑЄΚΦΑ
ΟΥϹΑΦΙΛΑΤΟϹΗΜΑΔЄΤ
ΑΝΘΡωΠΟΙϹΙΝΑΜΜΙΗϹ
ЄϹΤΙΝΟΤΥΜΒΟϹΟΥΤΟΤЄΥ
ΧΘΙϹΜΝΗΜΙΟϹЄϹΤΙΝωϹΠΑϹ
ΕΥΛΙΚΙΗϹΜΝΗϹ ❦
ΤЄΛЄΥΤΑΔЄΗΤωΝ
ΤΡΙΑΚωΤΑ

Il testo è dato dal Taramelli secondo la trascrizione e con le correzioni del prof. Halbherr: (chrismon) Παρθενικὴν ἣν ἔσχον ἐκ Φρυγίης ἄλοχόν / τε μοῖρ' ἣ διοπτεύσασα ἐκ φάους ἀφείλατο· / σῆμα δ'ἔτ' ἀνθρώποισιν 'Αμμίης ἐστίν ὁ / τύμβος οὗτος τευχθείς, μνήμη ὅς ἐστιν, / ὡς ὁρᾷς εὐδικίης μόνης· / τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα.

QUARTU SANT'ELENA

B 44 – A. E., 1971, 131 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 60, nr. 81, tav. II. Località Santa Loria. Cippo in calcare: *D(is) M(anibus) / D. Veturius Fortuna/tus sibi et Veturiae Ia/nuariae filiae et libe/rtis libertabus sueis* (sic) / *posterisque sueis / fecit.*

B 45 – A. E., 1971, 132 = G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, p. 61, nr. 82, tav. II. Loc. Santa Loria. Cippo di calcare: *D(is) M(anibus) / [.] Cornelia[e ? / quae] vixit ann(is) [... / Hi]larus coniu[gi] / b(ene) m(erenti) / [---] / [---].*

B 46 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 62, nr. 83 e fig. Stessa località. Piccolo frammento di grossa lastra.

SESTU

B 47 – A. E., 1971, 133 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 63, nr. 86, tav. IV. Cippo di calcare spezzato sui due lati: *[D(is) M(anibus / ---]erius Fa[--- / --- m(iles) c]oh(ortis) I Sar[d(orum) --- / qui vixit a]nn(is) XX m(ensibus) [--- / ---e]rius Fa[--- / ---] piiss(imo) [---].*
Una *cohors I Sardorum* sarebbe stata stanziata in Sardegna nel I sec. d. C.: C.I.L., X, 7591, 7594, 8321 e 8046, 1 [cf. P. Meloni, La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I – III, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11,1), p. 479 n. 183; p. 480 n. 190].

SOLEMINIS

B 48 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 63, nr. 85, tav. III. Frammento di grande lastra marmorea. Vi si leggono due sole lettere, nelle quali sono visibili le tracce di quelle bronzee che in origine erano sovrapposte.

VILLASIMIUS

B 49 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 62, nr. 84, tav. III. Parte inferiore di piccola arula con poche lettere.

TORTOLI

B 50 – A. Boninu, Tortolì, località S. Lussorio (Nuoro), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari 1976, p. 105, nr. 552, tav. XLVI. Cippo cilindrico di granito, frammentario nelle parti inferiore e superiore, inscritto su due lati: a) *Buulg/ares*; b) *V*.

SORGONO

B 51 – G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, p. 64, nr. 87, tav. IV. Località Seletzo. Cippo di trachite: *Valleria* (sic) *Saturnia / vixit annis IX*.

AUSTIS

B 52 – A. Mastino, Un'iscrizione funeraria inedita proveniente da Aùstis (Nuoro), Archivio Storico Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 51 – 53, tav. Grossa lastra di granito: *Iucunda Catu/roni l(iberta) annor/um L, h(ic) s(ita) e(st), pos/[u]erunt filias* (sic) / *Iulia et Spana, Gratus l(ibertus).*

THARROS

B 53 – A. E., 1971, 126 = G. Sotgiu, Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, p. 41, nr. 46 e fig. Piccola lastra marmorea spezzata a destra e inferiormente: *Laribus san[ctis ---] / Tit(us ?) Fl(avius) V[---].*

B 54 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 42, nr. 47 e fig. Due frammenti di lastra marmorea con il nome di Geta, figlio di Settimio Severo.

B 55 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 42–45, nrr. 48–50 e figg. Diversi frammenti marmorei con titolature di imperatori anonimi.

B 56 – A. E., 1971, 127 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 45, nr. 51 e fig. Frammento di grossa lastra marmorea con parte del *cursus* discendente di un personaggio di rango equestre: *[---]l. prae[--- / ---]sis sub[praef. --- / --- pr]aef. al[ae --- / --- tr]ib/ mil. [---]*, da intendere forse alle ll. 1–2: *--- praef. vigi]l. prae[f. classis / Misenen]sis sub[praef. classis.*

B 57 – G. Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 46–57, nrr. 52–76 e figg. Frammenti marmorei d'iscrizioni, alcune certamente importanti per la forma e le dimensioni delle poche lettere rimaste. Nel nr. 53 si legge *TAR[---]*, da intendere forse come il nome stesso della città.

B 58 – A. E., 1971, 128 = G. Sotgiu, ibid., p. 57, nr. 77 e fig. Piccolo frammento di lastra marmorea: *--- coel]um quoq(ue) terra[m --- / --- pa]rentes [---].*

CABRAS

B 59 – D. Levi, L'ipogeo di San Salvatore di Cabras in Sardegna, Roma, 1949, soprattutto pp. 5–22, fig. 4 e varie tavole. Le iscrizioni sono costituite da brevi graffiti, spesso poco chiari, per lo più nell'alfabeto corsivo latino. Alcune contengono sia lettere latine che lettere greche; in una è dato un intero alfabeto greco. Si leggono sulle pareti dell'ipogeo che l'autore in base a vari elementi – costruttivi, architettonici, iconografici – riconosce come „un piccolo santuario pagano e precisamente un santuario dedicato al culto delle acque", adorate insieme ad Ercole e ad altre divinità salutari testimoniate nella decorazione pittorica; un „edificio sotterraneo a pianta trilobata" sorto „verso la fine dell'antichità romana forse nell'età di Diocleziano o piuttosto in quella di Costantino il Grande". La trascrizione delle iscrizioni è dovuta a Matteo Della Corte (vedi alla Fig. 3 la riproduzione della figura 4 pubblicata dal Levi a p. 9). Ci limitiamo a segnalare i nomi di persona: *Ianuaria* (nr. 5), *Pyrr(h)us* (nr. 6), *Epidius* (nr. 11), *Hila(rus ?)* (nr. 13) e in particolare la sigla di *Ruf(us)* (nr. 15), che nell'ipogeo compare ben sette volte con lettere di altezza varia che va da cm 4 a cm 20. Di un'ultima iscrizione di sette ll.,

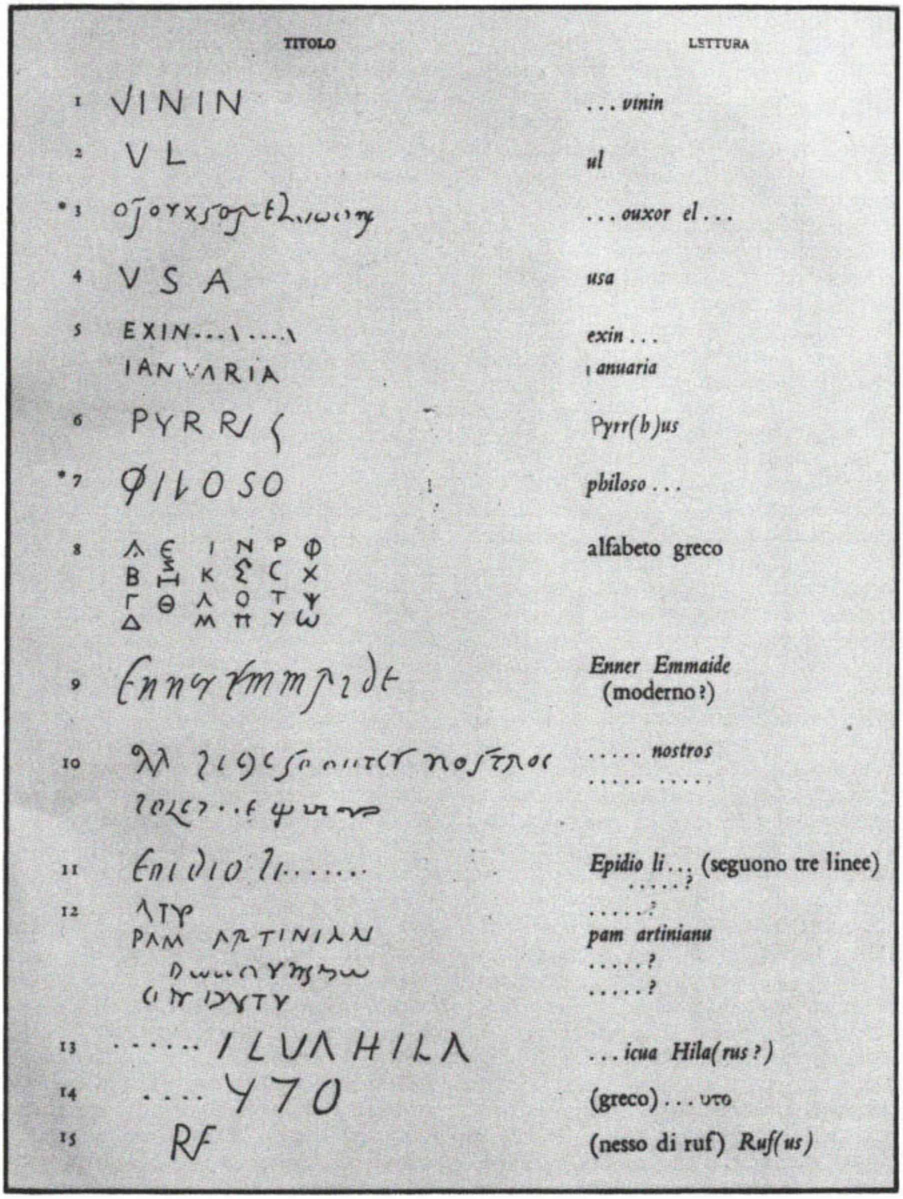

TITOLO
LETTURA
1 VININ
... vinin
2 VL
ul
•3 ... ouxor el ...
4 VSA
usa
5 EXIN...\....\
IANVARIA
exin ...
ı anuaria
6 PYRR
Pyrr(h)us
•7 philoso ...
8 alfabeto greco
9 Enner Emmaide
(moderno?)
10 ..... nostros
....
11 Epidio li..., (seguono tre linee)
.....?
12 .....?
PAM
pam artinianu
.....?
.....?
13 ..... ILVAHILA
... icua Hila(rus?)
14 ....
(greco) ... υτο
15 RF
(nesso di ruf) Ruf(us)

Fig. 3. B 59

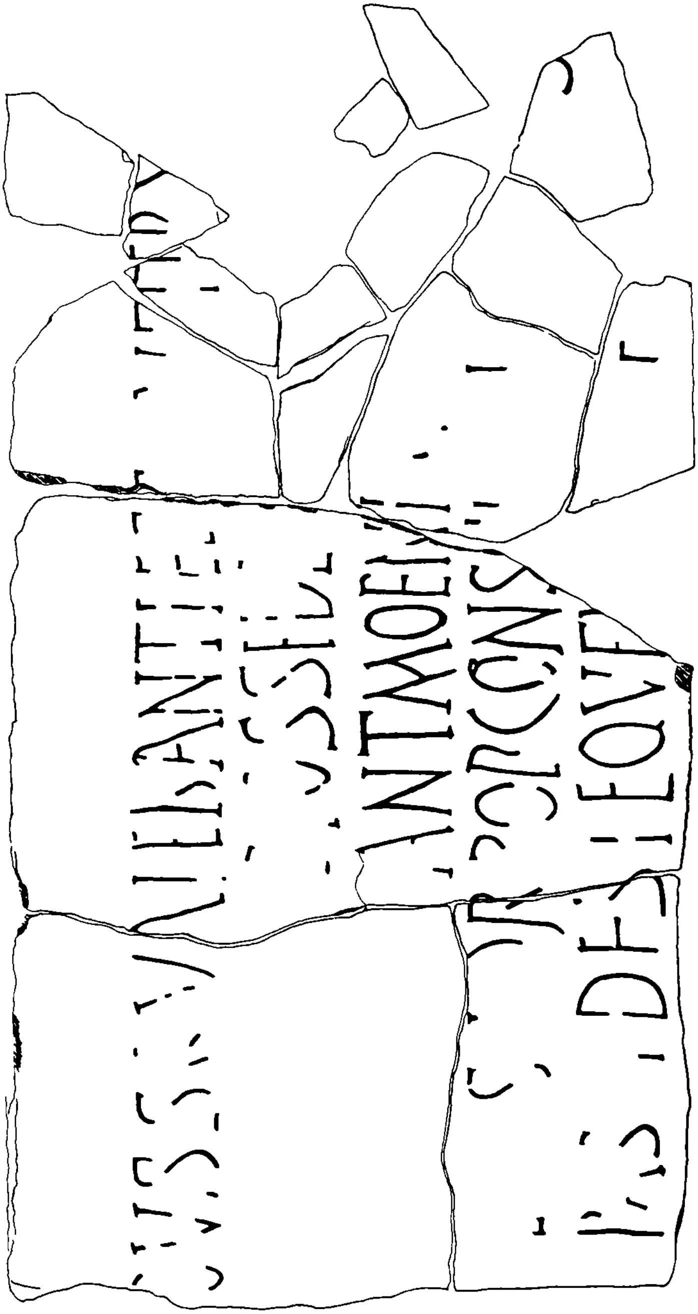


Fig. 4. B 60 b

ugualmente in corsivo latino, si leggono poche parole e tra esse il nome Secundus (vedi p. 22).

CORNUS

B 60 – P. Testini, Il complesso paleocristiano di Cornus (regione Columbaris) in Sardegna, Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueología Cristiana, Barcelona 5 – 11 Octubre 1969, Barcelona, 1972, p. 556, nr. 1, fig. 24. Frammenti di lastra marmorea provenienti dall'area della basilica paleocristiana (aula di culto nr. 2): non è stato finora possibile conoscere i dati precisi del rinvenimento anche perchè non ancora pubblicato a causa della morte dello scavatore, O. Addis, il giornale di scavo del complesso monumentale. Comunque già in precedenza era stata data notizia del ritrovamento dell'iscrizione da L. Delogu, Un recente ritrovamento archeologico: il battistero di Cornus in Sardegna, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, LIII, 1965, p. 256: egli tuttavia ne aveva male inteso il contenuto, attribuendo con grave errore i lavori di restauro in essa menzionati ai monumenti paleocristiani, la cui prima costruzione avrebbe fatto risalire „almeno alla seconda metà del III sec." (sic!). V. a questo proposito le validissime osservazioni di R. Serra, In chiesa quadrifida di S. Elia a Nuxis (e diversi altri documenti alto medievali in Sardegna), Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 1970 [1971], p. 38, nota 16. Il Testini, che potè vedere solo una fotografia dell'iscrizione, è il primo a pubblicarne il testo, ma si limita a fissarne i limiti cronologici sulla base dei nomi degli imperatori Graziano, Valentiniano II e Teodosio (379 – 383), osservando semplicemente che viene ricordato „il restauro di un edificio estivo ormai fatiscente e, a quanto pare, l'installazione di una conduttura d'acqua". Errate sono l'interpretazione e la traduzione che dell'iscrizione fa G. Farris, Le aree paleocristiane di Cornus, Cagliari, 1976, pp. 83 – 84, il quale dà però utili informazioni sui lavori di scavo del complesso monumentale.

Grazie alla gentilezza della moglie del prof. O. Addis, che conserva presso di sè i frammenti, ho potuto vederli e constatare un particolare importante, che spiega in che modo un'epigrafe della seconda metà del IV secolo fosse andata a finire in una costruzione ben più tarda. La lastra è infatti opistografa, certamente inserita in un pavimento, giacchè l'iscrizione più recente, quella ancora inedita, è in buona parte illeggibile per essere stata a lungo calpestata dai fedeli cristiani (Fig. 4). Vediamo intanto in che modo vanno intensi i quindici frammenti (agli undici pubblicati dal Testini ne vanno aggiunti altri quattro sul lato sinistro, che ci permettono di stabilire il limite della lastra sullo stesso lato [Tav. VII, 1]): a) *Salvis d(ominis) n(ostris tribus) Flaviis Gratiano [Valentiniano et / The]odosio invictissimis princip[ibus ---] / aestivae quae olim squalor[e ---] / ruina fuerant conlabsae a[---] / constitut[ae] nunc de fonte du[---].*

Nella l. 5 mi pare non presentino dubbi di lettura la terza *T* di *constitut[ae]* la *N* di *nunc* (v. Testini, che intende *[i]nstituit [et ? h]unc*).

Un contributo interessante, che esclude, se mai ancora ve ne fosse bisogno, ogni riferimento dell'iscrizione al complesso paleocristiano, è dato da R. J. Rowland Jr., Another anachronism in the Historia Augusta?, L.C.M., 2,

1977, p. 59. Egli riferisce l'aggettivo *aestivae* della l. 3 a delle terme e dà un elenco del pur piccolo numero di questo tipo di costruzioni finora conosciute, tutte del IV sec. d. C. e tutte africane (C.I.L., VIII, 948, Tubernec: *thermae estivales*, restaurate tra il 364 e il 375; A. E., 1916, 20, Cheboud-el-Batel: *thermae aestivales*, costruite nel 361; A. E., 1911, 217, Kenkhela: *termae aestivales*, restaurate tra il 374 e il 376; A. E., 1917–1918, 91, Madaura: *thermae aestivae*, restaurate nel 364), con una sola eccezione (C.I.L., X, 5348 e 5349) a Interamna Lirenas, Campania: rispettivamente *thermae estivales* e *termae extivae*, restaurate agli inizi del V secolo).
Per quanto riguarda la seconda iscrizione, b), quella ancora inedita, non è facile, dato lo stato in cui ci è giunta, proporre una lettura ed una interpretazione. Per il momento è sufficiente dare un disegno di quello che ancora può vedersi (v. Fig. 4). La parola più chiara e completa è alla l. 3, *moeni[a]*, senza possibilità di maggiori spiegazioni. Le prossime campagne di scavo contribuiranno probabilmente ad una chiarificazione.

B 61 – P. TESTINI, ibid., p. 557, nr. 2, fig. 25. Stessa località, marmo di spoglio: + *Hic iacet b(o)n(ae) mem(oriae) abus (?) / Iscribonissa qui bixit / ann(is) pl(us) min(us) XXVIII, requi(escit) / in p(a)ce s(u)b d(ie) XVIIII mensis / Octobrii ind(ictione) XIII* +. Per la croce patente incisa nella parte posteriore l'iscrizione è stata posta nel VI secolo.

B 62 – P. TESTINI, ibid., p. 558, nr. 3. Lastra marmorea di forma irregolare: *Mirae innoc(e)/nti(ae) ac pieta/ti Euticio / bene mere/nti q(u)i bixi(t) / an(ni)s p(lus) m(inus) LV / qu(i)escet i/n pace.* (Tav. VII 2).

B 63 – P. TESTINI, ibid., p. 558, nr. 4, fig. 26. Piccola lastra marmorea inserita in un grosso blocco di calcare: *Limenius senior / qui bixit an/nos p(lus) m(inus) LXXX, / qu(i)escet in p(ac)e IIII / idus Iunias.* (Tav. VIII 1.2).

B 64 – P. TESTINI, ibid., p. 559, nr. 5. Grande lastra marmorea: *Maximo bono* (sic) *memoriae / qui bene vixit annis p(lus) m(inus) L / filius ipsuius* (sic) *posuit tabula ista in pace.* Sulla sinistra alle ll. 4–5 *Silba/nos* (Tav. IX 1). Sulla destra il chrismon. Risultano interessanti l'uccello con la palmetta nel becco a d. e in particolare la barca, nella quale (Fig. 5) si ripetono il *chrismon* e la croce monogrammatica.

B 65 – P. TESTINI, ibid., p. 559, nr. 6, fig. 27. Lastra marmorea frammentata, già infissa in un grosso blocco di calcare: *Vincentia / Cas/siano conp/ari* (sic) *bene merenti / in pace qui dis/cessit non(is) Feb/[r]ariis qui vix(it) an(nos) / LXXV m(enses) duo d(ies)* X. (Tav. IX 2).

B 66 – P. TESTINI, ibid., p. 559, nr. 7. Frammento di lastra marmorea (Tav. XII 1). *A* (chrismon) *[Ω / ---]tus lec[tor---*.

BOSA

B 67 – A. MASTINO, Una nuova iscrizione funeraria dalla necropoli di S. Pietro di Bosa, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975–1977 [1978], pp. 209–213, fig. Cippo

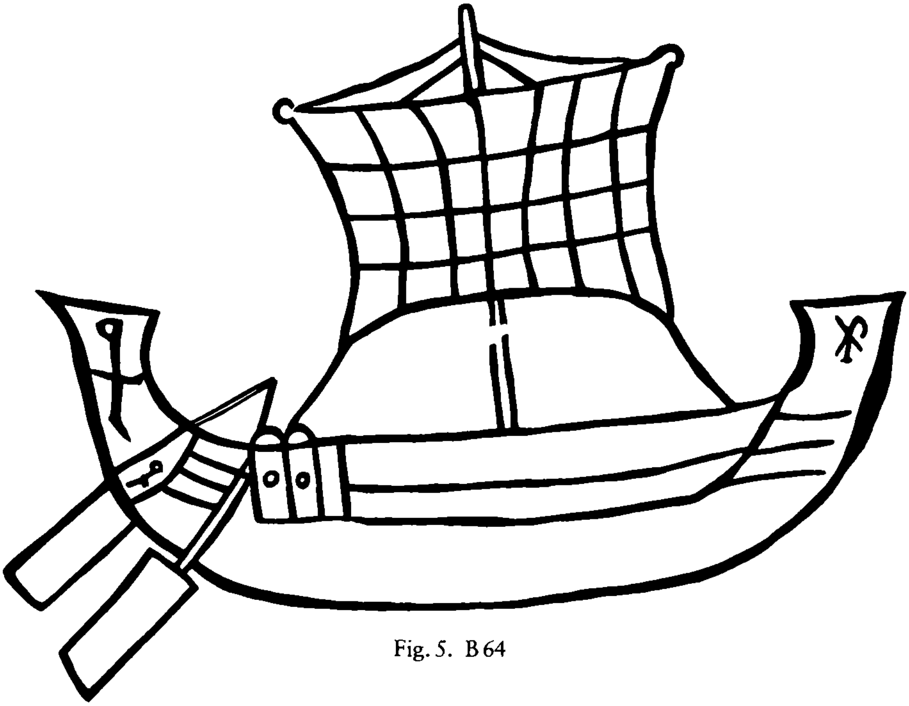


Fig. 5. B 64

in trachite: *D(is) M(anibus) / Iuliae Ce[.]/le coniug[i] / L. Hostili[us] / Felix m[ari]/tus b(ene) m(erenti) [f(ecit)].*
Alla l. 2 è forse da intendere *Ce[le]le, cognomen* già noto nell'isola (v. A 177).

B 68 – A. Mastino, La chiesa di San Pietro in Bosa alla luce della documentazione epigrafica, cat. nr. 15, in: Le chiese di Bosa, Cagliari, 1978, p. 75. Cippo in trachite rinvenuto durante lavori di restauro nella chiesa di San Pietro: *L. Rutilia/no Rutil/ius Felix / pater [..] / f(ecit), v(ixit) a(nnis) X[..].*
Il cippo è spezzato superiormente, ove certamente erano le lettere *D.M*: *D(is) M(anibus).* La lacuna della l. 4 può essere completata *pater [b(ene) m(erenti)].*

PORTOTORRES (*TURRIS LIBISONIS*)

B 69 – C[ONTU] E., Portotorres (Sassari). Ruderi romani denominati 'Palazzo re Barbaro'. Rinvenimento di un'ara circolare dedicata a Bast, Bollettino d'Arte, LII, 1967, p. 205, fig. La bellissima ara marmorea, della quale è data una breve descrizione, è stata rinvenuta nelle grandi terme, riutilizzata come fontana in epoca tarda (V – VI sec.) (Tav. X 1.2). *M. Servilio Noniano C. Cestio co(n)s(ulibus) / C. Cuspius Felix / sacerd(os) / Bubasti / sacr(um).*
E' una chiara testimonianza del culto di una divinità egizia, nel mondo romano spesso associata ad Iside, in un momento, l'a. 35 d. C. come risulta dai consoli M. Servilius Nonianus e C. Cestius Gallus (cfr. A. Degrassi, I Fasti consolari

dell'Impero romano, Roma, 1952, p. 10), non molto lontano da un periodo, di poco precedente, in cui più vive erano state le persecuzioni nei confronti dei culti di divinità di questo tipo (v. M. Malaise, Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie, Leiden, 1972 [EPRO 22], pp. 389–395. Risultano interessanti le osservazioni di R. I. Rowland Jr., Isis in Roman Sardinia: Addenda to Malaise's Inventaire, Classical Philology, LXXI (2), 1976, p. 170, sul *sacerdos* dedicante, C. Cuspius Felix, che, data l'identità del *nomen* non comune, potrebbe essere stato un membro più anziano di una generazione della stessa famiglia del Cuspius Pansa di un'iscrizione elettorale di Pompei, nella quale gli Isiaci chiedono di votare per lui candidato all'edilità (C.I.L., IV, 1011 = I.L.S., 6419).

B 70 – A. Boninu, Turris Libyssonis (Porto Torres, Sassari), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, p. 98, nr. 546, tav. XLII. Frammento di lastra marmorea: C. *Memmi[---] / Dareus [---] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

B 71 – A.E., 1966, 173 = G. Maetzke, Portotorres (Sassari). Iscrizioni funerarie romane, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1964, p. 327, fig. 5. Frammento di lastra marmorea: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]us Cresces / [--- a]nnis XXXX / [---]ianus / [---]nte / [---]us.*

B 72 – G. Maetzke, ibid., p. 327, nr. 4, fig. 6. Frammento di lastra marmorea: *[--- / ---]ia [--- / ---] quebit in / [pace ---]as.*

B 73 – A.E., 1966, 174 = G. Maetzke, ibid., p. 328, nr. 5^1, fig. 7 = G. Maetzke, Scavi e scoperte nel campo dell'archeologia cristiana negli ultimi dieci anni in Toscana ed in Sardegna, Atti del II Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana a Matera 25–31 maggio 1969, Roma, 1971, p. 323, n. 13 a, fig. 11. Lastra marmorea: *[H]ic iacet Gaudi/osa infantula / qui bissit annor/[u]m plus minu(s) tre/s requiebit in / pacem [....] (shalom) /* (candelabro eptalicne).

B 74 – A.E., 1966, 175 = G. Maetzke, ibid., p. 329, nr. 5^2, fig. 8 = G. Maetzke, ibid., p. 323, n. 13 b: *Memoria Aniani fi[l.] / Iacotuli nepus pate/ris Aniani mortus / dein gen(itus ?) vixit anni/s XVII mense unu dies XV / iacet in pace.*
Data: insieme alla precedente è di epoca molto tarda, ma anteriore al V–VI sec.
Alla l. 4 l'ed. di A.E. propone *de ing/ui)n(e)* vedendovi un'allusione alla causa della morte.

B 75 – G. Maetzke, Portotorres (Sassari). Tomba paleocristiana con rivestimento in mosaico, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1966, p. 356, fig. 3. Località Balài. Iscrizione in mosaico entro una tabella ansata che originariamente aveva agli angoli quattro colombe: *D(o)m(inae) suae coniugi bon(a)e / femin(a)e Septimiae Musae / qu(a)e vixit ann(is) XXXXVII me(nsibus) / V di(ebus) XV refrigeres in / nomen XPI(sti) in pace.* Nelle due anse è inserita la croce monogrammatica con il segno X: ☧.

B 76 – G. MAETZKE, ibid., p. 356, fig. 5. Località Balài. Iscrizione in mosaico entro una tabella ansata: *Dom(ino) patri merentissi(mo) / Dionisio qui vixit annis LV, / m(ensibus) II, d(iebus X, Esychius et Val[e]ri/a fili carissimi fecerunt.* Nell'unica ansa rimasta il segno ⳨ come nel nr. precedente. Data: IV secolo avanzato.

B 77 – G. MAETZKE, Scavi e scoperte nel campo dell'archeologia cristiana negli ultimi dieci anni in Toscana ed in Sardegna, Atti del II Congresso di Archeologia cristiana a Matera 25–31 maggio 1969, Roma, 1971, p. 321, n. 6 (a), fig. 4. Lastra marmorea: *Philoponius Fortunatae / virginiae co(n)iugi / fili(i)s ac nepotibus / procreatis debitum / domino reddidit.*

B 78 – G. MAETZKE, ibid., p. 322, n. 6 (b), fig. 5. Lastra marmorea incompleta: *Spiritus sanctus / hic qu(ie)s(cit) Irene / vixit an(nos) III me(nses)/[---].*

B 79 – G. MAETZKE, ibid., p. 322, n. 6 (c), fig. 6. Lastra marmorea: ... δι ἀειμνήστῳ / καὶ γλυκ]υτάτῃ θυγαθρεί ιβ ἔτει / ... ἐπηδημησάσῃ τὸν κόσμο(ν) / ... στη μήτηρ μνήμη(ν).

B 80 – G. MAETZKE, ibid., p. 322, n. 7, fig. 7. Lastra marmorea spezzata sul lato destro: „era probabilmente un'iscrizione metrica con formule non frequenti e quindi difficilmente integrabili": *Quam lata dom[---]/nis in uno manem[---] / deprecamus san[---]/ant dona paren[---] / mercuri reno[---] / b(onae) m(emoriae) martur[---] / re[quiescit in pace].*

B 81 – G. MAETZKE, ibid., p. 322, n. 8, fig. 9. Frammenti di lastra marmorea; l'iscrizione, incompleta, dei due frammenti maggiori viene letta nel modo che segue dall'editore: *[---]que cupe/ [---] optime di/[---]edo filiorum / moratorum pa/[---] ceditur vita et / [---] vit(a)e m(a)erorem re/[---] autem flen(a)e memoriae / [--- primo]genitus est an(nor)um VII et me/[---] quievit in pace sub die XII / [--- Oc]tobres indicti(one) [--- / ---]ci[---].*

B 81 a – Tra le iscrizioni di Portotorres è da ricordare anche A. E., 1929, 157 = A. TARAMELLI, Portotorres. Iscrizione bizantina rinvenuta presso i ruderi delle antiche terme di Turris Libisonis proveniente da una chiesa distrutta, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1928, p. 256 = ID., Porto Torres. Indagini negli avanzi della costruzione da cui proviene l'iscrizione bizantina commemorante una vittoria contro i Longobardi, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1931, p. 111; B. R. MOTZO, Barlumi dell'età bizantina in Sardegna. Studi Cagliaritani di storia e filologia, Cagliari, 1927, pp. 90–91; G. DE SANCTIS, La Sardegna ai tempi di Costantino Pogonato, Rivista di Filologia Classica, LVI, 1928, pp. 118–122; A. SOLMI, L'iscrizione greca di Portotorres del sec. VII, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXI, 1939, pp. 1–20 e ID., Studi di storia e diritto in onore di Enrico Besta, IV, 1939, pp. 337–349; A. E. 1945, 45 = S. MAZZARINO, Su un'iscrizione trionfale di Turris Libisonis, Epigraphica, II, 1940, pp. 292–313; B. R. MOTZO, L'attività guerriera di Re Liutprando nei primi quattordici anni di regno, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXIV, 1954, pp. 85–87. Il testo, in greco, è da porre cronologicamente tra il 641 e il 654 d. C., sotto Costante II o forse preferibilmente tra il 681 e il 685 sotto Costantino

IV Pogonato; più tarda dell'inizio dell'VIII sec. secondo il MOTZO. Vi si celebra la vittoria sui Longobardi, che avevano tentato di sbarcare in Sardegna.

AGGIUS

B 82 – G. MAETZKE, Scavi e scoperte, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 176, nr. 2630. Necropoli ad incinerazione in località San Leonardo, frazione di Viddalba (comune di Aggius): su una stele in calcare con l'immagine del defunto schematizzata a forma di specchio le lettere ... *gianus*, forse parte del nome del defunto.

MONTI

B 83 – A. E., 1972, 225 = P. MELONI, Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 242. E' stato definito come cippo terminale: in realtà non si tratta di un vero e proprio cippo, ma piuttosto di un grosso spuntone granitico, ancora nella sua posizione primaria, che trovandosi in mezzo ad una piscina del rio Sos Caddalzos, a monte del guado Scorra Boi (regione Taerra, comune di Monti), rimane nascosto dall'acqua durante i mesi di piena (queste precisazioni sono dovute al dott. G. PINDUCCIU). Su un lato (direzione SO) si legge: *Balari*; sul lato opposto (direzione SE): *Fin(es) Ema (?) / [---] / praef[ectus) prov(inciae) / pas(sus) DLIIII* (Tav. XI 1.2). Il monumento risulta molto importante per la menzione dei Balari, uno dei popoli più noti della Sardegna (Plin., N. H., III, 85; Paus., X, 17, 9; Liv., XLI, 6, 6 e 12, 5 sg.), che finora non era stato possibile localizzare. Poichè l'orientamento dello spuntone è quello originario, si può pensare che i Balari risiedessero nelle odierne regioni dell'Anglona e del Logudoro. Il popolo degli Ema (?) risulta altrimenti ignoto. In base al titolo del governatore della provincia (*praef. prov.*) una data può essere compresa o tra il 20 e il 25 d. C. o in un periodo non successivo comunque al 67.

OLBIA (*OLBIA*)

B 84 – D. PANEDDA, Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1953, p. 95, tav. IX, 3. Su uno dei *bipedales* usati nella copertura di una tomba del tutto particolare, venuta alla luce nella necropoli romana di Su Cuguttu (Olbia), si legge, graffita entro una tabella ansata, la seguente iscrizione considerata, a torto, dall'editore un 'bollo': *Salbu(s) Ascl/epiade(s) Feli/x (H)elenopo/li.*

Non credo, come il PANEDDA, che i due nomi appartengano alla stessa persona, ma Asclepiades potrebbe essere il defunto e Felix il dedicante. Per la cronologia si ha un ben preciso limite *post quem*, che porta ancora più avanti il periodo proposto (dal III sec. in giù), nel nome della città di Helenopolis, un antico villaggio della Bitinia (Drepanon), luogo di nascita di Elena madre di Costantino, il quale per onorarla lo ingrandì e lo innalzò a città dandole il nuovo nome (cfr. RUGE, P.-W., V (2) [1905], c. 1697, nr. 4 e VII (2) [1912], c. 2844).

B 85 – D. PANEDDA, ibid., p. 125, Olbia, necropoli di San Simplicio. Lastra marmorea (cm 38 × 29): [Ζώ]ιλος / Κύπριος / [ν]αύκλη/ρ(ο)ς. Il testo è riportato da un manoscritto di P. TAMPONI, la lapide è andata perduta. Per una serie di considerazioni, legate anche alle tombe vicine a quella da cui proviene la nostra epigrafe, il PANEDDA propone come data il I secolo d. C.

B 86 – G. MAETZKE, Olbia (Sassari). Titolo funerario cristiano da S. Simplicio, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1966, pp. 353–354, fig. 1. Lastra marmorea spezzata sulla sinistra: *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [--- F]lorentia dulcis nata / [--- a]moris parentibus cito / [erepta mer]ita dici famula dei / [--- i]n pace annor(um) IIII m(ensium) III / [---] amori pii parentes / [--- fe]cerunt* ⳨ (colomba).

– Miliarii

Via KARALIBUS – TURREM

B 87 – C. PUXEDDU, La romanizzazione, in: Diocesi di Ales – Usellus – Terralba. Aspetti e valori, Cagliari, 1975, p. 213, tav. LVI. Località Muragliori o Su Ponti Arcau, comune di Uras. Frammento di marna. Misure: alt. massima residua cm 45,5; largh. massima originaria cm 37; spess. cm 13,5; alt. lettere cm 4–5.
M(ilia) p(assuum) XXX[---]./ D(omino) n(ostro) Fl(avio) Iul[io] / Constan[tio / ---] pio fel[ici --- / ---] victor[---]. Per una integrazione del numero delle miglia in *XXX[XV]* in base alla distanza da Cagliari, cfr. P. MELONI, La Sardegna Romana, Sassari, 1975, p. 427 [cf. ID., La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I–III, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11,1), sopra pp. 474–475].
Data: aa. 337–361, regno di Costanzo II. Il nome dell'imperatore è stato integrato alla l. 3 *Constan[tio]*, ma non vi è motivo per non intendere anche solo *Constan[ti]*, attribuendo così il miliario a Costante, altro figlio di Costantino (v. nr. seguente).

Via KARALIBUS – OLBIAE

B 88 – P. B. SERRA, Miliari romani del Basso Impero (Bonorva, loc. Mura Menteda), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 103–104, nr. 550. Trachite grigio cinerina: *M(ilia) p(assuum) CXV. / D(omino) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) Fl(avio) Iulio / Constanti / beatissimo / Caesari Fl(avius) Titian/us v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Sard(iniae) / d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius.*
L'imperatore ricordato è Costante, figlio di Costantino, ancora *beatissimus Caesar*: i limiti cronologici pertanto possono essere fissati tra il 25 dicembre del 333, data della sua elevazione al cesarato e il 9 settembre del 337, giorno

in cui divenne Augusto (cfr. A. H. M. Jones – J. R. Martindale – J. Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1971, p. 220). Dato il carattere del tutto onorifico del miliario non deve meravigliare la menzione di un solo Cesare e di nessun Augusto in un monumento di questo tipo; è sufficiente ricordarne due della Gallia Belgica dedicati ad altri figli di Costantino, Cesari anch'essi, Crispo e Costantino rispettivamente: A. E., 1968, 313 a e b. Non è esatta invece la data proposta dall'editore, che pensa agli anni intorno al 340 o a quelli immediatamente successivi.
Nuovo per i fasti provinciali della Sardegna è il governatore *Fl(avius) Titianus*, che può essere forse identificato con il *Flavius Titianus, v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*, di un'iscrizione africana considerata più tarda del 324 d. C. (C.I.L., VIII, 7045 = I.L.Alg. II, 667, Cirta: cfr. Stein, P.I.R., III^2 (1943), p. 174, nr. 380; A. H. M. Jones – J. R. Martindale – J. Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1971, p. 919).

B 89 – P. B. Serra, ibid., p. 105, nr. 551. Trachite grigio cinerina: *[– – –]biano / procuratore suo / v(iro) e(gregio)*. Il miliario è mutilo della parte superiore. Le poche lettere rimaste del nome del governatore *[– – –]bianus* (la *B* è sicura) permettono di proporne l'identificazione con l'*Octabianus* noto dal nr. seguente.

B 90 – A. E., 1973, 276 = A. U. Stylow, Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales – Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 515 – 532, tav. XXXIII = V. Tetti, Appunti sulle strade romane nella zona di Bonorva, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973 – 1974 [1975], pp. 195 – 196, D, tav. I, 1. Valle del Riu Badu Pedrosu ad Est del Monte Cujaru (Bonorva). *M(ilia) p(assuum) CVII. / [I]mp(eratori) Caes(ari) C. Iulio / Vero Maximino / pio felici Aug(usto) pont(ifici) / max(imo), trib(unicia) pot(estate), co(n)s(uli) / desig(nato), imp(eratori) I, p(atri) p(atriae) pro/co(n)s(uli) bia(m) qu(a)e duc(it) a Karalib(us) Olbiae / ve[t]ust(ate) corr⟨r⟩upta(m) / restituit curant(e) / [– – –] Octabiano / [pr]a[e]f(ecto) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae) / proc(uratore) suo.* Data: a. 235 d. C., sotto Massimino il Trace.
Octabianus è nuovo per i fasti provinciali dell'isola. L'editore (pp. 523 – 524 e nota 28), poichè il suo nome non può essere restituito nell'altro miliario sardo già noto dello stesso imperatore (E. E., VIII, 798 = C 19), propone per il suo governo gli aa. tra il 232 e il 235 o la metà del 236 e pensa che possa essere un suo discendente il M. Cornelius Octavianus governatore della Mauretania nella seconda metà del III sec. d. C. (Stein, P.I.R., II^2 [1936] p. 346, nr. 1408).

B 91 – V. Tetti, ibid., p. 193, A[1]. Monte Cujaru (Bonorva). Trachite. Si leggono poche lettere: *[– – –]erio (?) [– – – / – – –] Caesar[i] Gallieno / [– – –]ieo (?)*. Si ha troppo poco per poter stabilire una cronologia. Non è possibile infatti neppure dire se l'imperatore Gallieno è ricordato da solo, con il padre Valeriano, con il padre ed i figli.

---

[1] Pare opportuno dare notizia di questo e di altri miliari (B 92 – B 94) rinvenuti da V. Tetti con il nr. precedente e da lui pubblicati, senzo però tener conto di alcuni suoi poco scientifici tentativi di integrazione; anche talune sue letture destano perplessità.

B 92 – V. Tetti, ibid., p. 194, B, tav. I, 2. Monte Cujaru (Bonorva). Trachite. Manca completamente la parte superiore del miliario con il nome dell'imperatore: *[---] / tribunicia potestate / viam qu(a)e ducit / Karalibus Olvie* (sic) *vetustate / corruptam restituit / curante provinciae Sardiniae P. Bibio [---] / proc(uratore) suo / v(iro) e(gregio).* Lascia perplessi la posizione delle parole *provinciae Sardiniae* (ll. 5 – 6) tra *curante* ed il nome del governatore P. Bibio. Se è esatta la lettura di questo nome il nostro potrebbe essere identificato con P. Vibius Marianus ricordato come *proc(urator) et praeses prov(inciae) Sardiniae* nell'iscrizione funeraria postagli dalla moglie (C.I.L., VI, 1636 = I.L.S. 1361). Per lui, in mancanza di elementi sicuri per una datazione, è stato proposto un generico III secolo. Cfr. per tutti P. Meloni, L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958, p. 259 e pros. 75, il quale fa anche notare che il titolo di *proc. et praeses* in Sardegna è documentato per la prima volta poco prima del 227 d. C. [cf. Id., La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I – III, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11,1), sopra p. 467].

B 93 – V. Tetti, ibid., pp. 194 – 195, C, tav. I, 3. Monte Cujaru (Bonorva). L'editore ha dato con molte incertezze poche lettere per ognuna delle nove ll. da lui individuate. E' impossibile proporre una qualunque lettura; non hanno nessun senso i suoi tentativi di integrazione, che non tengono conto delle formule normali dei miliari e sono tra loro contraddittori.

B 94 – V. Tetti, ibid., pp. 196 – 197, E. Monte Cujaru, trachite. *[---] / Costanti/no maximo pi(o) / fel(ici) inv(icto) ac perpe/tuo semper Aug(usto) / T. Semptimius* (sic) *Ianua/rius v(ir) c(larissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) Sard(iniae) / d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue) eius.* Altra sicura menzione di Costantino in iscrizioni sarde è quella di C.I.L, X, 7974, miliario secondo alcuni, iscrizione onorifica secondo altri. Il tipo del monumento è in realtà quello di un miliario, se pure di piccole dimensioni rispetto alla maggior parte dei miliari sardi (ma v. A 372, ugualmente degli inizi del IV sec.), e può benissimo esserlo se non ci si lascia trarre in inganno dalla forma del testo, che, come per questo nuovo, è costituito semplicemente dal nome dell'imperatore in dativo e da quello del governatore in nominativo. Ambedue sono da porre a mio parere tra i miliari onorifici, numerosi già nel III sec. specialmente nelle province africane e piuttosto rari in Sardegna (v. più avanti B 96).
T. Septimius Ianuarius è un personaggio noto. Lo troviamo menzionato in C.I.L., X, 7950 (Portotorres, dedicata a Licinio); 7974 (Telti, il miliario di Costantino già ricordato); 7975 (Olbia, lastra marmorea frammentaria); E. E., VIII, 783 (Olbia, loc. Sbrangatu, miliario di Licinio). Per il periodo del suo governo nell'isola si è pensato agli anni fra il 313 e il 314, oppure fra il 315 e il 319, considerando contemporanee le varie iscrizioni e tenendo conto dei due periodi di concordia tra gli imperatori Costantino e Licinio (cfr. P. Meloni,

L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958, pp. 242–244). Sono stati anche proposti gli anni 308–324 per le iscrizioni che menzionano Licinio, gli anni 312–314 per quelle che menzionano Costantino (cfr. A. M. Jones – J. R. Martindale – J. Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, Cambridge, 1971, p. 455).

B 95 – A. Boninu, Torralba, località Code (Sassari), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, p. 100, nr. 547, tav. XLIII. Cippo di trachite, rinvenuto insieme ad altri cinque: *M(ilia) p(assuum) CXVIII./ Imp(erator) Caes(ar) M. Aurelius / [An]to[ninus] pius fe(li)x / Aug(ustus) divi Antonini / [M]agni Pii fil(ius), divi Severi / nepos trib(unicia) pot(estate) III, co(n)s(ul), / [po]nt(ifex) max(imus), p(ater) p(atriae), proco(n)s(ul) III / [viam quae] a Karalibus / [Olbiae] ducit vetustate / [collap]sa[m] restituit / [---] / prov(inciae) S/[ardini]ae.*
E' la prima volta in cui nell'epigrafia della Sardegna compare chiaramente il nome dell'imperatore Elagabalo. Egli è qui ricordato con la III potestà tribunicia e il III consolato giacchè mi pare che la terza iterazione, posta per un banale errore alla fine della l. 7 subito dopo *procos.*, debba riferirsi invece alla parola *cos.* che nella l. precedente occupa la stessa esatta posizione di *procos.*
Data: a. 220 d. C.
Nessuna possibilità per ora di identificare il governatore, a meno che non debba essere attribuito a Elagabalo, piuttosto che a Caracalla, il miliario A 51, nel qual caso il nostro anonimo potrebbe essere *L. Ceion[ius ---] Alienus.*

B 96 – A. Boninu, ibid., p. 101, nr. 548, tav. XLIV. Cippo di trachite, palinsesto: *M(ilia) p(assuum) CXVIII./ Divo Aureli/ano curante Cassio Eirmini/ano* (sic) *v(iro) e(gregio) pr(a)esi/de prov(inciae) Sardi/ni(a)e.* Si leggono solo alcune lettere della precedente iscrizione.
Data: dopo la morte di Aureliano, avvenuta nell'a. 275 d. C.
Di particolare interesse è la dedica *divo Aureliano.* E' il primo miliario di questo tipo rinvenuto nell'isola – gli altri quattro di questo imperatore hanno formule comuni e vi si parla chiaramente di restauri della strada *vetustate corrupta* (E. E., VIII, 747, 775, 787, 796; cfr. G. Sotgiu, Studi sull'epigrafia di Aureliano, Università di Cagliari, 1961, pp. 34, 48; Ead., Aureliano [1960–1972], ANRW, II 2, Berlin – New York, 1975, p. 1045) – ed il secondo al di fuori delle province africane. (Miliario onorifico è infatti probabilmente la colonna usata oggi come supporto dell'acquasantiera della chiesa di Sauveplantade [Gallia Narbonense]: A. E., 1969–1970, 374, che ha semplicemente *divo / Aureliano.*) I miliari africani dedicati *divo Aureliano* sono: C.I.L., VIII, 10961 = 22295; G. Sotgiu, Studi cit. p. 88, nrr. 39, 44, tutti della Numidia. Si tratta pertanto di una vera e propria iscrizione onoraria. (Per i miliari di Aureliano espressione di omaggio all'imperatore cfr. G. Sotgiu, Studi cit., pp. 52–55; Ead., ANRW, II 2, 1975, p. 1046.)
Il governatore della provincia, Cassius Eirminianus, da intendere Firminianus, è un personaggio completamente nuovo, in carica probabilmente alla morte

di Aureliano. Il solo titolo di *praeses prov. Sardiniae* compare per la prima volta sotto il nostro imperatore.

B 97 – A. Boninu, ibid., p. 102, nr. 549, tav. XLV. Cippo in trachite mancante della parte superiore: *[---] / a Kar[alibus ---] / restitu[erunt --- / M. Ant(onio) [S]ept[imio ---] / proc(uratore) suo / e(gregio) v(iro).* Benchè siano giunte soltanto le ultime ll. dell'iscrizione, il nome del governatore *M. Ant(onius) [S]ept[imius Heraclitus]* ci permette di stabilirne la cronologia. Il nostro infatti è noto da altri miliari dell'isola: E. E., VIII, 773 (Antonius Septimius Heraclitus) e A 376 (M. Septimius Heraclitus), tutti e due degli aa. 251 – 253 per l'imperatore Treboniano Gallo ed il figlio Volusiano; ad una possibile lettura del suo nome in un miliario inedito del giardino archeologico di Bonorva, ugualmente del tempo di questi imperatori, accenna A. U. Stylow, Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales – Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, p. 527, nota 46. Recentemente poi in A 385, da porre tra l'aprile-giugno del 250 e il maggio del 251 per l'imperatore Decio ed i figli Erennio Etrusco e Ostiliano Cesari (v. p. 580), è stato inteso *M. An[t.] Sept. Her[aclitus].* Pertanto il nostro miliario è degli aa. 250 – 253 d. C.

– Instrumentum domesticum

B 98 – *Lucernae*

a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum Epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], pp. 571 – 574, nrr. 333 – 355: bolli di lucerne già editi precedentemente e ripresi in esame in A-*Instrumentum.*

b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 247 – 248: notizie di carattere generale sui bolli di lucerne presi in esame in A-*Instrumentum.*

c) G. Sotgiu, Nuove lucerne con bollo, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 79 – 91. Vengono editi bolli nuovi per la Sardegna e per il mondo romano (*GE*; *STACLE*; *PORC[../..]VNDA / [..]OXI*); nuovi per la Sardegna (*B*; *C·COR·VRS*; *M·DAT*; *FON·HIL*; *INDELEC*; *TI·IVLI·S[---]*; *G·L·A; EX·OF / PONI*; *VENUSTI*); bolli inediti, ma già noti nell'isola (*ANNI·SER*; *CAPRAR/I*; *FRUCT*; *GABINIA*; *Q·MEM·PVD*).

d) G. Sotgiu, Iscrizioni di S. Antioco (Sulci). Collezione Giacomina, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 117 – 118: bolli inediti, ma già noti nell'isola: *MARCI*; *PVLL/AENO/RV(m)*; *R.*

e) G. Sotgiu, Un nuovo 'carmen epigraphicum' e le iscrizioni del Museo di S. Antioco, Epigraphica, XXXVII, 1975, pp. 135 – 141: bolli inediti, ma già noti nell'isola (*IVN·DRA*; *Q·MARCI*; *Q·MEM·KAR*; *PVLL/AIN/I*); uno nuovo per la Sardegna (*MARIANI*) proveniente però da Abbasanta.

B 99 – *Vascula*

a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], pp. 574 – 576, nrr. 356 – 372: bolli già editi in varie riviste.

b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 248 – 249: vengono ricordati solo alcuni nomi di fabbricanti aretini italici gallici, come premessa al volume non ancora pubblicato.

B 100 – *Amphorae*

a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], p. 576, nrr. 373 – 377: già editi precedentemente.

b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 249. Vengono ricordati solo alcuni dei numerosi nuovi bolli inediti di prossima pubblicazione: *L. A(tili) Asiatici Pa( )* (Portotorres); *M. I( ) Mopsi* (Oristano); *L. Antei Sura*; *L. Can( ) Sec( )*; *N. S( ) Ca( )* (Tharros); *M. Tucci L. f. Tro(mentina) / Caleonus* (sic) *(Cornus)*. Quest'ultima fabbrica à stata recentemente localizzata ad Apani, a nord di Brindisi (B. Sciarra, Alcuni bolli anforari brindisini, Epigraphica, XXVIII, 1966, pp. 122 – 134) ed il proprietario M. Tuccius Galeo identificato con un ricco produttore ed esportatore di vino, ricordato dal suo contemporaneo Cicerone (Ad Att. XI, 12, 4: Galeo; Ad fam. VIII, 8, 1: M. Tuccius). Nuovi esemplari sono stati trovati recentemente in Gallia (A. Tchernia, Premiers résultats des fouilles de Juin 1968 sur l'épave 3 de Planier, Études Classiques, III, 1968 – 1970, pp. 60 – 62; A. E., 1969 – 1970, 337) e Spagna (A. E. 1971, 176). Per il personaggio e la diffusione del suo bollo v. ora più particolarmente A. Tchernia, Études d'Archéologie provençale, 1971, pp. 60 – 61, fig. 10 = A. E., 1979, 398.

B 101 – *Dolia*

a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], pp. 576 – 577, nrr. 378 – 380: bolli già editi precedentemente.

b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 250. Vengono ricordati solo alcuni dei nuovi bolli inediti: *L. Plotius / Gratus fec(it)* (Serri); *G. Satrii / Phoebus* (Tharros). Il più interessante proviene da Nora: *T. Flav(i) Aug(usti) l(iberti) Max(imi), / fecit Poticus s(ervus)* (= P. Mistretta, Il teatro romano di Nora, Dioniso, XXXV (3), 1961, p. 34 [che lo pubblicò senza intenderne i nessi] = G. Pesce, I risuonatori del teatro romano di Nora, in: Gli archeologi italiani in onore di Amedeo Maiuri, Cava dei Tirreni, 1965, pp. 359 – 366).

c) A. Boninu, S. Lussorio. Tortolì, in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, p. 106, nr. 554: bollo ripetuto due volte, *AVV*.

B 102 – *Tegulae*
a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], pp. 568 – 571, nrr. 311 – 332, già editi precedentemente.
b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 250. Vengono ricordati i bolli: *Claudii / Attici*; *Ansi*; *Stati M. Luciferi* già editi, ed il nuovo *Ti. Claudii Lascivi* (Monti, loc. Castro).
c) D. Panedda, Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1953, p. 100: Mattone da edificio termale: *Ex figlin(a) Rutiliae / C. Iulius Aptus f(ecit)* e non alla l. 2 *CIVIVS*. Per altri bolli delle fabbriche di Rutilia in Sardegna v. C.I.L., X, 8046, 16 e 25.
d) A. E., 1960, 366 = G. Pesce, Il primo scavo di Tharros (anno 1956), Studi Sardi, XIV – XV, 1955 – 1957 [1958], p. 323 e figg. 50 – 51: nelle terme presso il battistero il bollo *Iulian(i) et Quadr(ati)*.
e) G. Maetzke, Scoperte ad Oschiri, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 277, nr. 4232. Presso le rovine di Castro, in una tomba alla cappuccina un embrice con bollo *Sex*.

B 103 – *Signacula*
a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], p. 577, nrr. 381 – 384, già editi precedentemente.
b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 251. Si ricordano i già editi *Annus / largus*; *Veneris ob/sequentis*; il nuovo *dic(atus) / sum / Iov(i)*.

B 104 – *Supellex reliqua*
a) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], p. 578, nr. 386: tessera in osso per spettacoli teatrali: 1) *Arpax*; 2) *XVIII*.
b) A. E., 1972, 228 = G. Sotgiu, Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, p. 251 = Ead., Matrici inscritte da Tharros, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 99 – 102 e figg., tutte da Tharros. Con il bollo sulla matrice (*forma*) di una base il lucerna: *Aur(eli) X[an(thi)]*, si dà notizia di graffiti incisi sulla parte esterna delle matrici di piccoli oggetti forse votivi. Sono costituiti dal nome dell'operaio autore della matrice stessa. *L. Ah( )* o forse meglio *L. A( ) H( )*; *Rufi Natali(s)*; *Saturni/ni*.
c) A. Boninu, Turris Libyssonis (Porto Torres, Sassari), in: Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, p. 97:

matrice di base di lucerna con parte del bollo *[NI]NI*, rinvenuta presso il Ponte Romano.

d) A. E., 1975, 465 = G. Sotgiu, Un collare di schiavo rinvenuto in Sardegna, Archeologia Classica, XXV – XXVI, 1973 – 1974 [1975], pp. 688 – 697, tav. CXII. Due frammenti di lamina bronzea (cm 32,3 × 1,8 – 2): ⳨ *S[ervus sum] Felicis arc(hi)diac(oni): tene me ne fugiam.* Data: II metà V secolo d. C. o inizi del VI.

e) E. Contu, Sassari. Lingotto romano con iscrizione trovato presso l'isola dei Porri e Capo Mannu, Bollettino d'Arte, LII, 1967, p. 206. Lingotto di piombo del peso di circa 30 chilogrammi; su una faccia: *CERD.*

f) A. E., 1959, 243 = G. Sotgiu, Supplementum epigraphicum ad C.I.L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], p. 578, nr. 385, peso proveniente da Neoneli: *unciae sex / sol(idi) / XXXVI* (già edito precedentemente).

g) P. B. Serra, Reperti tardo antichi e altomedievali dalla Nurra nel Museo Nazionale 'G. A. Sanna' di Sassari, Sassari, 1976, p. 7, nr. 3 e p. 11, tav. IV, 1 – 4. Località imprecisata della Nurra: triente globulare in bronzo. Preceduta da sei trattini verticali la leggenda *EX CAS* = *ex(actum ad) Cas(toris templum).* Data III – IV secolo d. C.

h) P. B. Serra, ibid., pp. 17 – 18 nota 32, tav. VI, 1 – 2. Da Tharros, ora nel museo di Cagliari: tavoletta di bronzo, quadrata (cm 1,7), non *exagium*, ma tessera di riconoscimento (?). Da una parte *Symm/acus*, dall'altra croce monogrammatica con ai lati le lettere apocalittiche alpha e omega. Età non anteriore al VI secolo d. C.

Per altre tavolette dello stesso tipo v. C 14 e C 15.

i) Fluminimaggiore, località Antas (v. B 13 e B 14). Anello digitale a fascetta, in argento e stagno, rinvenuto in una tomba a fossa, non lontano dal tempio del Sardus Pater. La prima notizia è stata data da S. M. Cecchini, Sondaggi al villaggio, in: Ricerche puniche ad Antas. Rapporto preliminare delle campagne di scavi 1967 e 1968, Roma, 1969, p. 158. tav. LXIII, 1 a – e, la quale nella sua descrizione accenna semplicemente alla raffigurazione di „un animale, probabilmente un serpente, tra le cui spire sono incisi alcuni segni indecifrabili, forse monogrammi" e propone come data, in base al corredo della tomba, il III secolo d. C.; R. du Mesnil du Buisson, Nouvelles Études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan, Leiden, 1973 [EPRO 33], pp. 229 – 240, fig. 120, riconosce nell'animale un serpente e propone di leggere, se pure con qualche riserva, i 'segni indecifrabili' nel modo seguente: *Sida* vel *Sidia Babi dedi dono* (vel *donum*) *denarios XCIV* („= a Sida o Sidia Babi ho dato 94 denari").

I punti certi sarebbero il nome del dio, *Sida* o *Sidia Babi*, e la sua immagine primitiva, il serpente: una conferma di quanto già stabilito dalle iscrizioni puniche e latine del tempio di Antas, da cui *Sid* = *Babi* = *Sardus Pater.*

Per quanto riguarda il resto egli nota un insieme che chiama stella a otto raggi, con segni che assomigliano a delle D alla sommità di un'asta; vede dei rho greci che potrebbero essere due chrismon combinati, ma, poichè qui non avrebbero senso, egli suggerisce con riserva di riconoscervi il segno dei denari e le lettere *DD* = *dedi dono* o *donum.*

Più recentemente ancora, invece, P. SERRA, Reperti tardo antichi e altomedievali dalla Nurra, Sassari, 1976, p. 19, nota 41, tav. VII, 4–7, che non conosce il lavoro del DU MESNIL DU BUISSON, vede tra le spire del serpente „alcuni monogrammi, segnatamente quello cristologico di tipo complesso per la sovrapposizione di almeno tre rho" e, mentre per questo motivo esclude una data anteriore al IV secolo d. C., per il corredo della tomba arriva a proporre almeno il VI secolo.

Pare opportuno segnalare a questo punto un anello d'oro, simile per la forma a fascetta e per la rappresentazione del serpente, nel quale tra le varie parole sigle segni sono il nome del dio Mitra e il monogramma cristiano (F. CUMONT, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, Bruxelles, 1896, II, pp. 452–453, nr. 14, fig. 406).

C. *Nuove letture, correzioni e aggiunte che riguardano iscrizioni edite nel C.I.L., X e nell'E. E., VIII*

C1 – C.I.L., X, 7557, Cagliari (Tav. XV 1).
A. E., 1958, 258 = A. BALIL, En torno a las relaciones de Cerdeña e Hispania en la epoca romana, Studi Sardi, XIV–XV, 1955–1957 [1958], pp. 130–133.
Le abbreviazioni della l. 1 *D·S·A·T·*, rimaste misteriose per lungo tempo, sono state intese *D(eae) s(acrae) A(taecinae) T(urobrigensi)* e la dedica attribuita quindi ad una divinità indigena, assimilata in epoca romana a Proserpina, il cui santuario più importante era a Turobriga, nella Lusitania (Plin., Nat. Hist. III, 14) ed il cui culto sarebbe stato introdotto in Sardegna dai soldati di una *coho(rs) Lusitan(orum)*: C.I.L., X, 7884. Poichè però non risulta che una divinità venga considerata *sacra* (sacro è invece quel che alla divinità viene offerto o dedicato), proporrei di riferire ad Atecina l'attributo di *sancta*, per cui l'iscrizione dovrebbe essere: *D(eae) s(anctae) A(taecinae) T(urobrigensi) / Serbulus / votum / s(olvit) v(otum) l(ibens) a(nimo).*

C2 – C.I.L., X, 7563–7578, Cagliari.
Questi numeri comprendono le iscrizioni greche e latine della tomba di Atilia Pomptilla (la cosiddetta 'Grotta della Vipera') in Cagliari.
– I. G., XIV, 607 a–q.
– E. PAIS, Prima relazione intorno ai viaggi fatti per la compilazione dei 'Supplementa Italica' al C.I.L., Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, III, 1894, pp. 912 (dà per la l. 1 di 7563 una nuova lettura: *O·F·O·Q·S* = *O(ptima) f(oemina) o(ptime)q(ue) s(ancta)*; per la l. 3 di 7564 *L. Cassio* invece di *M. Cassio*) e p. 913 (specchio con la 'vera collocazione dei titoli' del monumento).
– F. BÜCHELER, Carmina Latina epigraphica, II, Lipsiae, 1897, pp. 741–742, nr. 1551 A–G.
– G. COPPOLA, L'heroon di Atilia Pomptilla in Cagliari, Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, VII (s. VI), 1931, pp. 388–437, 4 tavv. Dopo un control-

lo minuzioso e preciso dà nuove letture per quasi tutte le iscrizioni (per la l. 1 di 7563, ad es., afferma che non vi sono dubbi sulla sigla O·*I*·O·Q·*S* = *O(pus) i(nstitutum) o(blatum)q(ue) s(acrae)*), propone un solo autore per i vari *carmina* (forse lo stesso L. Cassius Philippus) e pone il monumento nel II secolo d. C., in età adrianea.
– R. Desmed, Le roman de Pomptilla et de Philippe, Ludus Magistralis, XV, 1968, pp. 9–13, presenta una nuova breve analisi delle iscrizioni metriche.
– F. Tambroni, Un'Alcesti romana, Romana gens, nov. 1935, pp. 2–3, intende la sigla di 7563: *o(ro) f(aciatis) o(ssa) q(uiescant) s(emper).*

C 3 – C.I.L., X. 7588, Cagliari (Tav. XV 2).
G. Sotgiu, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della *familia Caesaris* in Sardegna), in: ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1980, VI, pp. 2023–2045. La riscopetta dell'iscrizione, pubblicata dal Mommsen soltanto attraverso l'opera del Dani e del Muratori, ha permesso una nuova lettura: *D(is) M(anibus) / Diadumeno Aug(usti) / ser(vo) disp(ensatori) Epaphrodit(iano), / vixit ann(is) XXX, / Docimus, Theon, Apo/lausus vic(arii) domino / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).*
Varii elementi, in particolare l'*agnomen Epaphrodit(ianus)*, derivato dal precedente proprietario di Diadumenus, probabilmente l'Epaphroditus liberto ed *a libellis* di Nerone, consentono di proporre una data compresa tra la fine del I e gl'inizi del II sec. d. C.
E' da sottolineare la presenza di più *vic(arii)*, che si rivolgono al *servus ordinarius* da cui dipendono chiamandolo *dominus*.

C 4 – C.I.L., X, 7658, Cagliari (Tav. XVI 1).
F. Vivanet, Cagliari, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1893, p. 88. Questa iscrizione e altre due (C 5 e C 8), edite nel C.I.L. attraverso le letture del padre Antonio Augustino, uno dei più antichi raccoglitori di epigrafi sarde (1516–1586), e di Giuseppe Dani che passò le sue schede al Muratori, sono state ritrovate su cippi impiegati come materiale da costruzione in un magazzino del palazzo provinciale, già palazzo viceregio e transportate al museo di Cagliari.
Misure: alt. cm 128,5; largh. nelle tre parti, superiore centrale inferiore, rispettivamente cm 52, cm 49, cm 58; spess. cm 53, cm 56, cm 60; alt. lettere ll. 1–4 cm 5–5,5, ll. 5 e 7 cm 4,5, l. 6 cm 5.
Nell'iscrizione di questo cippo le sole varianti nei confronti del C.I.L. sono: a) l. 5 invece di *mensibus duo* si ha *mensibus duobus*, che era poi la lettura dell'Augustino; b) ll. 6–7 invece della sola l. 6: *fatis cessit / s[ui]s.*
Il testo completo è quindi: *D(is) M(anibus) / L. Herennius / Castus / vixit annis XVI, / mensibus duobus, / fatis cessit / s[ui]s.*

C 5 – C.I.L., X, 7660, Cagliari (Tav. XVI 2).
F. Vivanet, Cagliari, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1893, p. 88. Cippo ritrovato nel palazzo provinciale, già palazzo viceregio (v. C 4); dall'a. 1904 si conserva nel museo di Cagliari. Sono ben visibili, come nel precedente, le tracce

della sua riutilizzazione, che hanno in parte danneggiato anche l’iscrizione. Misure: alt. cm 123; largh. sup. cm 54, centrale cm 50, inf. cm 57; spess. rispettivamente cm 56, cm 52, cm 57; alt. lettere l. 2 cm 5,5; altre ll. cm 4,5 – 5.
Il testo, con qualche variante anche rispetto alla lettura del VIVANET, è il seguente: *[D(is)] M[anibus] / L. He[re]n[ni]us / Felix vix(it) an(nis) / XXXV, L. Heren(nius) / Felix p(ater) filio pie* (sic) */ [fec(it)].*

C6 – C.I.L., X, 7662 – 7663, Cagliari.
Le due iscrizioni, giunte all’editore del Corpus attraverso l’AUGUSTINO e il DANI (v. C4) e date da quest’ultimo come provenienti dal palazzo regio, si leggono su un unico cippo a forma di botte, sistemato ora nel giardino del Museo di Cagliari, e occupano i due scomparti centrali dei quattro in cui è divisa la facciata inscritta.
Misure: alt. massima (compresa la base) cm 70; largh. massima cm 151; largh. dei quattro scomparti, senza le cornici, cm 21; 20,5; 21; 24. Spessore massimo cm 46. Altezza delle lettere: prima iscrizione (a) cm 2 – 3, nell’ultima l. cm 1,7; seconda iscrizione (b) cm 3.
Il cippo, in calcare bianco, è piuttosto rovinato superiormente, ma solo nella parte anteriore, in modo che delle ll. 1 – 2 di ambedue le iscrizioni non è rimasta traccia. Ai piedi del primo scomparto a sinistra (anepigrafe) sulla base su cui poggia la botte è scolpita in rilievo un’ascia.
Il testo, mancante, come già detto, delle prime due ll., non risulta molto chiaro e varia soprattutto in a, particolarmente dove la pietra è più rovinata: è diversa, ad es., la suddivisione delle ll.; il defunto è *[A]nnianus*, non *Iovinianus*; della madre è dato anche il *cognomen.* In b le sole varianti sono date dal nome del defunto che è un *Saturninus* e non una *Saturnina*, e dall’ultima lettera, *F* di *f(ecit)*, che va nella l. successiva.
Le nuove letture pertanto sono le seguenti:
a) = *7662: [D(is) M(anibus) / Q. Herenni]/us [A]nnianus / vixit annis / XVIII, me(n)sibu/s duo Heren(nia) / [Satu ?]rna ma/ter filio [pi]/entissimo / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*
b) = *7663: [D(is) M(anibus) / Herenni] / Saturnini / vix(it) an(nis) XXXII / Iunia Thal/lusa mat(er) / fil(io) piissim(o) / f(ecit).*

C7 – C.I.L., X, 7678, Cagliari.
L’iscrizione, edita nel C.I.L. attaverso le proposte del GAZZERA e del MURATORI, era rimasta nascosta per lungo tempo da uno strato di intonaco; i lavori di restauro e sistemazione del Duomo, avvenuti negli anni 1929 – 1932, hanno rimesso in luce il grosso cippo di calcare inserito nel muro della facciata interna, sotto l’ambone tra la porta laterale sin. (per chi entra) e quella principale. Devo alla dott. DONATELLA SALVI la segnalazione che mi ha permesso un preciso controllo del monumento. Questo ha la forma regolare di un parallelepipedo con la parte anteriore divisa in tre riquadri da cornici piuttosto semplici. Due di essi, inscritti, sono completamente visibili, del terzo, quello più a d., si nota soltanto la parte iniziale, senza alcuna traccia di lettere.

Misure: alt. cm 57; largh. visibile cm 88; alt. lettere cm 3,5. I due riquadri hanno rispettivamente il campo inscritto di cm 44 × 35 e cm 44 × 33.
I segni d'interpunzione sono leggerissimi.
Il testo delle iscrizioni mentre corrisponde quasi esattamente a quello del C.I.L. nella prima, è diverso e più completo nella seconda:
a) *D(is) M(anibus) / Liciniae Pom/pei(a)e vix(it) ann(is) / XIII, Sulpicia / Insulana ma/ter filiae pi/issimae fec(it).*
b) *D(is) M(anibus) / L. Blossius [. / f(ilius)] Faustinus / vix(it) ann(is) [.....]/ me(n)sibus IIII, / fecit Sulpi/cia Insulana / filio piissimo.*

C 8 – C.I.L., X, 7705, Cagliari (Tav. XVII 1).
F. VIVANET, Cagliari, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1893, p. 88. Il cippo murato in un pilastro nel magazzino del palazzo provinciale, già palazzo viceregio, è ora nel museo di Cagliari, ove è stato trasportato nel 1904 (v. C 4). L'iscrizione ci era giunta soltanto attraverso l'AUGUSTINO, il quale, secondo la sua abitudine, aveva ignorato la divisione delle ll., data in modo quasi esatto dall'editore del C.I.L.
Misure: alt. cm 136; largh. nelle tre parti, superiore centrale inferiore, rispettivamente cm 54, cm 52, cm 56; spess. cm 51, cm 55, cm 57; alt. lettere cm 3,5 – 4.
La parte iniziale del testo non è più leggibile ed il nome del defunto è in caso nominativo e non genitivo: anche la lettura del VIVANET va pertanto corretta nel modo seguente: *[D(is) M(anibus)] / L. Sutorius / Nicephorus / L. Sutorius / Cornelianus / p[---] / pi[---].*

C 9 – C.I.L., X, 7706, Cagliari (Tav. XVII 2).
Il cippo, pubblicato nel C.I.L. attraverso le letture dell'AUGUSTINO e del DANI, era in origine murato come i precedenti (C 4, C 5, C 8) nel palazzo provinciale, già palazzo viceregio. Probabilmente è stato ritrovato nelle stesse circostanze in cui vennero alla luce gli altri tre (anche se il VIVANET, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1893, p. 88, non parla nè di questo nè di C 6) e come quelli trasportato nel museo.
Misure: alt. cm 121; largh. nelle tre parti, superiore centrale inferiore, rispettivamente cm 56, cm 52, cm 58; spess. cm 54, cm 56, cm 60; alt. lettere cm 4.
Il testo dell'iscrizione è quasi uguale a quello già edito: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Sutoriae / Athenaidis / L. Sutorius / Nicephorus / coniugi / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

C 10 – C.I.L., X, 7708, Cagliari (Tav. XVIII 1).
Il MOMMSEN dà due letture di questa iscrizione trovata *„Cagliari in suburbio Stampace apud minores Conventuales"*. La prima è dovuta al DANI che la spedì al MURATORI, la seconda a G. SPANO, Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, VIII, 1862, p. 126. Quest'ultima è quella più esatta come ho potuto constatare recentemente. P. MINGAZZINI, Cagliari. Resti di santuario punico e di altri ruderi a monte di Piazza del Carmine, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1949, p. 270, nr. 1, infatti, nel dare notizia di alcuni oggetti mobili rinvenuti durante

la costruzione del Palazzo delle Poste in Cagliari nel 1929, pubblica come inedita la stessa urna cineraria, riutilizzata dopo aver cancellato imperfettamente la precedente iscrizione e infine adoperata forse per abbeveratoio come dimostrerebbe il foro praticato all'altezza della l. 3.
Misure: alt. cm 40; largh. cm 48; profondità cm 46; diametro del loculo per le ceneri cm 28; profondità del medesimo cm 18; alt. delle lettere cm 4,5. Si trova attualmente nel giardino del museo di Cagliari.
Dis Ma(nibus) / C. Terentio Di/ocli oie / *C. Ter(entio) Callist(o)* pr / *C. Ter(entio) Diocli* r (le lettere non corsive apparterrebbero alla prima iscrizione).

C 11 – C.I.L., X, 7787, Cagliari.
G. Pesce, Sarcofagi romani di Sardegna, Roma, 1957, pp. 64–66, nr. 25, tavv. XLI–XLII, figg. 53–54. Si tratta del frammento di un sarcofago di marmo di età costantiniana, utilizzato poi col rilievo all'interno per l'iscrizione di una sepoltura più tarda (V o VI sec.). Il testo incompleto di questa iscrizione varia di poco rispetto a quello edito in C.I.L., ove però è data errata l'indicazione *„ab altera parte anaglyphum est medioaevo sculptum"*. Le varianti riguardano:
a) l. 3: *VIDVAST* non *VIDVAS*; abbiamo pertano o una voce del verbo *viduare – viduast[i]* – usata per indicare gli anni di vedovanza della defunta, oppure l'espressione *vidua st[etit ann. –––]* come in C.I.L., VI, 13025; pertanto non mi sembrano accettabili le osservazioni del Pesce, il quale considera la parola come un accusativo plurale che farebbe riferimento a vedove (= diaconesse) organizzate in un'istituzione.
b) l. 5: *pl(us) m(inus) X, s(ub) d(ie).*

C 12 – C.I.L., X, 7886, Austis.
Nell'a. 1949 in località Sa Canna, alla periferia di Austis, proprietà di Giuseppe Lecca, è venuta nuovamente alla luce questa iscrizione, ancora in loco parecchi anni più tardi. Il testo corrisponde esattamente a quello edito nel C.I.L., ma pare ugualmente opportuno completare i dati a nostra conoscenza descrivendo il monumento e dandone le misure.
Si tratta di un grosso masso di granito, di forma piuttosto rozza e irregolare, simile ad un parallelepipedo largo inferiormente, alla base; soltanto la parte anteriore, su cui è l'iscrizione, risulta lavorata; manca qualunque tipo di decorazione.
Misure: alt. cm 154; largh. massima (alla base) cm 90, minima (in alto) cm 63; spess. massimo cm 26, minimo cm 16; il campo inscritto, alto cm 32, occupa la parte alta del cippo ed ha inizio a cm 14 dal limite superiore; alt. delle lettere cm 6–8.

C 13 – C.I.L., X, 8053, 14 a, 24 a, 276, Cagliari.
G. Sotgiu, Nuove lucerne con bollo, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 91–93: le letture esatte sono rispettivamente *GAB·MERC* invece di *C·AB·MERC*; *FARRI·SATUR* ivece di *ARRI·SATUR*; *FRONIM* invece di *MINORE*.

C 14 – C.I.L., X, 8072, 6, Oristano.
P. Serra, Reperti tardoantichi e altomedievali dalla Nurra, Sassari, 1976, p. 17, nota 32, tav. VI, 3–4: tavoletta di bronzo, quadrata (cm 1,5), non *exagium*, ma forse tessera di riconoscimento, ora nel Museo di Cagliari. Da una parte: *Basi/lii*; dall'altra, non notato dall'editore del C.I.L.: *v(iri) c(larissimi)*. Per altre tavolette dello stesso tipo v. B 104 h e C 15.

C 15 – C.I.L., 8072, 7, Alghero.
P. Serra, Reperti tardoantichi e altomedievali dalla Nurra, Sassari, 1976, pp. 7 (nr. 4) e 11–12, 18. L'A. riprende in esame la tavoletta in bronzo, quadrata (cm 1,7) rinvenuta in una località imprecisata di Alghero e conservata oggi nel British Museum, nella quale si legge: a) *Mena/tis / pr(a)ef(ecti)*; b) *Tibe/riani / proc(uratoris)*. Si tratta probabilmente di una tessera di riconoscimento e non di un *exagium*, come si era creduto finora. Confrontandola con altre tavolette del tutto simili il Serra respinge le identificazioni del personaggio *Menas* già proposte: Menodoro, prefetto della flotta di Sesto Pompeo (A. Lamarmora, Voyage en Sardaigne, II Antiquités, Paris 1840, p. 465 ed E. Pais, Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano, Roma, 1923, pp. 121 nota 1); discendente dello stesso Menodoro (E. Pais, ibid., p. 291 nota; P. Meloni, La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975, p. 389); tenendo conto della tecnica dell'iscrizione, dell'agemina con l'argento, della tipologia del reperto e dei caratteri epigrafici non esita a proporre una cronologia „intorno al VI sec.“ ed accetta l'opinione espressa da R. P. Delattre, Musée Lavigerie Saint Louis de Carthage (Musée et Collections Archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie), Paris, 1899, pp. 61–62, per un esemplare simile rinvenuto a Tabarka nel secolo scorso e conservato attualmente nel museo nazionale di Cartagine: il nostro Menas sarebbe il Menas noto prefetto del pretorio degli aa. 528–529 d. C. e in precedenza prefetto della città di Costantinopoli (v. Ensslin, P. W. XV (1) [1931], c. 776, nr. 8) mentre Tiberianus sarebbe stato *proc(urator) (monetarum)* alle dipendenze del *comes sacrarum largitionum*.
Per altre tavolette dello stesso tipo v. B 104 h e C 14.

C 16 – C.I.L., X, 8323, Nuragus.
R. Loddo, Alcune iscrizioni romane inedite della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, V, 1909, p. 128, nr. 13, pubblica come inedita questa stessa iscrizione, ignorandone la località di provenienza.

C 17 – E.E., VIII, 722, Elmas.
E. Pais, Prima relazione intorno ai viaggi fatti per la compilazione dei 'Supplementa Italica' al C.I.L., Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, III, 1894, p. 914, dopo accurato controllo in loco afferma che l'iscrizione pubblicata dallo Ihm è lettura errata dell'iscrizione già edita in C.I.L., X, 7829.

C 18 – E.E., VIII, 785, località Sbrangatu (Olbia).
E. Pais, ibid., p. 915, dà una nuova lettura del miliario: *M(ilia) p(assuum) C[---] / Imp. Ca[es. --- / --- / po]ntif[--- / p]otesta[te ---]/ via(m) qu(a)e [--- / v]etusta[te ---] / curant[e ---] / proc(uratore) v(iro) e(gregio).*

C 19 – E.E., VIII, 798, località Pedra Zoccada (Olbia).
E. Pais, Prima relazione intorno ai viaggi fatti per la compilazione dei 'Supplementa Italica' al C.I.L., Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, III, 1894, p. 915, ripropone per le ll. 2–3 la lettura data da P. Tamponi, Notizie degli Scavi, 1888, p. 540, nr. 1. L'imperatore menzionato non è quindi M. Iulius Philippus, ma C. Iulius Verus Maximinus. V. ora anche A. E., 1975, 466 = A. U. Stylow, Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales–Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 530–531, tav. 34: *M(ilia) p(assuum) CLXIII / [I]mp(erator) ⟦Caes(ar) C. Iulius / Verus Maximinus⟧ / pius felix Aug(ustus) / pontifex max(imus), trib(unicia) / p(otestate) II, p(ater) p(atriae), proc(onsul), co(n)s(ul), via(m) / qu(a)e adducet a Kara/libus Olvi(a)e su(a)e vetus/tate corrupta(m) res/tit⟨uit⟩ curante / [---] ET[.]V[--- / ---].*
Data: a. 236 d. C.

C 20 – I.G., XIV, 611, Portotorres.
Già edita da G. Spano, Scoperte Archeologiche fattesi in Sardegna in tutto l'anno 1874, Cagliari, 1874, p. 26, questa iscrizione viene ripubblicata come inedita da A. Taramelli, Iscrizioni romane rinvenute nei lavori ferroviari ed edilizi nell'area dell'antica Turris Libyssonis, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1931, p. 116, nr. 5. Egli la dà come rinvenuta nell'abitato di Portotorres e facente parte della collezione Paglietti della stessa città.
Θεοῖς καταχ/θονίοις 'Απολλ/ωνίῳ χοροκι/θάρι περιοδο/νίκῃ ἀπελεύθε/ρος αὐτοῦ ἐποί(η)σε.
Mentre l'editore di I. G. alle ll. 3–4 completa la parola χοροκιθαρι(στῇ), H. G. Liddell–R. Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon, Oxford, rist. 1948, II, p. 1999, intendono χοροκιθάρι forma del dat. di χοροκιθαρεύς.

C 21 – F. Alziator, Il 'Caralis Panegyricus' di Roderigo Hunno Baeza, Cagliari, 1954, dà il testo e la traduzione.
Hunno Baeza, umanista cagliaritano della fine del cinquecento, in questa sua opera compresa nel codice miscellaneo M 55 (quasi certamente autografo) della Biblioteca Comunale di Cagliari, ricorda numerose iscrizioni della Cagliari romana. Egli è tra i primi a dare notizia della tomba di Atilia Pomptilla (p. 38) della quale menziona sei epigrammi latini in distici ed altrettanti greci, oltre ad elogi in prosa; parla di *C. Rufus vir clarissimus procurator Hadriani et Plotinae Augusti Traiani uxoris* (C.I.L., X, 7587) (p. 40); riporta il testo esatto di C.I.L., VI, 210 (= I.L.S, 2103) perchè in esso si parla di un *Fl(avius) Karalitanus* (p. 30). Risulta interessante per la topografia della Cagliari romana il passo che segue (p. 42), ricavato evidentemente dalla lettura di altre iscrizioni: *„haec via sacra sive Apollinis dicebatur; iuxta portum erat templum principale quod Iovis Optimi Maximi dicebatur. Erant et alia per urbem templa ut*

Aesculapi Augusti quod L. Iul. Mario accensus consulum dedicavit". L. *Iulius Mario mag(ister) Augustal(is) accensus consulum* ci è noto infatti per aver dedicato *Aesculapio Augusto* un'iscrizione (C.I.L., X, 7552); mentre un *vicus Martis et Aesculap[i]* (C.I.L., X, 7604) sembra fare riferimento a templi dedicati a queste divinità. Il BAEZA riferisce certamente di altre iscrizioni da lui viste quando elenca dei nomi, alcuni dei quali noti anche a noi: a p. 40 Dorotia Simplicissima (C.I.L., X, 7646), C. Quinctius (C.I.L., X, 7603), Cl. Papyrius (M. Papirius Sp. f. secondo la lettura del DANI) e Manlia Ingenua (C.I.L., X, 7688), Octavia Heuresis e la figlia Iulia Heuresis (C.I.L., X, 7686), Festus (A 335), Gabinius Felix (A 65); p. 42 + Bonifatius *episcopus* (C.I.L., X, 7753), + Restituta (A 117), + Felix (A 360). Nuovi, per il momento, risultano invece Clodius Venerianus, Gabinius Bassus, Gabinia Leda (p. 20), + Saturnus, + Simplicius (p. 42).

C 22 – P. TAMPONI, Notizie degli scavi di Antichitá, 1891, p. 363, Oristano.
E. PAIS, Prima relazione intorno ai viaggi fatti per la compilazione dei 'Supplementa Italica' al C.I.L., Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, III, 1894, p. 916 e ID., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908, p. 573, corregge la lettura *ZANA* e la intende come parte di un'iscrizione greca arcaica = Ϝανασ ...

D. Pubblicazioni che hanno come base della ricerca le iscrizioni

D 1 – A. E., 1959, 178. A. E. ASTIN, The status of Sardinia in the second century A. D., Latomus, XVIII, 1959, pp. 150 – 153.

D 2 – R. DESMED, Le roman de Pomptilla et de Philippe, Ludus Magistralis, XV, 1968, pp. 9 – 13.

D 3 – W. ECK, Zum Rechtsstatus von Sardinien im 2. Jh. n. Chr., Historia, XX, 1971, pp. 510 – 512.

D 4 – G. I. LUZZATTO, In tema di organizzazione municipale della Sardegna sotto il dominio romano, Studi in onore di Giuseppe Grosso, I, Torino, 1968, pp. 293 – 312.

D 5 – A. MASTINO, La gens Rutilia in Sardegna, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s., I (XXXVIII), 1976 – 1977 [1980], pp. 41 – 56.

D 6 – P. MELONI, Turris Libisonis romana alla luce delle iscrizioni, Epigraphica, XI, 1949 [1951], pp. 88 – 114.

D 7 – P. MELONI, Libisonis Turris (Porto Torres), Dizionario Epigrafico, IV, 1950, p. 947.

D 8 – P. Meloni, I miliarii sardi e le strade romane in Sardegna, Epigraphica, XV, 1953, pp. 42 – 50.

D 9 – P. Meloni, L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958.

D 10 – P. Meloni, La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975.

D 11 – A. E., 1958, 191 = Ch. Picard, L'ascia et la 'Porta Inferi' sur un sarcophage païen de Sardaigne, Revue Archéologique, 1958, pp. 102 – 105.

D 12 – R. J. Rowland Jr., Mortality in Roman Sardinia, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 1972 [1973], pp. 359 – 368.

D 13 – R. J. Rowland Jr., Onomastic Remarks on Roman Sardinia, Names, XXI (2), 1973, pp. 82 – 102.

D 14 – R. J. Rowland Jr., Onomasticon Sardorum Romanorum, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, N. F. VIII, 1973, pp. 81 – 118; Id., Onomasticon Sardorum Romanorum: Addenda, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, N. F. X (2), 1975, p. 420.

D 15 – A. E., 1975, 460 = R. J. Rowland Jr., Sardinians in the Roman Empire, Ancient Society, V, 1974, pp. 223 – 229.

D 16 – R. J. Rowland Jr., Isis in Roman Sardinia: Addenda to Malaise's Inventaire, Classical Philology, LXXI (2), 1976, pp. 169 – 170.

D 17 – R. J. Rowland Jr., Numismatics and the military history of Roman Sardinia, Akten des XI. Internationalen Limeskongresses, Székesfehérvár 30. 8. – 6. 9. 1976, Budapest, 1977, pp. 87 – 112.

D 18 – R. J. Rowland Jr., Aspetti di continuità culturale nella Sardegna romana, Latomus, XXXVI, 1977, pp. 460 – 470.

D 19 – R. J. Rowland Jr., The Christianization of Sardinia to ca. A. D. 600, Bulletin of Mediterranean Archaeology, II, 1977 – 1978, pp. 31 – 36.

D 20 – A. E., 1959, 245 = G. Sotgiu, Culti e divinità nella Sardegna romana attraverso le iscrizioni, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII (1), 1952 – 1954 [1955], pp. 575 – 588.

D 21 – A. E., 1960, 161 = G. Sotgiu, La Sardegna e il patrimonio imperiale nell'Alto Impero, Epigraphica, XIX, 1957 [1959], pp. 25 – 48.

D 22 – G. Sotgiu, La 'cohors II Sardorum', Archivio Storico Sardo, XXVI, 1959, pp. 481 – 508.

D 23 – A. E., 1962, 82 = G. Sotgiu, Sardi nelle legioni e nella flotta romana, Athenaeum, XXXIX, 1961, pp. 78 – 97.

D 24 – F. Tambroni, Un'Alcesti romana, Romana Gens, nov. 1935, pp. 2 – 3.

D 25 – A. E., 1971, 118 = B. E. Thomasson, Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der Provinz Sardinia, Eranos, LXX, 1972, pp. 72 – 81.

E. Iscrizioni inedite

E 1 – Sant'Antioco (*Sulci*). Lastra marmorea di forma irregolare ricoperta quasi interamente da leggere incrostazioni (Tav. XIX 1). Fa parte della collezione del dott. ORTENSIO BIGGIO (nr. d'inventerio 160) e proviene dall'area dell'antica città.
Misure: alt. sulla s. cm 19,5, sulla d. cm 15; largh. cm 25; spessore cm 1,5. Altezza delle lettere l. 1 cm 2 – 3; ll. 2 – 4 cm 1,5 – 2. Sono visibili le tracce di linee preparatorie per l'iscrizione.
D(is) M(anibus) / T. Fulcinius Ingen/iosus natione Sico/sitanus, vixit an/nis XXVI.
Nomen e *cognomen* sono nuovi per l'epigrafia sarda. Nuovo, per il mondo romano, anche l'etnico *Sicositanus.*

E 2 – Sant'Antioco (*Sulci*). Due frammenti di piccola lastra marmorea, combacianti fra loro superiormente. Mentre sono completi, se pure un po' rovinati i margini sinistro, destro e superiore, manca la parte inferiore ed un frammento centrale per cui non è possibile avere per intero il testo dell'iscrizione. Appartengono, come il nr. precedente, alla collezione del dott. ORTENSIO BIGGIO di Sant'Antioco (nrr. d'inv. 126 e 127) (Tav. XIX 2).
Misure totali: alt. a s. cm 14, a d. cm 15; largh. cm 27; spess. cm 2,8. Altezza delle lettere l. 1 cm 1,5; ll. 2 – 5 cm 1 – 1,2.
Le prime due ll. dell'iscrizione sono complete, manca la parte centrale delle altre.
Q. Fabio Montano / vixit annis VII. / Frustratus n[eque] festus votisq(ue) / parentis hi[c tum]ulum tristem / misera pie[tate sub]actus extruit / huic fat[um cecin]it convicia / [---].
Il nostro piccolo monumento presenta particolare interesse essendo costituito nelle ll. 3 – 6 da esametri, se pure incompleti: abbiamo pertanto un nuovo *carmen epigraphicum* (v. per un altro a Sulci B 9), che cronologicamente può essere posto nella prima metà del I sec. d. C. Un elemento importante per questa datazione è costituito anche dall'assenza dell'*adprecatio D(is) M(anibus)*, che compare in Sardegna nella seconda metà dello stesso secolo: vd. G. SOTGIU, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della *familia Caesaris* in Sardegna), in: ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1980, VI, pp. 2023 – 2045. P. CUGUSI, al quale sono dovute le integrazioni proposte della l. 3 *n[eque]*, della l. 5 *[sub]actus*, della l. 6 *[cecin]it*, ha in preparazione per Epigraphica una nota metrico-letteraria.
Per la *gens Fabia* in Sardegna v. E 16. Il *cognomen* Montanus lo troviamo a Cagliari nella forma maschile ed in quella femminile: C.I.L., X, 7691 e 7683.

E 3 – Cagliari, basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno, giardino posteriore. Cippo funerario in calcare, proveniente dall'area cimiteriale circostante. Le

tre parti (base, tronco, coronamento) sono ben distinte; il coronamento ha frontone centinato e pseudoacroteri inseriti (Tav. XX 1).
Misure: alt. totale cm 93 (base cm 29,5; tronco cm 32,5; coronamento cm 31); largh. della base cm 38, del tronco cm 33, del coronamento cm 37; spessore della base cm 41, del tronco cm 35, del coronamento cm 37. Altezza lettere ll. 1–4 cm 3,5–4; l. 5 cm 3. Sono da notare i nessi *VRI* e *NTI* di l. 2, *NE* di l. 3; mancano segni d'interpunzione.
D(is) M(anibus) / Valeriae L(a)urẹnti (?) / *Caelesitan(a)e* (sic) / *se viva / fecit.*
Mentre è notissimo il *nomen* Valeria, è nuovo per la Sardegna Caelesitana, che sta sicuramente per Caelestiana (derivato da Caelestis), e che per quanto mi risulta non è testimoniato neppure altrove; per Caelestis cfr. I. KAJANTO, The Latin Cognomina, Helsinki, 1965, p. 338, che ne dà solamente tre ess.

E 4 – Cagliari, basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno, giardino posteriore. Cippo in calcare proveniente dall'area circostante (scavi dell'a. 1950) (Tav. XXI). Ha base rettangolare e nella parte superiore un frontone centinato alto cm 11 e largo cm 51, decorato con, spostata un po' a d., una rosetta a quattro petali che si ripete ai lati nei pulvini. E' alto cm 63, largo cm 88, spesso cm 48. Il campo della facciata è diviso in tre scomparti, alti i primi due cm 40, il terzo cm 38; larghi rispettivamente cm 26, cm 25, cm 26. Solo nei primi due si hanno iscrizioni piuttosto rovinate, specialmente quella a s.; le lettere sono alte cm 3–3,5.
a) *D(is) M(anibus) / L. Iunius Faus/tinus vix(it) an/n(is) LXX, Silva/na coiugi / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*
b) *D(is) M(anibus) / Caecilia / Candid/a v(ixit) an(nis) / XXXV, m(ensibus) V, / d(iebus) X, Iunius / Faustinu/s c(oniugi) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*
L'iscrizione che occupa lo scomparto centrale (b) è probabilmente quella incisa per prima: lo Iunius Faustinus che pone l'iscrizione alla moglie sembra infatti essere lo stesso L. Iunius Faustinus (a) morto a settant'anni e ricordato dalla moglie, evidentemente una seconda moglie.
Mentre la *gens Iunia* è ben rappresentata nell'isola (C.I.L., X, 7845, 7849, 7941; A 182 test. dipl. mil.) ed a Cagliari in particolare (C.I.L., X, 7628, 7661, 7663, 7672, 7673, 7674), la Caecilia lo è molto meno (C.I.L., X, 7581 e A 61 Cagliari; 8326 Portotorres).
Per quanto riguarda i *cognomina*, sono noti: Candidus (E. E., VIII, 709), ma non Candida; Faustina (C.I.L., X, 7653; A 64, + A 103), ma non Faustinus; Silvana (E. E., VIII, 726; masch. C.I.L., X, 7681, 7702, 7864, 7878 e 7855 test. dipl. mil.).

E 5 – Cagliari, basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno, giardino posteriore. Cippo in calcare proveniente, come i due precedenti, dall'area cimiteriale circostante. E' di forma parallelepipeda con base, tronco e coronamento; quest'ultima parte è piuttosto rovinata e non sono chiari gli elementi decorativi (Tav. XXII 1).
Misure: alt. totale cm 126; alt. delle tre parti cm 25 (base), cm 74 (tronco), cm 29 (coronamento); largh. cm 59 (base), cm 51 (tronco), cm 53 (corona-

mento); spessore cm 57, cm 50, cm 53. Alt. lettere l. 1 cm 5; l. 2 cm 3,5; ll. 3–6 cm 3–3,5.
Nonostante il non buono stato di conservazione del cippo, è stato ugualmente possibile leggere senza ombra di dubbio il testo dell'iscrizione.
D(is) M(anibus) / M. Pupio Extricato / M. Pupio Extricato / vix(it) ann(is) XX / Pupia Extricata / f(ilio) b(ene) m(erenti) piissimo fec(it).
E' chiara la distrazione del lapicida che ripete due volte (ll. 2–3) il nome del defunto, il cui gentilizio, uguale a quello della madre, è nuovo per l'isola. Nuovo è pure il *cognomen*, uguale anch'esso a quello della madre (Extricatus, Extricata), per il quale cfr. KAJANTO, Latin Cognomina, p. 352, che lo dà come noto soprattutto in Africa (161 ess. su 178).

E 6 – Cagliari, basilica paleocristiana di San Saturno, giardino posteriore. Cippo in calcare proveniente probabilmente dall'area circostante. E', come i precedenti, di forma parallelepipeda, più largo verso il basso, costituito da base, tronco e coronamento; piuttosto rovinato nella parte più alta dove sono rimaste poche tracce del frontone centinato e degli acroteri (Tav. XXII 2).
Misure: altezza totale cm 100; alt. delle tre parti cm 20 (base), cm 52,5 (tronco), cm 22,5 (coronamento); larghezza delle tre parti cm 52 (base), cm 40 (tronco), cm 47 (coronamento); spessore rispettivamente cm 45; 41; 46. Altezza delle lettere cm 4–4,5.
La lettura dell'iscrizione, benchè il campo inscritto sia abbastanza rovinato, non presenta difficoltà.
D(is) M(anibus) / Q. Minicio / Longino / vix(it) an(nis) XXVI / Iulia Mini/ cia so(ror) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).
Mentre è notissima nell'isola la *gens Iulia*, sono nuovi per l'onomastica sarda la *gens Minicia* e il *cognomen* Longinus, abbastanza conosciuto altrove (cfr. KAJANTO, Latin cognomina, p. 231).

E 7 – Grosso cippo in calcare usato nella costruzione della chiesa di S. Stefano, parrocchiale di Maracalagonis e visibile pertanto esternamente nel braccio destro del transetto, vicino ad un frammento decorativo bizantino (Tav. XX 2). La segnalazione è dovuta alla prof. RENATA SERRA.
Misure: alt. cm 60, largh. cm 134; spessore massimo visibile cm 46. Su tre lati (sin., destro e inferiore) è una cornice piatta larga cm 6,5. Il campo, ribassato, è diviso in quattro scomparti (i primi tre larghi cm 30, il quarto cm 28), ma solo il primo e l'ultimo hanno un'iscrizione. L'altezza delle lettere è di cm 4–5. E' molto rovinato e di non facile lettura.
a) *D(is) M(anibus) / Decimi/us Vital/is vix(it) an(nis) LXX [---] / Iul[ia.]n[..]/ ten[---] / c(oniugi ?).*
b) *D(is) M(anibus) / C. Decimio / Ingenu/o vix(it) an(nis) / [--- d]uos / [f]ratres / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).*
E' nuovo per la Sardegna il gentilizio Decimius; sono noti invece i *cognomina* Vitalis (C.I.L., X, 7657, 7852; E.E., VIII, 757; A 122) e Ingenuus (C.I.L., X, 7631, 7733; femm. 7687, 7688, 7825, 7866).

E 8 – Frammento di grossa lastra marmorea con iscrizione cristiana (Fig. 6). E' stato rinvenuto nell'abitato di Sestu. Mancano la parte superiore

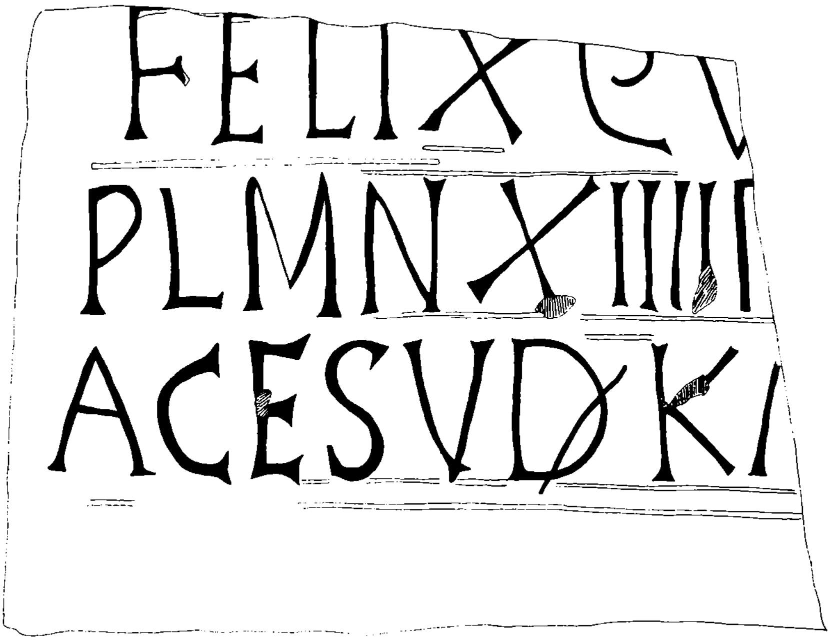


Fig. 6. E 8

e quella destra; sono chiaramente visibili le linee di preparazione. La segnalazione del ritrovamento è dovuta alla prof. M. L. FERRARESE CERUTI.
Misure: alt. cm 24; largh. cm 33; spess. cm 6; alt. lettere cm 5 – 6.
---] / Felix qu[i ---] / pl(us) m(i)n(us) XIIII r[equievit in p]ace su(b) d(ie) ka[lendas ---.

E 9 – Serdiana. Frammento di lastra di granito rinvenuto nell'a. 1972 in località Modolo, nel comune di Serdiana, sul lato lungo di una tomba e rovinato dall'aratro durante lavori agricoli.
Misure: altezza residua della tabella inscritta cm 42; altezza residua del monumento cm 53,5. Larghezza residua massima cm 56,5; largh. massima residua del campo inscritto cm 42; alt. lettere l. 1 – 2 cm 5,5; l. 3 cm 4,5; ll. 4 – 6 cm 4.
D(is) M(anibus) [s(acrum)] / fec[i]t pa[ter fi]/lio piiss[imo] / Casto v[ix(it) an]/nis XXX, m[---] / b(ene) m(erenti) [f(ecit)].
Castus, non nuovo nell'onomastica sarda (C.I.L., X, 7658 = C 4 e 7715), è frequente nell'epigrafia africana: su un totale di 289 ben 125 provengono dall'Africa (Cfr. KAJANTO, Latin Cognomina, p. 251).

E 10 – Due frammenti di lastra marmorea, che risulta incompleta sui lati sinistro e superiore. Provengono dal comune di Ussana, località San Lorenzo, nella quale erano già state segnalate e scavate delle terme romane appartenenti probabilmente ad una fattoria rustica (G. LILLIU, Scoperte e scavi di antichità fattisi in Sardegna durante gli anni 1948 e 1949, Studi Sardi, IX, 1950, pp. 517 – 527). La segnalazione del rinvenimento è dovuta al prof. E. ATZENI.

Misure: alt. residua cm 22; largh. residua cm 21,5; spess. cm 3; alt. lettere cm 2,5 – 2,7 (Tav. XXIII 1).
[– – –]sicius / [– – –]ae Saturninae f(iliae ?) / [– – –]ae vix(it) ann(is) XXIV / [– – – s(ibi) ?] p(osteris)q(ue) s(uis).
La parola incompleta della l. 1 sembra più un titolo riferito al dedicante che parte del suo nome, che doveva essere invece su una l. precedente. In questo caso potrebbe trattarsi di un *[mis]sicius*, per il quale v. E 38.

E 11 – Lastra di trachite di forma parallelepipeda (cm 100 × 19 × 29), riutilizzata come gradino nella costruzione di una vasca nelle terme romane di Fordongianus (Forum Traiani) (Tav. XXIV 1.2). Su un lato che in origine era la parte anteriore del monumento, si leggono sei ll. di un'iscrizione incompleta sia a s. che a d. Le lettere sono alte cm 4. Abbiamo:

NYMP
PIOTI
THIS
CONI
CONIṾ
CLAVD

Non è facile completare questo testo, ma le poche lettere della l. 1 *NYMP* ci permettono subito di pensare ad un'ara o altro monumento dedicato alle ninfe, tanto più che il loro culto è più volte testimoniato a Fordongianus: C.I.L., X, 7859, 7860; A 186, A 187. Nella l. 2 è forse possibile intendere *[Aescula]pio*, associato così ancora una volta alle ninfe (v. A 186).

E 12 – Samugheo. Il rinvenimento di questo piccolo monumento funerario mi è stato segnalato un paio d'anni fa dall'allora sindaco di Samugheo, avv. Emanuele Cau, attraverso la mediazione del prof. Giuseppe Pau, ispettore onorario alle antichità della zona (Fig. 7; Tav. XXIII 2). Proviene da località Travi compresa nell'ambito del territorio del comune e di proprietà dei signori Maria Flore e Gerolamo Tatti. Si tratta della parte superiore di un'urna cineraria in trachite, costituita in origine da una parte terminale con frontone triangolare, il cui campo, ribassato, risulta diviso in due parti, in ciascuna delle quali è data una delle lettere dell'*adprecatio* agli dei Mani. La parte inferiore è tutta occupata dall'iscrizione, incisa anch'essa in un campo ribassato (cm 0,5), limitato come il frontone da una semplice modanatura. L'avv. Cau si è preoccupato di far trasportare il monumento nella casa del comune, ma in precedenza il rinvenitore l'aveva trasformato per poterlo adoperare forse come mangiatoia. La parte alta del frontoncino è stata tagliata per fargli avere un appoggio stabile rovesciandolo e mi è stato riferito che quello che era l'incavo originario è stato abbondantemente accresciuto.
Le misure che si ricavano oggi sono le seguenti: alt. totale cm 32, residua del frontone cm 6,5; largh. cm 44,5; spessore cm 49. L'incavo ha cm 29 × 33; profondità attuale cm 13. Il campo inscritto è alto cm 19, largo cm 33. Altezza delle lettere ll. 1 – 2 cm 3,5; ll. 3 – 4 cm 3; l. 5 cm 2,4.

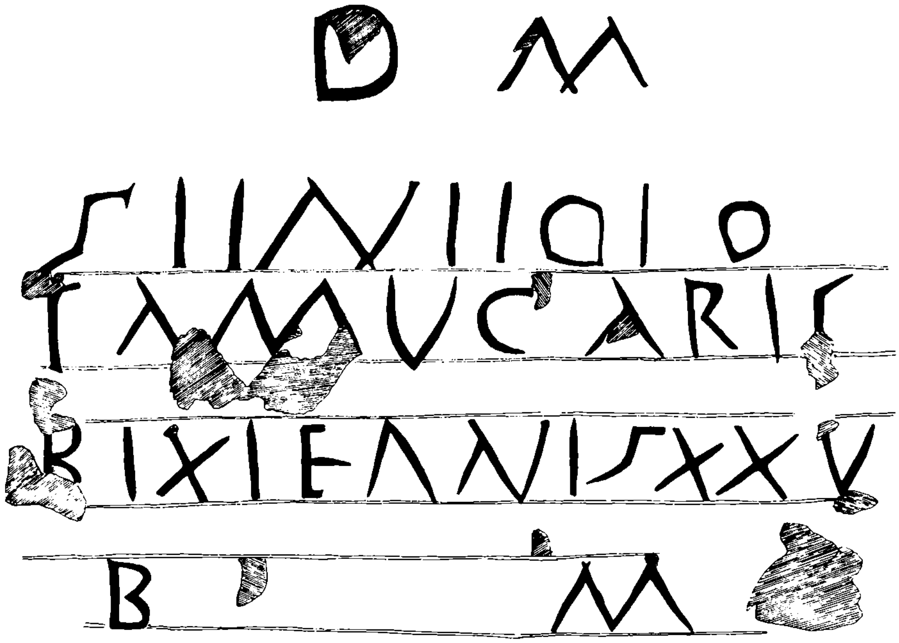


Fig. 7. E 12

D(is) M(anibus) / Seneqio / Tamucaris / bixit an(n)is XXV / b(ene) m(erenti). *Seneqio* sta per *Senecio*, che troviamo a Sant'Antioco (A 11). *Tamucar*, come altri nomi noti da iscrizioni rinvenute anch'esse a Samugheo (A 207 – A 209), è un *unicum* per il mondo romano.

E 13 – Sedilo, località Lonne, tra i fiumi Tirso e Flumineddu. Cippo in trachite chiara, di forma quadrangolare con parte superiore centinata (Tav. XXV 1). E' stato segnalato dalla dott. Laura Anna Puxeddu nella sua tesi di laurea dal titolo: Cippi e stele in Sedilo dall'età preistorica a quella romana, discussa nell'Università di Cagliari nell'a. accademico 1971 – 1972. Si trova ora nella Piazza San Giovanni in Sedilo.
Misure: alt. totale cm 62; alt. della parte centinata cm 25; largh. cm 50; spessore cm 58. La parte superiore è divisa in due scomparti, in ciascuno dei quali è sistemata una delle due lettere di dedica agli dei Mani. Nella parte inferiore, entro un campo leggermente rilevato a forma di tabella ansata un po' irregolare (alt. cm 36; largh. in alto cm 30,5, in basso cm 26,5) è il testo dell'iscrizione, disposto in modo non molto regolare nonostante siano visibili le linee preparatorie. Alt. lettere l. 1 cm 4,5 (D), cm 3,5 (M); l. 2 cm 4,5; ll. 3 – 5 cm 3,5 – 3,8; l. 6 cm 3,7 – 5,2; l. 7 cm.
D(is) M(anibus) / Valeria Pr/isca Luci l(iberta) / vix(it) ann/is XX [m(ensibus).] / b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).
Ben nota nell'isola la *gens Valeria*; noto anche il *cognomen* Prisca (C.I.L. X, 7653; masch. 7592, 7935).

E 14 – Lastra di marmo, leggermente rovinata sul lato s.; è stata rinvenuta a Tharros oltre vent'anni fa ed è attualmente conservata in Oristano presso privati (Tav. XXV 2).
Misure: alt. cm 26; largh. parte superiore cm 37,5, parte inferiore cm 38,5; spessore cm 3. Le lettere sono alte cm 3,5 – 4; i nessi *BI* di l. 2 cm 4, *NI* di l. 4 cm 4,5.
D(is) M(anibus) / C. Tad(ius) Sabi( ) / vix(it) an(no) I, m(ensibus) IX / C. Tad(ius) Nic( ) fil(io).
Il *nomen* è nuovo per la Sardegna. I due *cognomina* incompleti potrebbero essere *Sabi(nus)* e *Nic(ephorus)* già noti nell'isola. Abbiamo infatti T. Atilius Sabinus *q(uaestor) pro pr(aetore)* e M. Lutatius Sabinus *signator* (C.I.L. X, 7852 tabula di Esterzili); Cessia Sabina a Cagliari (C.I.L. X, 7586) e nella stessa iscrizione un Sabinianus. In due iscrizioni cagliaritane (C.I.L. X, 7705 = C 8 e 7706 = C 9) sono ricordate persone della stessa famiglia per cui il L. Sutorius Nicephorus al quale pone l'iscrizione il figlio e il L. Sutorius Nicephorus che dedica alla moglie sono forse la stessa persona.
Altri *cognomina* inizianti con *Nic* e già noti nell'isola sono: Nicomachus (A 94) e Niclinus (C.I.L., X, 7884).

E 15 – Lastra mormorea rinvenuta a San Giovanni di Sinis (Tharros) dal dott. MICHELE AGUS (Tav. XXVI 1).
Misure: alt. cm 20,4; largh. cm 53,8; spessore cm 1,6. Altezza delle lettere cm 3; altezza del chrismon finale cm 8.
Beneri(a)e in pace /(chrismon).
Veneria, nome teoforo piuttosto diffuso in Roma (cfr. KAJANTO, Latin Cognomina, p. 214), è noto anche in Sardegna: C.I.L. X, 7712 (Clodia Beneria a Cagliari); 7827 (Aemilia Veneria a Elmas); A 267 (Veneria a Portotorres).

E 16 – Tharros, loc. Su Murru Mannu, poco al di sotto del tophet, tra due cortine riguardanti l'antica cinta urbana. Lastra marmorea mancante dell'angolo superiore d., rinvenuta nel 1973 infissa sulla fronte di una tomba intonacata con volta a botte. Si conserva nel Museo di Cagliari (Tav. XXVI 2). La segnalazione è dovuta al dott. GIOVANNI TORE.
Misure: alt. cm 27; largh. cm 32; spess. cm 2. Alt. lettere l. 1 cm 3,5; l. 2 cm 3; ll. 3,5 e 6 cm 2,5; l. 4 cm 2,8. Il segno d'interpunzione tra parola e parola ha forma triangolare.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Rediti, Co[elius] / Iunior fec[it] / bene merenti / de se alumno / vixit ann(is) XV.
Reditus, piuttosto raro (KAJANTO, Latin Cognomina, p. 355, ne dà 12 ess.), è nuovo per la Sardegna, mentre Iunior, insolito come *cognomen* (KAJANTO, cit. p. 294), lo troviamo a Cagliari (E. E., VIII, 717). *Co[elius]* sembra l'unica integrazione possibile per il gentilizio, dato lo spazio disponibile che può essere facilmente calcolato.

E 17 – Tharros. Frammento di arenaria usato nella costruzione di un muro vicino al fonte battesimale paleocristiano (Tav. XXVII 1). La segnalazione è dovuta al dott. GIOVANNI TORE.

Misure: alt. cm 31; largh. cm 35; spess. cm 41. Alt. lettere cm 6,5 – 7. L'iscrizione è chiaramente mutila superiormente e inferiormente:
[– – –] / Valerio / Maximi/ano no/[– – –]
Si tratta certamente del breve frammento di un miliario, nel quale erano i nomi dei primi tetrarchi: è rimasta solo una parte del nome del Cesare Galerio. Abbiamo già tre miliari di questi imperatori, tutti della via Karalibus – Olbiam, posti a cura del governatore della provincia Aurelius Marcus: E. E., VIII, 777, 778; A 388. Su questa base è possibile ricostruire tutta la prima parte di questo nostro. Avremo pertanto: *[M. p. – – – dddd nnnn Impp. Caes. C. Valerio Diocletiano et M. Aurelio Valerio Maximiano p(iis) f(elicibus) invictis Augg. et Fl(avio) Valerio Constantio et Galerio] Valerio Maximiano no[bilissimis Caesaribus – – –]*. La data quindi deve essere compresa tra gli aa. 293 – 305 d. C., che sono quelli della prima tetrarchia.

E 18 – Magomadas. Due frammenti di piccola lastra marmorea; manca completamente la parte destra (Tav. XXVII 2). Si conserva nella sacrestia della chiesa parrocchiale e dal libro della parrocchia risulta rinvenuta parecchio tempo fa in località Santu Nigola, da cui provengono altri reperti di epoca romana.
Misure: alt. cm 24; largh. massima residua cm 25,5; minima cm 17; spessore cm 5; alt. lettere l. 1 cm 3,5; ll. 2 – 4 cm 2,5.
Q. Fabius Li[– – –] / sibi et Fabia[e – – –] / coniugi pi[entissimae] / et suis [fecit ?].
La *gens Fabia* in Sardegna è nota a Sant'Antioco (B 11, E 2), Isili (A 173), Austis (A 218).

E 19 – Bosa. Stele di trachite rinvenuta anni fa in località San Pietro (Bosa Vetus) (Tav. XXVIII 1). E' piuttosto rovinata specialmente nella parte inscritta. Superiormente termina con un frontone triangolare, nel cui campo ribassato è l'*adprecatio* agli dei Mani; inferiormente il campo occupato dall'iscrizione è anch'esso ribassato, per cui risulta avere su tre lati, d. s. e sup., una cornice piatta larga cm 3. La parte restante della stele è alta cm 14,5. L'altezza totale del piccolo monumento funerario è di cm 54, quella relativa alla parte che non comprende il frontone cm 47; la largh. è di cm 32,5, lo spessore di cm 9,5; il campo inscritto è quadrato con un lato di cm 27. L'altezza delle lettere è di cm 2 nelle ll. 1 – 2, di cm 3 nelle ll. 3 – 6. Sono evidenti tracce delle linee preparatorie.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Victorino / infeliciss[im]/o Larent[u]/s fil(io) fecit an(norum) / IV, m(ensium) IV [. . .].
Per Victorinus v. A 252, + A 299, A 345; femm. C.I.L., X, 7696. E'nuovo invece *Larent[u]s*.

E 20 – Bosa. Parte inferiore di una stele di trachite, rinvenuta, come la precedente nella zona ove sorge la chiesa di San Pietro (Bosa Vetus) (Tav. XXVIII 2).
Misure: alt. residua cm 42; largh. nella parte superiore cm 33,5, nella parte inferiore cm 24; spessore cm 12, ma inferiormente, nella parte cioè che andava

infissa nel terreno, cm 20. Altezza delle lettere nella l. 1 cm 6,3; ll. 2–3 cm 4,5.
[--- / c]oiugi f(ecit) / pientissim/ae suae.

E 21 – Portoferro, località Corea, zona del lago Baratz (Sassari). Stele in trachite che si conserva nel museo di Sassari con il nr. d'inv. 5581 (Tav. XXIX 1). Segnalazione e fotografia sono dovute alla Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Sassari e Nuoro.
Misure: alt. cm 62; largh. cm 43; spess. massimo cm 22. Alt. lettere l. 1 cm 6–7; l. 2 cm 5–6; l. 3 cm 7. Sono da notare lo stato di conservazione non buono della parte inscritta, il nesso *NT* dell'ultima l.
Sodales / Buduntes / fecerunt.
La brevità del testo e la mancanza di un qualunque altro riferimento non consentono di stabilire l'oggetto del verbo *fecerunt.* Comunque risulta interessante anche la semplice menzione di questi *sodales* e se pure non è possibile conoscere l'esatta natura della loro associazione si deve pensare a qualcosa di carattere privato, più o meno legato ad un culto, dato che questo tipo di collegio era quello permesso o più tollerato, soprattutto sotto l'impero. Non ne sono testimoniati altri in Sardegna ed è pertanto più difficile risalire all'origine del loro nome, *Buduntes.*

E 22 – Nell'archivio fotografico della Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Cagliari, al nr. 4228, è rappresentato un mosaico che ricopre una tomba a cassone, appartenente ad un ipogeo (località Tanca di Borgona, Portotorres) (Tav. XXIX 2). L'ipogeo, scavato nel 1947, tranne una breve notizia di G. LILLIU, Notiziario archeologico (1947), Studi Sardi, VIII, 1948, p. 430 e R. DELOGU, Ipogeo (Turris Libisonis, Portotorres), Fasti Archaeologici, II, 1947 [1949], p. 307, nr. 2741, che lo datano tra il III e il IV secolo d. C., è del tutto inedito. Inedite sono anche le altre iscrizioni (E 23–E 36). Del nostro mosaico è rimasto sulla sinistra un riquadro rettangolare con treccia di sette nastri (v. lo stesso motivo nelle tombe paleocristiane di Portotorres, ove, per quel che mi risulta, le sole iscrizioni funerarie in mosaico, B 75 e B 76, dell'isola; per altra iscrizione in mosaico v. A 58) e sulla destra, entro una tabella ansata, l'iscrizione; mancano l'angolo superiore destro dell'epigrafe e, completamente, il riquadro con treccia simmetrico a quello già menzionato. La fotografia (segnalatami dalla dott. SIMONETTA ANGIOLILLO LEURINI) è in bianco e nero e non è possibile quindi osservarne i colori, come pure non è possibile stabilire le esatte misure del monumento.
D(is) [M(anibus)] / Polliu[s ---]/us vixit ann(nos) V[II] / mens(es) III, dies V, f[e]/cit Pollius Sav[i]/nus et Calpur(nia Ostia cum / alumno fecit b(ene) m(erenti).
Mentre la *gens Calpurnia* è già nota in diverse parti della Sardegna (C.I.L., X, 7525 Sant'Antioco; 7978 Olbia; E. E., VIII, 710 Cagliari; A 253 Portotorres), è nuova per l'isola la *gens Pollia.* Il *cognomen Sav[i]nus* (= Sabinus) non si conosce sotto questa forma; Ostia compare forse per la prima volta nel mondo romano.

E 23 – E 36 – Mentre questo lavoro era in tipografia nel museo di Sassari sono state ritrovate, dopo anni di vane ricerche, le iscrizioni venute alla luce nel 1947 durante gli scavi dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona, in Portotorres (v. nr. precedente). Poichè uno studio su queste epigrafi è ormai pronto per la stampa, penso sia giusto inserirne qui il testo per una conseguente maggiore completezza degli indici, rimandando per qualunque forma di commento a G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona (Portotorres, Turris Libisonis).

E 23 – *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Flaviae A[---] / T. Aelius Aug(usti) [l(ibertus) Vic]/tor proc(urator) ri[pae / Turritana]e / [--- fe]c(it).*

E 24 – *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Aeli[---] / vixit [---].*

E 25 – *[D(is) M(anibus)] / Aure[lia ---]/na v[ix(it) a(nnis) ---] / m(ensibus) IIII [d(iebus) ... hu]/nc tu[mulum] / Cerv[---] / Velli[--- ma]/ritus [---].*

E 26 – *D(is) M(anibus) / Istumenius / Victor vixit / [an]nis XXXXV, dies / [...]l coiuxs* (sic) *mar(ito).*

E 27 – *D(is) M(anibus) / Porciae Staphiliae / piae vix(it) an(nis) XLVII m(e)n(sibus) / [---]ri / [---]ii.*

E 28 – *D(is) M(anibus) / Silvana vixit / [---.*

E 29 – *[--- / ---]l. vix(it) [---/ ---], men(sibus) IIII [---] / Q. Fl[avius --- / ---]to[---.*

E 30 – *D(is) [M(anibus) / [--- / --- a]nnis VI / [---]III fecer(unt) / [--- pare]ntes.*

E 31 – *--- / --- a]nnis / [---]V, dieb(us) XXIII / [--- fi]l. dulciss.*

E 32 – *---] / XLIIII, fecit / frater sorori / bene merenti.*

E 33 – *--- con]iugi b(ene) [m(erenti)].*

E 33 a – *[D(is) ?] M(anibus) (?) / [---]ode / [---]eni (?).*

E 34 – *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelius Gigas vi/xit annis XXXVI, / m(ensibus) V, dies XV, fecit Ae/lia Verecunda co/iugi b(ene) m(erenti).*

E 35 – *D(is) M(anibus) / Aufidia Lucretia quae / vixit ann(os) LV, men(ses) VI, dies XXII / fecit Sallustius coiugi dulcis/sim(a)e.*

E 36 – *D(is) M(anibus) / Vitalis vixit / ann(is) XXV, m(ensibus) IIII / fecit Philinus / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti).*

E 37 – Oschiri, Nostra Signora di Castro, presso il lago Coghinas. Stele in trachite, di forma parallelepipeda molte irregolare sui due lati e posteriormente (Tav. XXX 1). L'unica parte lavorata è quella anteriore che va restringendosi dall'alto verso il basso ed è quasi completamente occupata dall'iscrizione. Si conserva nel Museo di Sassari con il nr. d'inv. 11431. La segnalazione e la fotografia sono dovute alla Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Sassari e Nuoro.

Un riferimento è in P. Meloni, La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975, che dà la fot. (fig. XXII), ma non il testo dell'iscrizione.
Misure: alt. cm 85; largh. massima cm 25, alla base cm 16; spessore mass. cm 20. Alt. lettere l. 1 cm 2 – 5; nelle altre ll. le lettere molto irregolari arrivano anche a cm 6.
La lettura dell'iscrizione ha presentato qualche difficoltà per il nesso della l. 3 7NT, che però, a mio parere, può essere risolto intendendo il segno della centuria 7 unito ad *ANT*, per cui avremmo:
Silo Te/renti / f(ilius) (centuria) Ante/i Faus/tilli, a/n(norum) LX, / mil(itavit) an(nis) / XXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).
Il nostro personaggio è morto a sessant'anni, dopo aver militato per trentacinque. Nonostante questo lungo periodo di servizio non deve essere considerato un veterano (v. invece Meloni, cit. p. 258) sia per il suo nome, che non è quello di chi con il congedo ha avuto la *civitas*, sia per il ricordo della *centuria*. Da un controllo, se pure affrettato, dell'A. E., non è risultato nessun caso simile per un *veteranus*, mentre possiamo ricordare *M. Pytha Segni f. mil(es) c(o)hor(tis) II Chyrres(tanorum), an(norum) LX, stip(endiorum) XXXV* (A. E., 1900, 40) e *C. Valerius C. f. Fabia Silvinus Val(entia) mil(es) leg(ionis) (centuria) Rutili, an(norum) LX, aer(um) XXXIIII* (C.I.L., III, 4486), morti certamente ancora in servizio. Del nostro non è menzionato il reparto, probabilmente una delle coorti ausiliarie già note nell'isola (v. il nr. successivo che proviene dalla stessa zona, nel quale si parla della *cohors Aquitanorum III*).
Mentre in Sardegna è già noto Faustillus (C.I.L., X, 7831, 7841; A 338), sono nuovi Silo (poco diffuso in generale) e il gentilizio Anteius. Per Terentius usato come *cognomen*, come in questo caso, cfr. G. Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia, Heidelberg, 1969, p. 307.
Mancando l'*adprecatio* ai Mani l'iscrizione può essere considerata della prima metà del I secolo d. C.

E 38 – Lastra di trachite di forma non molto regolare, rinvenuta presso le rovine di Nostra Signora di Castro (Oschiri) (Tav. XXX 2). Si conserva nel museo di Sassari ed ha il nr. d'inv. 22087. Come per la precedente, la segnalazione è dovuta alla Soprintendenza alle Antichità di Sassari e Nuoro; un riferimento è in P. Meloni, La Sardegna Romana, Sassari, 1975, che anche per questa dà la fotografia (fig. XXII), ma non il testo.
Misure: alt. cm 50; altezza del campo inscritto cm 39; largh. superiore cm 39, infer. cm 40; spessore cm 8,5. Alt. Lettere l. 1 cm 6,5 – 5,5; ll. 2 – 4 cm 4,5 – 5,5.
Il campo inscritto è limitato superiormente da una leggera modanatura. Sono evidenti le linee preparatorie per la scrittura. Le parole sono separate da piccoli segni triangolari.
Ti. Iulius Fab(ia tribu) / Capito mis(s)ic/ius ex c(o)hor(te)/Aq(uitanorum) III, an(n)or(um) / LXV hic sit(us) / est.
E' l'iscrizione funeraria di un soldato morto dopo essere andato in congedo, un *missicius*. L'elemento importante è dato dalla menzione della *cohors Aquitanorum III*, in cui il nostro ha militato. Non vi sono dubbi su questo *III*: anche se la sua posizione non è quella più comune, si conoscono altri casi in cui il

numero del reparto segue il nome del popolo che lo ha costituito (v. ad es. A. E., 1903, 71: *ala Asturum II*; A. E., 1961, 17: *coh(ors) Hisp(anorum) I*).
E' così possibile identificare la *cohors Aquitanorum* già nota in Sardegna da altre due iscrizioni: C.I.L., X, 7596 (loc. probabilmente non lontana da Cagliari) e A 222 (Bitti) e stabilire per il suo stanziamento nell'isola una cronologia abbastanza sicura. Della *cohors III Aquitanorum* abbiamo precise notizie da alcuni diplomi militari, che la documentano tra i reparti della Germania Superior dall'ultima parte del I alla metà circa del II secolo d. C. (a. 74: C.I.L., XVI, 20 = I.L.S. 1992; a. 82: C.I.L., XVI, 28 = I.L.S. 1995; a. 90: C.I.L., XIII, 6821 = XVI, 36 = I.L.S. 1998; a. 134: C.I.L., XIII, 6495 = XVI, 80; probabilmente anche a. 116: C.I.L., XIII, 6822 = XVI, 63 e XIII, 7573 = XVI, 62). Da altre iscrizioni sappiamo che era *eq(uitata) c(ivium) R(omanorum)* e che fino alla metà del II secolo la sua sede era sul *limes* a Osterburken, da cui provengono quasi tutte le iscrizioni che la ricordano: C.I.L., XIII, 6566 (Philippiana, aa. 244–249), 6568 (*Sev[eriana]*), 6577, 6586 a, 11767 (a. 198, per il nome dei consoli), 11769; da località a sud-ovest di Osterburken, al di qua del *limes*, provengono invece C.I.L., XIII, 6493 e 6494 (Neckarburken) e 11752 (Wimpfen).
Pur ignorando a quale delle quattro coorti di Aquitani note potesse corrispondere quella sarda, si era pensato per quest'ultima ad un trasferimento dall'isola nella Germania o viceversa (Cichorius, P.-W., IV (1) [1900], c. 244; P. Meloni, L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958, p. 80; [cf. Id., La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I–III, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11,1), sopra p. 480]. Ora, a mio parere, non possono esservi dubbi: la *cohors III Aquitanorum* è di stanza in Sardegna nella prima metà del I sec. d. C.: le nostre iscrizioni infatti, tutte e tre funerarie, mancano della dedica *DM* che nell'isola non compare prima della fine del periodo neroniano e gl'inizi di quello dei Flavi (v. invece P. Meloni, La Sardegna Romana, p. 302, che pensa al II–III sec. d. C.). Il termine *missicius*, poi, lo troviamo in iscrizioni anteriori alla metà del I secolo d. C.: cfr. A. Degrassi, Epigraphica II, Memorie Accad. Nazionale dei Lincei, s. VIII, vol. XI, 1965, pp. 262–264 = Id., Scritti vari di Antichità, III, Venezia–Trieste, 1967, pp. 70–72.
Per quanto riguarda l'onomastica si può semplicemente notare che la *gens Iulia* è quella maggiormente documentata in Sardegna e che il *cognomen* Capito lo troviamo soltanto in un diploma militare, nel nome di uno dei testimoni, *M. Aemilius Capito vet(eranus) leg(ionis) I [Ad]iutric(is)*: C.I.L., X, 7891 = XVI, 9.

E 39 – Frammento di lastra marmorea con iscrizione funeraria incompleta sui lati superiore e sinistro. Si trova murata nella sacristia della chiesa di Telti; proviene dal territorio del comune (Tav. XXXI 1).
Misure: alt. cm 20; largh. cm 21; alt. lettere cm 4–5.
––– *V]alerius / [–––]ius ann(orum) / [–––] h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*
La *A* della l. 1 pare certa perchè risulta visibile l'estremità inferiore destra della lettera.

Per la *gens Valeria* nota in varie parti dell'isola cf. G. Sotgiu, Iscrizioni di S. Antioco (Sulci). Collezione Giacomina, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 19–22.

E 40 – Nel Municipio di Cagliari, sala dei matrimoni, si conserva un tipo di iscrizione funeraria finora unica, almeno per quanto mi risulta, in Sardegna (Tav. XXXI 2). E' incisa su una *tegula* spezzata solo superiormente sul lato d. Purtroppo non se ne conosce l'esatta provenzienza; faceva parte della collezione di P. Cao (inv. 82) donata alla città.
Le misure (alt. cm 23; largh. cm 22,5; spessore cm 3) sono quelle comuni a questo tipo di laterizi; le lettere alte cm 2–3. Sono presenti i nessi *AN* di *annos* (l. 3) e *AM* e *AN* di *amantissim(a)e* (l. 6); ancora visibili leggere tracce di rubricatura.
Nell'iscrizione, che si legge senza difficoltà, si notano gli spazi tra lettere di una stessa parola nelle ll. 4–6 (rispettivamente *Au r(elius), Epe/reciu s, amantissim/(a)e*, attraversate da quello che era il segno già pronto, secondo l'uso, per dividere la *tegula* quadrata in due triangoli.
Si ha pertanto:
D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aurelia Cus/ta vixit annos / XXVI Aur(elius) Epe-/ recius uxori amantissim/(a)e f(ecit).
L'uso dei mattoni per iscrizioni funerarie è sufficientemente testimoniato altrove nel mondo romano (cfr. a questo proposito A. Donati, Una problematica menzione degli Di Militares, Epigraphica, XXXVI, 1974 [1975], p. 250 e nota 9). Mentre conosciamo nell'isola numerosi Aureli, risultano nuovi Perecius e Custa (cfr. per quest'ultimo Kajanto, Latin Cognomina, p. 226, che ricorda una sola Custa, forse = Costa, *cognomen* ugualmente poco comune).

E 41 – Lastra marmorea che si conserva nel Museo di Cagliari, ed è stata rinvenuta nella stessa città insieme ai nrr. A 360, A 364, A 368 negli scavi presso il deposito AGIP di Sant'Avendrace. E' un frammento di spoglio, come indicano chiaramente le modanature che si notano sul rovescio (Fig. 8).

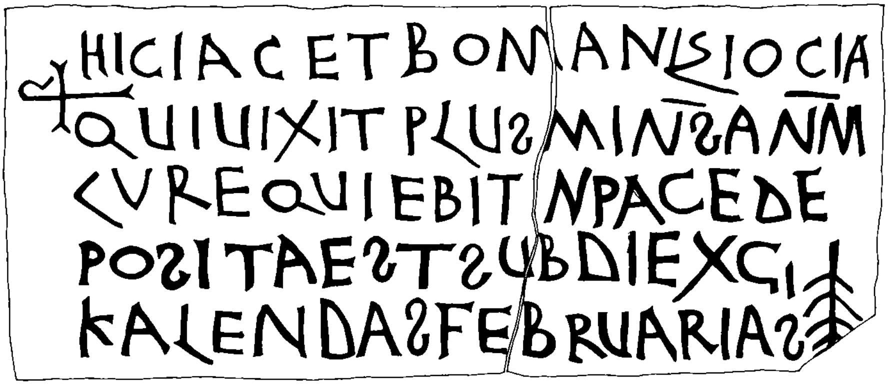


Fig. 8. E 41

Misure: alt. cm 23,5; largh. cm 35; spessore cm 2,5; altezza lettere cm 2,5 – 3. Una piccola croce ed una palmetta segnano rispettivamente l'inizio e la fine dell'iscrizione che si legge facilmente; l'unica difficoltà è costituita da un nesso *SL* della l. 1 all'interno del nome della defunta (la *S* tra l'altro è diversa da tutte le altre), che non permette di intenderlo con certezza.
Hic iacet bo(nae) m(emoriae) Anisliocia (vel *Anilsiocia*) / *qui vixit plus min(u)s anni(s)* / *LV requiebit in pace, de/posita est sub die X(VI)I* / *kalendas Februarias.*
Il nome, sia che debba essere inteso Anisliocia oppure Anilsiocia, risulta completamente nuovo.

F. *Additamenta*

Questo lavoro terminato e consegnato per la stampa nel luglio 1977, rivisto e aggiornato nel 1979, viene ora completato tenendo conto di quanto è stato pubblicato successivamente e seguendo per comodità gli stessi criteri (aprile 1987).

A

SANT'ANTIOCO (*SULCI*)

add. A 3 – G. Sotgiu, Un devoto di Sid nella Sulci romana imperiale? (Rilettura di un'iscrizione: ILSard, 3), Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982 [1983], pp. 17 – 28, fig. 1: *Sidon(ii)!/ C. Caelio C. f. Quir(ina) / Magno / dec(urioni), IIIIvir(o) (iterum) iu[re dic(undo)], / flam(ini) Augusto[rum], / pontif(ici) s(acrorum) p(ublicorum faciendorum), [p]atro[n(o)]* (?) / *civitat(is) ex d[ecreto] / splendidiss(imi) [ord(inis) / –––]* (cfr. G. Sotgiu, Nuovi contributi dell'epigrafia latina alla conoscenza della Sardegna romana, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIII, 1982, p. 104 e nota 6). Vedi ora anche M. Bonello Lai, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 179 – 183 = A. E., 1982, 428, che alla l. 1 legge *Sidon[i ?].*

add. A 25 – L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 39, nr. 52, tav.

CAGLIARI (*CARALES*)

add. A 58 – V. anche S. Angiolillo, Osseravzioni sul patrimonio musivo della Sardegna, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], p. 188, tav. II, 1 = Ead., Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, p. 86, nr. 72, tav. XXXIV: *M. Ploti(us) Silisonis f(ilius) Rufus.*

add. A 67 – M. Bonello Lai, Il simbolo dell'ascia nelle iscrizioni funerarie della Sardegna, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 216, nr. IX.

add. A 75 – L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 7, nr. 8, tav. La nuova lettura viene proposta in seguito al rinvenimento dell'originale (marmo bianco; cm 45 × 23 × 2; alt. lettere cm 3,5): *[---]ut no[--- / ---] celosqu[e ? --- / ---] regnat sa[n ? --- / ---]imius Iste[--- / ---] Carminea [--- / ---] annis m(ensibus) n(ovem ?) [---].* Alla l. 4 mi pare possibile intendere *Iste[phanus].*

add. A 93 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 40, nr. 53, tav.; M. Bonello Lai, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 199 – 201, propone: *In n(omine) d(omini) D(e)i / n(ostri) / Ih(es)u Xr(ist)i l(ocu)m* (?) (vel *l(apide)m* ?) / *salinarum pertinen*[*tes / fecerunt* (?) (vel *posuerunt* ?)].

add. A 105 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 12, nr. 15, tav.: l. 1 *v(iro) i(nlustri)* (?).

add. A 107 – A 108 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 24, nr. 32 a b, tav.

add. A 113 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 18, nr. 23, tav.

add. A 115 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 23, nr. 31, tav.

add. A 117 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 31, nr. 41, tav.

add. A 118 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., pp. 32 – 33, nr. 44, tav.

add. A 119 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 38, nr. 50, tav.

add. A 123 – M. Bonello Lai, Il simbolo dell'ascia nelle iscrizioni funerarie della Sardegna, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 217, nr. X, propone: *D.M. [---]ubio Pauli[no ? v(ixit)] a(nnis) LXVI m[---].* Gli anni vissuti dal defunto sono in realtà LXVII.

add. A 146 – L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 47, nr. 75, tav.

MARACALAGONIS

add. A 160 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, p. 16, nr. 20, tav.

DONORI

add. A 169 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 27, nr. 36, tav.

AUSTIS

add. A 220 – A. Boninu, Materiali di età ellenistica romana (della collezione Biblioteca Comunale 'Sebastiano Satta' di Nuoro), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, p. 181, nr. 86.

FONNI

add. A 221 – Boninu, ibid., p. 181, nr. 88.

BITTI

add. A 222 – Boninu, ibid., p. 181, nr. 87. Alla l. 7 erroneamente *s(epulta)* invece di *s(ita)*.

THARROS

add. A 228 – R. Zucca, Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 169 – 170, nr. 6, propone: *. . .]sima ian[. . .] / bis denos o[. . . ex ?] commo[dis ? . . .] / Tarr[. . .]*.

add. A 229 – A. E., 1982, 429 = M. Bonello Lai, Nuovo proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 192 – 194, propone: *D(is) M(anibus). / Hic situs in tumulo genitus / nomenque Valerius Anto/niaes subules* (sic), *vixi bis septe/nos in annis et patris ut nomen tuler(am)* (vel *tuler(im)*), *Rogatus aetate / set genitus brebiter tollere me voluit fatus*.

CUGLIERI

add. A 233 – A. Mastino, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, pp. 124 – 125, nr. 24, tavv. XVII – XVIII.

BOSA

add. A234 – A. Mastino, La gens Rutilia in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n.s.I (XXXVIII), 1976 – 1977 [1980], p. 46 e nota 20, intende, credo giustamente, Rutilia Ammia, invece di Rutilia Amalia.

OSSI

add. A 237 – A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliarii nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982 [1983], p. 40 nota 32, con qualche leggera variante leggono: *Pro salute et* vv */ [in]columitate et victo/[ria] d(omino) n(ostro) ⟨i⟩mp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Quin/[till]o* v *felici invicto / [Aug(usto) ponti]fici maximo / [tribunic(iae) pot]ẹstatis / [---]*.

PORTOTORRES (*TURRIS LIBISONIS*)

add. A 329 – V. per un'interpretazione più completa dell'iconografia M. MALAISE, Documents nouveaux et points de vue récents sur les cultes isiaques en Italie, Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1978 [EPRO 68,2], p. 671.

add. A 246 – A. MASTINO, Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. BONINU – M. LE GLAY – A. MASTINO, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, p. 89, nr. 3 e tav. III, intende: *[--- vixit annis ---]II, mens(ibus) [--- / ---]ius A. f. Fal(erna tribu) [---/--- dom]o Telesia, trib(unus) [militum ? --- / --- u]xori optima[e].*

add. A 253 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 100, nr. 14, tav. XIV.

add. A 259 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 98, nr. 12, tav. XII, 2.

add. A 262 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 99, nr. 13, tav. XIII.

add. A 270 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 101, nr. 15, tav. XV.

add. A 272 – A. MASTINO, La gens Rutilia in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. I (XXXVIII), 1976 – 1977 [1980], pp. 47 – 48, tav. II, 2 = ID., Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. BONINU – M. LE GLAY – A. MASTINO, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, p. 90, nr. 4, tav. IV: *D(is) M(anibus) / Rutilius Ostes/is vixit annis LVII, m(ensibus) II, diebus / XII. Fecit Aman/tius patri b(ene) m(erenti).* Egli propone di intendere come *Ost(i)e(n)sis* il *cognomen Ostesis.*

add. A 280 – A. MASTINO, Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. BONINU – M. LE GLAY – A. MASTINO, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, p. 97, nr. 11, tav. XII, propone: *---]cri Sa/[---] memor(iae ?) / [---].*

OLBIA (*OLBIA*)

add. A 309 – P. E. ARIAS – E. CRISTIANI – E. GABBA, Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa. Le antichità, Pisa, 1977, p. 77, A 35 est, tav. XXVI, 57.

PROVENIENZA SCONOSCIUTA

add. A 342 – A. MASTINO, Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. BONINU – M. LE GLAY – M. MASTINO, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, p. 102, nr. 16, tav. XVI, intende: *M. Alli[o M. f. Col(lina tribu)* (?) */ Celeri [--- /--- II viro* (?) *---].*

add. A 360 – L. PANI ERMINI – M. MARINONE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 10, nr. 11, tav.

add. A 362 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., pp. 15 – 16, nr. 19, tav., intende: *Hic et bon[(a)e memoria]/e Iohanna c(asta) v(irgo) [quae vi]/xit annis pl[us min(us)] / XXXV requie[vit] / d(ie) septimu id(us) [---]*.

add. A 363 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 20, nr. 27, tav.

add. A 364 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 19, nr. 24, tav.

add. A 367 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 42, nr. 58, tav.

add. A 368 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 18, nr. 22, tav. Alla l. 1: *[B(onae)] m(emoriae) Isportel/[l]a*.

– Miliarii

Via NORA-BITIAM

add. A 370 – Alle ll. 7 – 8 deve intendersi probabilmente: *[Sal]v[i]o Ex[s]u/[p]er[i]o*. V. B 186.

Via KARALIBUS – OLBIAM

add. A 385 – V. ora A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliari nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 45 – 47, nr. 4, fig. 4. Cippo quadrato di trachite rossa chiara di Pischina Marghinese. Nuova lettura in seguito al ritrovamento del miliario nel museo di Sassari: *[--- / --- et C(aio) Val(enti) Hostiliano] / Messi[o Quinto nob(ilissimis) Caesari]/bus principib⟨u⟩s iu[vent(utis) filiis] / d(omini) n(ostri) Traiani Aug(usti) [viam quae du]/cit a Karalis Ul[biae vet(ustate) corr(uptam)] / restituerunt [curante] / M(arco) An[t(onio)] Sept(imio) Her[aclito / proc(uratore) suo e(gregio) v(iro)]*.
Data: novembre 250 circa – maggio 251 circa.

add. A 389 – Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 35, nota 15 = E. E., VIII, 798: lo si identifica con C.I.L., X, 8033.

B

SANT'ANTIOCO (*SULCI*)

add. B 9 – P. Cugusi, Ancora su un recente 'carmen epigraphicum' di S. Antioco (Sulci), Epigraphica, XLIII, 1981, pp. 115 – 117.

BUGGERRU

add. B 15 – L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 48, nr. 78, tav.

B 105 – F. Pili, Nuove iscrizioni dal Sulcis-Iglesiente, in: Dottrina Sacra. Saggi di teologia e di storia, Volume speciale in occasione del cinquantesimo dell'istituzione della Facoltà Teologica del S. Cuore di Cagliari (1927 – 1977), Cagliari, 1977, pp. 157 – 158. Lastra di marmo (cm 31,5 × 29 × 1), opistografa (vd. nr. seguente), di forma irregolare, rinvenuta in località Grugua (comune di Buggerru): *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Honora/tiano, q(ui) / v(ixit) a(nnis) VIIII / Germana / mater et / Honor(atus) pa/ter f(ilio) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

B 106 – F. Pili, ibid., pp. 158 – 160. Iscrizione opistografa (vd. nr. precedente) (Tav. XII 2): *D(is) M(anibus) / Silvano c/ol(ono), q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis) / LXV m(ensibus) III et / d(iebus XX, Lucus/tion f(ilius) et M/ontana ux/or patri b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt).*

DOMUSDEMARIA (*BITIA*)

add. B 16 – A. E., 1977, 343.

PULA (*NORA*)

add. B 20 – S. Angiolillo, Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, p. 38, nota 1: propone l'identificazione di questi frammenti con quelli di una lastra marmorea con iscrizione latina, relativa ad un *procurator provinciae Sardinae* sotto due *Augusti.* I frammenti sono stati rinvenuti in un ambiente ad occidente del pronao del tempio di Eshmun e segnalati da G. Pesce, Nora. Guida agli scavi, Cagliari, 1972, p. 92, il quale, per altro, non dà lettura completa del testo e non ne pubblica una fotografia. Questi considera l'epigrafe, per la forma delle lettere, „non più antica dell'avanzato III sec. d. C."

B 107 – G. Stefani, in: D. Mureddu – G. Stefani, Scavi 'archeologici' nella cultura del Seicento in Sardegna, Atti del Convegno Nazionale 'Arte e Cultura del'600 e '700 in Sardegna' (Cagliari – Sassari 2 – 5 maggio 1983), Napoli, 1984, p. 405 e fig. 216. Lastra in marmo bianco con venature grigie, rinvenuta a Pula sotto il pavimento della chiesa di S. Efisio: *Bonae) m(emoriae) Fortuna qu/i vixsit annis / pl(us) m(inus) XL, quievit / in pace su(b) d(ie) IIII kal(endas) / Aug(ustas).*

B 108 – G. Stefani, ibid., p. 405 e fig. 215 = G. Stefani, in: D. Mureddu – G. Stefani, La diffusione del mosaico funerario africano in Sardegna: scoperte e riscoperte, L'Africa Romana. Atti del III convegno di studio. Sassari, 13 – 15 dicembre 1985, Sassari, 1986, p. 345, tav. V. Sepoltura rinvenuta dietro la parete della cripta sottostante l'altare della chiesa di S. Efisio, in Pula. E' coperta da un mosaico conservato solo in parte (cm 95 × 42), con iscrizione a tessere nere su campo bianco, „incorniciato da un motivo di due fasce di triangoli policromi contrapposti".
Dell'iscrizione rimangono le parti destra e inferiore delle ultime quattro ll. Lettura dell'ed.: *[– – –] annis p(lus) m(inus) L rec(essit) / [– – –] in pace quiebit /*

[– – –] vixit annis p(lus) m(inus) / [– – –]in pace quiebit. Le fotografie pubblicate sono molto meno complete.

DECIMOMANNU

B 108a – A.E., 1984, 443 = L. FALANGA, Albori del Cristianesimo in Sardegna. Quando il Cristianesimo è approdato in Sardegna?, in: Campania sacra. Studi e documenti (Pont. Fac. Teol. dell'Italia meridionale, Sezione di Capodimonte), 13 – 14, 1982 – 1983, pp. 22 sgg.: *B(onae) m(emoriae) Greca / quiescit in pace, / vixit annos XX, / m(enses) II, d(ies) XVIII, / deposita / pridie idus Ianuarias.*
L'iscrizione, che il FALANGA dà come autentica, era già nota, ma spesso considerata falsa. Compare con qualche variante in un manoscritto della metà del XVIII secolo, che ha come autore MICHELE PLAZZA, dal 1759 professore di chirurgia nell'ateneo cagliaritano. Il manoscritto per la parte epigrafica è stato pubblicato da R. LODDO, Note illustrative su un manoscritto del secolo XVIII con documenti epigrafici bizantini e medioevali dell'agro cagliaritano, Archivio Storico Sardo, II, 1906, pp. 50 – 51, nr. 23, ove anche la bibliografia precedente.

VILLASPECIOSA

B 109 – G. PIANU, Villaspeciosa (Ca), Archeologia medioevale. Cultura materiale, insediamenti, territorio, IX, 1982, pp. 397 – 398. Coperchio di sarcofago in calcare, a doppio spiovente con acroteri agli angoli e iscrizione sul lato lungo, rinvenuto in località San Cromazio nel comune di Villaspeciosa: *D(is) M(anibus) / Honerata / vixis* (sic) *annis / XVIIII, mater / non* (sic) *mereni[...*

CAGLIARI (*KARALES*)

add. B 35 – A. E., 1978, 375.

add. B 43 – L. PANI ERMINI – M. MARINONE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 49, nr. 79, tav.

B 110 – C. TRONCHETTI, Scavi e scoperte a Cagliari, Fasti Archaeologici, XXXII – XXXIII, 1977 – 1978 [1984], pp. 756 – 757, nr. 10766. Nel fondo di una vasca di *frigidarium*, che faceva parte di un complesso termale venuto alla luce nei primi mesi del 1978 in viale Trieste, durante uno scasso per la rete fognaria, è stata rinvenuta una lastra marmorea con iscrizione mutila: *Salvis ac propitiis dominis nostris.*

B 111 – S. ANGIOLILLO, A proposito di un monumento con fregio dorico rinvenuto a Cagliari. La Sardegna e i suoi rapporti con il mondo italico in epoca tardo-repubblicana, in: Studi in onore di Giovanni Lilliu per il suo settantesimo compleanno, Cagliari, 1985, pp. 99 – 100, tav. I, fig. 2. Blocco in

calcare martellato nella metà superiore, con iscrizione in quella inferiore (largh. cm 81,5; alt. cm 47,5; spess. cm 37; alt. lett.: l. 1 cm 7,5 – 8; l. 2 cm 7,5 – 8,5); faceva parte con altri due di un monumento funerario, i cui elementi furono riadoperati nella costruzione di una *fullonica*, messa in luce nel 1951 durante i lavori per la costruzione della sede dell'I. N. P. S. in via XX Settembre a Cagliari (Tav. XIII 1).
C. Apsena C. f. heic / heic est Pollio.
L'iscrizione apparteneva al sepolcro di C. Apsena C. f. Pollio, anche se, secondo l'ed., la ripetizione di *heic* potrebbe far pensare alla possibilità che i personaggi sepolti siano due. Nonostante significativi dubbi non si esclude che, con lo scioglimento delle abbreviazioni, possa trattarsi di una struttura in metri ionici.
Data: I sec. a. C., forse seconda metà.
Vd. anche per la stessa iscrizione R. Zucca, Iscrizioni latine del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari e dell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano, nr. 1, in corso di stampa.

B 112 – A. E., 1982, 424 = C. Saletti, Iscrizioni, in: AAVV, Cagliari. 'Villa di Tigellio'. I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 153 – 154, nr. 249, tav. XX. Otto frammenti marmorei di un'iscrizione che per la cornice, l'altezza (cm 8 e cm 6) e la forma delle lettere ricordava certamente un personaggio importante nella vita della città. Questa la lettura proposta dall'editore: *Q. C̣ạ[bini]us [A. f. Q]uir. / [Ca]ṛal[itanus IIII vir iur. di]c̣[––– / perp.] fl[amen divor. Aug.]*. Non pare del tutto convincente e pertanto mi riservo di trattarne in un prossimo lavoro.
Data: fine II – inizi III sec. d. C.

B 113 – A. E., 1982, 425 = Saletti, ibid., pp. 155 – 156, nr. 250, tav. XXI. Numerosi frammenti (ventinove) di un'unica lastra marmorea incompleta: *[––– / –––]nius M.f(ilius) [––– / –––]ganus Gabiniu[s ––– / –––]na it[e]m provi[nc(iae)] Iuda[eae ––– / –––] curavit et [p]raeti[is pro ?] ea datis / [–––] publikavit [ded]ikavitq(ue)*. Le integrazioni proposte sono di A. E. Potrebbe trattarsi del ricordo di opere riguardanti un edificio di carattere pubblico (*basilica, bibliotheca, porticus* etc.).
Data: proposta: inizi III sec. d. C.

B 114 – C. Saletti, ibid. Dalla 'villa di Tigellio' varii frammenti:
a) p. 156, nr. 251, fig. 3: due framm. con due *S*, di altezza diversa, su due ll.;
b) nr. 252: framm. con un'asta verticale;
c) p. 157, nr. 253, fig. 5: framm. con poche lettere di epoca tarda, V – VI sec.

B 115 – R. Zucca, Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum (Contributo alla storia delle milizie ausiliarie romane in Sardegna), Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984 [1985], pp. 237 – 240. Lastra di marmo bianco, opistografa (cm 18 × 12,8 × 2,5; alt. lett. cm 1,6 – 1,8). La sua provenienza è incerta, ma potrebbe essere stata rinvenuta in Cagliari, nel cimitero di Bonaria alla fine del secolo scorso; ora si conserva nel museo arch. della città: *[–––] / alumn[..*

.....] / m(ensibus) VI d(iebus) X[.....] / Surdinius Felix / (centurio) coh(ortis) I Sard(orum).
Data: seconda metà del I sec. d. C.

B 116 – R. Zucca, ibid., p. 238, B (v. nr. preced.): *[––– / ... an]nis [. / .. M]aximill/a coniugi / b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)c(it)* vel *f(aciundum) c(uravit).*

B 117 – A. E., 1981, 471 = G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 32–34, nr. 3, tav. II. Grossa lastra marmorea spezzata sul lato sinistro, proveniente dalla necropoli cristiana di S. Saturno. Il testo dell'iscrizione è completo: *Bonae memoriae Epittito / qui deos refrigeret / in pacae* (seguono le lettere apocalittiche A e Ω ai lati del monogramma costantiniano o chrismon). Quasi al centro della lastra è un foro circolare che probabilmente serviva ad introdurre nella tomba delle libagioni, secondo un rituale ben noto nel mondo romano e conservato anche in epoca cristiana. Vedi ora anche A. M. Giuntella – G. Borghetti – D. Stiaffini, Mensae e riti funerari in Sardegna. La testimonianza di Cornus, Martina Franca, 1985, pp. 44–45.

B 118 – G. Stefani, in: D. Mureddu – G. Stefani, Scavi 'archeologici' nella cultura del Seicento in Sardegna, in: Arte e Cultura del '600 e del '700 in Sardegna. Atti del convegno Nazionale Cagliari – Sassari 2–5 maggio 1983, Napoli, 1984, p. 404 e fig. 214. Cagliari, pavimento musivo all'esterno della navata destra della basilica paleocristiana di S. Saturno: „resti purtroppo indecifrabili di un'iscrizione in tessere nere su campo bianco“, „databile tra il IV e il V sec. d. C.“ Vedi anche G. Stefani, in: D. Mureddu – G. Stefani, La diffusione del mosaico funerario africano in Sardegna: scoperte e riscoperte, L'Africa Romana. Atti del III convegno di studio. Sassari, 13–15 dicembre 1985, Sassari, 1986, p. 343, C, tav. IV b, ove però si propone *[sub di]e XIII* oppure *[in pac]e XIII* e come data il V–VI sec. d. C.

B 119 – L. Pani Ermini, Ricerche nel complesso di S. Saturno a Cagliari, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, LV–LVI, 1982–1983–1984, p. 127, fig. 16: *[–––/ –––] RLSN [––– /–––] qui vixi[t ––– / –––] CEM D[––– / –––] qui vixi[t ––– / –––] aug[––– / –––].*

B 120 – R. Zucca, Iscrizioni latine del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari e dell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano, in corso di stampa, nr. 2. In via G. M. Angioi (nrr. civici 34–36), durante lo scavo dell'ambiente 4 di un edificio monumentale (forse un tempio) del II secolo d. C., furono rinvenuti il 5 gennaio 1957 sette frammenti di una lastra di marmo bianco, parzialmente ricomponibile, con incompleta iscrizione imperatoria su tre ll.: *[––– pon]/tif. m[ax. trib.] / pot. [–––] / NA.* Con grande probabilità l'edificio templare (?), da cui pare provenga l'iscrizione, era localizzato in prossimità del *forum* della città.

B 121 – R. Zucca, ibid., nr. 5. Due frammenti di lastra di marmo bianco con venature grigie, rinvenuti in via Po, durante lo scavo di una cisterna tardo punica nell'aprile del 1982. Si conservano nel museo di Cagliari.

Misure residue: cm 17 × 17 x 2,8; alt. lettere ll. 1 – 6 cm 1,7; l. 7 cm 1. *M.Claud[ius Al]/exand[er .... /.] im [--- fec]/it q[ui* vel *uae vixit an]n(is) XX[---]/ o(ris)* (sic) *III.*

B 122 – R. Zucca, ibid., nr. 6. Nel maggio 1982 nella discarica di via Campo Scipione si è scoperto un frammento di lastra di marmo bianco con una sola lettera, resto di un'iscrizione: *R*, alta cm 7,2. Museo di Cagliari.

B 123 – R. Zucca, ibid., nr. 3. Dallo strato di riempimento dell'ambiente 3 del tempio (?) menzionato nel nr. B 120 proviene (dicembre 1956) un frammento di lastra marmorea con i resti di un'iscrizione (deposito del museo di Cagliari). Vi si legge soltanto l'occhiello di una lettera che potrebbe essere *B, P, R*. Nella parte superiore, separata dal campo inscritto da un'incisione rettilinea, è la rappresentazione di un'ascia.

B 124 – R. Zucca, ibid., nr. 4. Durante un saggio di scavo della Soprintendenza Archeologica (20 maggio 1982) nel corso Vittorio Emanuele (nrr. civici 261 – 271) è stato recuperato un frammento marmoreo con alcune lettere (alte cm 13,2) di iscrizione monumentale: *[---]C[--- / ---]us.*

PIRRI (CAGLIARI)

B 125 – D. Salvi, Pirri (Cagliari). Rinvenimento di un cippo funerario romano, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 387. Cippo in 'calcare duro di Bonaria': *D(is) / M. Hort[---] / vixit [---].*

B 126 – D. Salvi, ibid. 'Blocco di pietra' frammentario, ora presso la caserma dei Carabinieri di Pirri. Lettere irregolari su due ll.: *[---]uius C[--- / ---]aris NI[---].*

TERTENIA

B 127 – V. M. Cannas – F. Pili, Nuova iscrizione funeraria scoperta nei pressi di Tertenia. Un ciottolo fluviale con epitaffio latino, Speleologia Sarda, 45, a. XII (1), 1983, pp. 5 – 10 dell'estratto e fig. 3. Il „ciottolo fluviale" inscritto, rinvenuto occasionalmente nel 1980 durante lavori di disboscamento presso il nuraghe Is Baresus „ai limiti del territorio di Tertenia", è in arenaria (largh. cm 34 × alt. a sin. 16, a destra 28). Misure del campo inscritto: cm 21 × 16; alt. lettere ll. 1 – 2 cm 2,5 – 3,5; ll. 4 – 7 cm 1,2 – 2,3.
D(is) M(anibus) / Ursec Curter / Telli vixit annis LXXX / et menses V, dies XV / Aurelius et Saidure / heredes eius bene / merenti fecerunt.
Lascia dubbi la lettura del nome e del patronimico del defunto ed è certo preferibile intendere, alle ll. 2 – 3, in base a nomi non romani noti da altre iscrizioni rinvenute in Sardegna: *Urseccur Ter/telli (filius).* Nuovo per l'onomastica dell'isola è anche Saidure.

TORTOLI'

add. B 50 – R. J. Rowland, Jr., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 142.

OROSEI

B 128 – (R. Caprara), Due tabellae defixionis (della collezione Cabras di Orosei), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, p. 153, nr. 1, tav. LV, 1.
Lamina di piombo (cm 5,8 × 4) con iscrizione in lettere corsive su cinque ll. Lettura dell'editore: *M. S. Petius neni gostali Fausti Arsati / Mosan⟨i⟩ nurgo onu tono nurgo ḅe/nis s[---] Coturissonis ẹltibi nec Conatini / Coturis Capito ite bulsu ite ụltibi nec / Mosan⟨i⟩ nurgo onu tono.*
Data: I sec. d. C.

B 129 – (R. Caprara), ibid., p. 154, nr. 2, tav. LV, 2.
Lamina di piombo spezzata sulla destra (cm 4,5 × 3,6). Iscrizione più semplice e più rozza della precedente, su quattro ll. La seguente proposta di lettura e d'integrazione è dell'editore: *a[d inferos intra annum istum] / ito [Titius filius* vel *Gaia filia] / Aeli Lesi [.....].*

FORDONGIANUS (*FORUM TRAIANI*)

B 130 – G. Sotgiu, Arula dedicata ad Esculapio da un L. Cornelius Sylla (Fordongianus, Forum Traiani), in: Studi in onore di Giovanni Lilliu per il suo settantesimo compleanno, Cagliari, 1985, pp. 117–124 (Fig. 9; Tav. XIII 2): *Aescul(apio) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) / L. Cornelius Sylla.*
Data: fine I sec. a. C. – inizio I d. C.

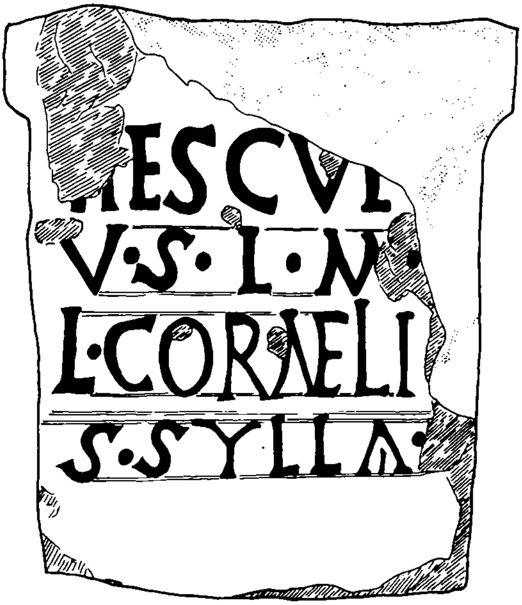


Fig. 9. B 130

B 131 – R. ZUCCA, Iscrizioni latine inedite del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari e dell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano, in corso di stampa. Frammento di lastra marmorea rinvenuto nel settembre del 1982, nell'area compresa tra l'anfiteatro e la via Rosa Sanna; vi si leggono ancora due sole lettere la cui altezza residua è di cm 7,2: *AL*.

AUSTIS

add. B 52 – A. E., 1978, 376. Una lettura diversa e meno esatta propone R. J. ROWLAND, JR., Two Sardinian notes, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, 30, 1978, p. 169, nota 8: *Iucunda Caturoni l(iberta) annor(um) p(lus) m(inusve) L h(ic) s(ita) e(st). Posuerunt filias* (sic) *Iulia et Spana (et) Cratus l(ibertus eius).*

THARROS (comune di CABRAS)

add. B 57 – R. ZUCCA, Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 166, nr. 4 e fig. In seguito al rinvenimento di due nuovi frammenti che vanno ad aggiungersi ai cinque già noti (= nr. 52 di G. SOTGIU), propone: *[... pa]tris [... / ...]iniori [... / ... Tar]rhensi[um ? ... / ...] proc[...].*
A p. 168, nr. 5 e dis. (= nr. 53 di G. SOTGIU) propone per le ll. 1–2: *[curator ka]lend(arii) r[ei publica]e Tar[rhensium]* vel *Tar[rensium]*. Ad un „funzionario addetto alla cura del kalendarium" pensa anche M. BONELLO LAI, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980–1981 [1982], p. 188, nota 12.

B 132 – C. TRONCHETTI, Una iscrizione latina inedita da Tharros, Epigraphica, XLV, 1983 [1984], pp. 224–225. Il testo dell'iscrizione è giunto a noi attraverso la minuta di una lettera del 1 maggio 1932, scritta da A. TARAMELLI, allora soprintendente, al sig. E. PISCHEDDA che aveva donato al Museo di Cagliari il frammento marmoreo inscritto, ora irreperibile: *D(is) M(anibus) / [.....]te ancil[lae] / vix(it) ann(is) XVIII / Val(eria) Crescentia / filiae dul/cissim(a)e b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

B 133 – G. PESCE, Tharros, Cagliari, 1966, pp. 95–96. „Cippo a fusto di colonna", liscio, con le lettere *SAR*.

B 134 – R. ZUCCA, Iscrizioni latine inedite del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari e dell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano, in corso di stampa, nrr. 8–10. Frammenti marmorei con poche lettere appartenenti a tre diverse iscrizioni. Sono stati recuperati nel luglio 1975 sull'altura su cui sorge la torre di S. Giovanni di Sinis e sono attualmente conservati nell'Antiquarium Arborense:
nr. 8) *PR* (iscrizione monumentale, alt. lettere cm 7,7).
nr. 9) *[---]ci[--- / ---]c [---].*
nr. 10) *[---]mp(...)c( ).*

B 135 – R. Zucca, ibid., nr. 7. Da una tomba non determinata della necropoli romana imperiale di Murru Mannu proviene (scavi della Soprintendenza, a. 1973) una lastra di marmo bianco, mancante della parte superiore e del lato destro (Tav. XIV 1). Misura cm 14,2 × 18,1 × 1,3; alt. lettere cm 2,2–2,4. *[--- / vi]xit an[nis ---] / C. Timinius [---]/cens, pat(er) fi[lio dul]/cissimo [fecit].*

B 136 – R. Zucca, ibid., nr. 11. Frammento di *tabula* inscritta, in bronzo (cm 2,5 × 2,1 × 0,15; alt. lettere cm 0,7), rinvenuta in un'area indeterminata di Tharros nel giugno del 1979: *[---]ptor[--- /---] Q. B[--- / ---]Ṭ[---].*

CABRAS

add. B 59 – F. Barreca, La Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., Sassari, 1979, p. 20; Id., La civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna, Sassari, 1986, p. 104: nuove notizie su identificazioni di divinità e interpretazioni di scritte dopo i restauri conservativi operati nel tempio ipogeico pagano, sottostante l'attuale chiesetta di S. Salvatore.

NURACHI

B 136a – R. Zucca, Ad Nuragas in età romana e altomedievale, in: AAVV, Nurachi. Storia di una ecclesia, Oristano, 1985, p. 27, tav. XXI, 1 = R. Zucca, Il battistero di Nurachi, L'archeologia romana e altomedievale nell'Oristanese. Atti del convegno di Cuglieri (22–23 giugno 1984), Taranto, 1986, pp. 26–27, tav. IV, 1. Due frammenti di lastra marmorea, incompleta sul lato sinistro e inferiormente: *D(is) M(anibus) / [Pa]rthenio / [..]i fil(io) bene / merent[i] vi/[xi]t ann(is) [..]II.*

B 136b – R. Zucca, Ad Nuragas, p. 27, tav. III, 1–2 = R. Zucca, Il battistero, p. 26. Cippo funerario in calcare, utilizzato fino agli anni sessanta come gradino „per l'accesso" ad uno stabile della parrocchiale; l'iscrizione è quasi scomparsa: si leggono ancora l'*adprecatio* ai Mani e alla fine la parola *dulcissimo*.

CORNUS (comune di CUGLIERI)

add. B 60 – A. E., 1979, 323 = A. Mastino, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, pp. 174–176, nr. 100, tav. LII, 1.

L'editore di A. E., pensando alla sistemazione o riparazione del condotto che collegava la sorgente alle terme, propone di intendere alla fine della l. 5: *du[ctae sunt].*

add. B 61 – A. E., 1979, 312 = Mastino, ibid., pp. 152–153, nr. 72, tav. XXXII (inv. 74539): l. 1 *Abus* (?).

add. B 62 – A. E., 1979, 308 = Mastino, ibid., pp. 146–147, nr. 68, tav. XXVII.

add. B 63 – A. E., 1979, 311 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 151–152, nr. 71, tav. XXX–XXXI (inv. 74541).

add. B 64 – A. E., 1979, 309 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 147–148, nr. 69, tav. XXVIII (inv. 74540).

add. B 65 – A. E., 1979, 310 = MASTINO, ibid., p. 150, nr. 70, tav. XXIX (inv. 74543).

add. B 66 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 155, nr. 75, tav. XXXV (inv. 74553).

B 137 – A. E., 1979, 305 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 142–143, nrr. 63–64, tav. XXIV. Due frammenti marmorei, provenienti da Cornus, area cimiteriale di Columbaris (nrr. invv. 74546, 74544), ora presso l'antiquario della Pro Loco di Cuglieri: *[Imp(erator) Caesar] divi Tr[aiani / Parthic]i f(ilius) Nerv[ae n(epos) / Had]rianu[s Aug(ustus) ... / trib(unicia) po]t(estate) XV[I ---].*

B 138 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 143, nr. 65, tav. XXV, 1 (inv. 74545). Frammento marmoreo: *[---] divi [---].*

B 139 – A. E., 1979, 306 = MASTINO, ibid., p. 143, nr. 66, tav. XXV, 2. Quattro frammenti marmorei d'iscrizione onoraria: *Imp(erator) C[aes(ar) ---] / nep[os --- / ---].*

B 140 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 173, nr. 99, tav. LI, 2. Frammento marmoreo (Columbaris): *[Imp(erator)] Ca[es(ar) --- / --- nep]os[---.*

B 141 – A. E., 1979, 307 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 144–145, nr. 67, tav. XXVI (inv. 74549) = M. BONELLO LAI, Il simbolo dell'ascia nelle iscrizioni funerarie latine della Sardegna, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 218, nr. XI. Due frammenti marmorei rinvenuti a Columbaris (scavi aa. 1955–1956): (ascia) *D(is) M(anibus) / Cn(aeo) Aelio Gaia[no --- / ...]io praedi[---].*
A. E., cit., propone per la l. 3: *[ar/car]io praedi[orum].*

B 142 – A. E., 1979, 313 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 153–154, nr. 73, tav. XXXIII (inv. 84502). Frammento inferiore sinistro di sarcofago in marmo bianco, ornato sulla sinistra con motivi vegetali ed animali: *[---]tia filio karissim[o ---].*

B 143 – A. E., 1979, 314 = MASTINO, ibid., p. 154, nr. 74, tav. XXXIV (inv. 74551). Due frammenti di marmo bianco (scavi Columbaris, a. 1955): *[--- ca]stitatis [--- / ---]procua* (?) *[--- / ---].*
A. E., cit., propone per la 1.2: *Procu(l)a.*

B 144 – A. E., 1979, 315 = MASTINO, ibid., p. 156, nr. 76, tav. XXXVI (inv. 74547). Due frammenti di basalto (scavi Columbaris, aa. 1955–1956): *[---]ia / [--- vi]xit / [--- Vi]ncentiae et / [--- requi]escet* (colomba a s.).

B 145 – A. E., 1979, 324 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 176–177, nr. 101, tav. LII, 2 e fig. Tre frammenti di marmo bianco (Columbaris, scavi 1964): *[---]aisa[--- / ---]t insisten[t]e Fl(avio) / [---]m fabricae / [---]* (hedera) *p[...]t.*

B 146 – MASTINO, ibid., pp. 156–157, nr. 77, tav. XXXVII, 1 (inv. 74522). Frammento di marmo bianco (Columbaris, scavi 1955–1956): *[---]simo [---].*

B 147 – MASTINO, ibid., pp. 157–158, nr. 78, tav. XXXVII, 2. Frammento di marmo (Columbaris, scavi aa. 1955–1956): *[---]mere[---].*

B 148 – A. E., 1979, 316 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 158–159, nr. 79, tav. XXXVIII. Cinque frammenti di marmo bianco (invv. 74550, 74588): *[---]idens in pa[ce ---].*

B 149 – A. E., 1979, 317 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 159–160, nr. 80, tav. XXXIX. Due frammenti di marmo bianco (inv. 74554, Columbaris): *[--- Fa]bianus [---].*

B 150 – MASTINO, ibid., pp. 160–165, nrr. 81–87, tavv. XL, 1–2; XLI, 1–3; XLII, 1–2. Frammenti marmorei con poche lettere appartenenti a diverse iscrizioni (invv. 74556, 74555, 74560, 74557).

B 151 – A. E., 1979, 318–322 = MASTINO, ibid., pp. 166–171, nrr. 90 b e 91 (tav. XLIV e fig. 25), 92 (tav. XLV, 2 e fig.), 93 (tav. XLVI, 1 e fig.), 94 (tav. XLVI, 2 e fig.), 95 (tav. XLVII, 1 e fig.), 96 (tav. XLVII, 2). Grossi conci di tufo rinvenuti nel 1964 a Columbaris nella 'basilica maggiore', con parti di iscrizioni (VI–IX sec.) secondo G. MAETZKE, Scavi e scoperte nel campo dell'archeologia cristiana negli ultimi dieci anni in Toscana e in Sardegna, Atti del II Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Cristiana (Matera 25–31 maggio 1969), Roma, 1971, p. 316 e fig. 18, „destinate ad essere inserite nella trasformazione romanica della basilica, che poi non fu attuata"

[Sa]nctus / [Ioa]hnnes (sic);
[Sanctus Io]ahnne s (sic);
Sancta / Maria;
Botum p[...] / feceru nt;
[Sa]nctus / [P]aulus.

B 152 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 171, nr. 97, tav. XLVIII, 1. Grosso concio di tufo (Columbaris): *[---]inte[--- / ---]eden[---].*

B 153 – MASTINO, ibid., p. 165, nrr. 88–89, tav. XLIII e fig. 24. Due conci di tufo, da Columbaris, simili ai precedenti: *[--- c]um suis / [--- o]mnibus*; nr. 90 a, tav. XLV, 1 e fig. Ancora un concio di tufo (lato minore): *[---]ei.*

CUGLIERI

B 154 – A. E., 1979, 304 = MASTINO, ibid., p. 124, nr. 25, tavv. XIX–XX. Cippo di trachite rossa inscritto su due lati (Museo di Cagliari, inv. 85022). Località di rinvenimento sconosciuta, ma sicuramente in territorio del comune di Cuglieri (v. A 233): a) *Term[inus] / qua[rtus / ..]ila[---]*; b) *[Euty]chia/[ni].*

BOSA

add. B 67 – A. E., 1980, 534.

add. B 68 – A. E., 1979, 300 = A. E., 1982, 431 = A. Mastino, La gens Rutilia in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. I (XXXVIII), 1976–1977 [1980], p. 41, tav. I, 1.

B 155 – A. E., 1979, 301 = A. E., 1982, 432 = A. Mastino, ibid., p. 53. Stele in trachite rinvenuta il 10 aprile 1980 nell'oliveto di Antonio Mura (Bosa), ora conservato presso la Pro Loco (alt. cm 60–43; largh. cm 41; spess. cm 17; alt. lettere cm 4): *[D(is)] M(anibus) / L. Arrio / Cresce/nti, feci/t Anton/ia Rutil/ia c(oniugi) b(ene) m(erenti),/ [v(ixit) a(nnis)]* XXXX.

BORTIGALI

B 156 – E. Cadeddu Gramigna, Necropoli punico-romana in territorio di Bortigali, Sardigna Antiga, I, 1983, pp. 10–11 e fig. La necropoli, ad incinerazione, si trova a NO di Dualchi, „nei pressi di Nuraghe Ponte (al confine del territorio comunale di Bortigali), sull'altipiano delimitato dal Rio Murtatzolu, affluente del fiume Tirso". Cippo di copertura di uno dei pozzetti scavati nella roccia; nella parte anteriore, superiormente timpanata, si leggono, se pure con qualche incertezza, su tre ll., alcune lettere latine: *[D(is)* (?)*] M(anibus) / bene m/e[---].*

ARDARA

B 157 – F. Tedde, Ardara, capitale del giudicato di Torres, Cagliari, 1985, fot. p. 53. Frammento di lastra marmorea, di cui è data soltanto la fotografia.
Su due ll. vi si legge: *L. Iul[---] / equiti[---.*

B 158 – F. Tedde, ibid., fot. p. 167. Frammento di lastra marmorea rinvenuto sotto l'altare maggiore della basilica di Nostra Signora del Regno. Si pubblica solamente la fotografia: *--- an]/nos p(lus) m(inus) ---]/ae quiebit in / [p]ace V kalen/das Iunias /per ind(ictionem) oc/taba(m)* (croce).

PORTOTORRES (*TURRIS LIBISONIS*)

add. B 69 – M. Malaise, Documents nouveaux et points de vue récents sur les cultes isiaques en Italie, in: Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1978 [EPRO 68, 2], pp. 658, nr. 1a e 669 e nota 34: alla l. 3 preferisce intendere *sacerdos Bubasti(um).* M. Le Glay, Isis et Serapis sur un autel de Bubastis à Porto Torres (Turris Libisonis), in: A. Boninu – M. Le Glay – A. Mastino, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, pp. 106–115, tavv. I–IV e fig. Viene data una più completa e precisa descrizione del monumento. Al posto di una delle due 'fiaccole' indicate dagli editori precedenti viene notata la testa di una divinità barbuta con *modius*, nella quale si riconosce Serapide; ancora due utensili del culto: la situla ed il sistro.

add. B 73 – A. E., 1982, 436.

add. B 74 – A. E., 1982, 437 = A. Mastino, Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. Boninu – M. Le Glay – A. Mastino, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, p. 96, nr. 10. V. anche J. B. Frey, Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum. Recueil des inscriptions juives du III^{e} siècle avant Jésus Christ au VII^{e} siècle de notre ère (Prolegomenon, a cura di B. Lifshitz) I, New York, 1975, p. 55, nr. 660 b.

add. B 75 – S. Angiolillo, Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, p. 193, nr. 173, tavv. XXVIII e XLVIII; A. M. Giuntella – G. Borghetti – D. Stiaffini, Mensae e riti funerari in Sardegna. La testimonianza di Cornus, Martina Franca, 1985, pp. 42 – 43.

add. B 76 – S. Angiolillo, Osservazioni sul patrimonio musivo della Sardegna, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 194 – 195, tav. V, 2 = S. Angiolillo, Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, p. 194, nr. 174, tavv. XXXVIII e XLVIII.

add. B 77 – A. E., 1982, 434.

add. B 78 – A. E., 1982, 435.

B 159 – S. Angiolillo, Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, p. 195, nr. LXXXIX. Grande mosaico su tombe, rinvenuto nel 1614 durante lavori compiuti nella basilica di S. Gavino. Se ne ha notizia solamente da: Processo original de la sagrada invencion de los cuerpos ilustrissimos Martyres S. Gavino Sabbeli, S. Protho, y S. Ianuario Turritanos, y demas SS. Martyres, y Confessores en la Basilica de S. Gavino Turrit. de la antiquiss.a ciudad de Torres, mecha por el ills.mo y Rev.mo señor Don Gavino Manca Cedrelles Arçobispo Metropolitano Turr. de saçer desde et mes dejunio asta al de Noviembre del año MDCXIV = Traduzione letterale dallo spagnuolo della Relazione del Ritrovamento de' Santi Martiri Torritani Gavino, Proto e Gianuario ed altri nella chiesa dell'antica città di Torres fatta dall'Arcivescovo torritano D. Gavino Manca de Cedrelles nell'anno 1614 al re di Spagna Filippo III, Sassari, 1846, p. 428.

L'Angiolillo presenta il testo delle iscrizioni dato in questa traduzione, con qualche leggera variante rispetto a quello dell'opera originale qui riportato. Per letture non molto diverse v. C.I.L., X, 1457*.
1) *Gaudentius ep̅u̅s̅ requiebit in pace septimu decimu ka̅l̅. Octobris*
2) *Florentius ep̅u̅s requiebit in pace quartu ka̅l̅. Iulias*
3) *Iustinus ep̅u̅s requiebit in pace V kal.*
4) *Luxsurius epu̅s̅ requiebit in pace V kal. Nom̅b̅ris.*
Sull'autenticità delle iscrizioni e dei personaggi v. la bibliografia citata dall'Angiolillo, p. 195.

OSCHIRI

B 160 – A. Mastino, Ancora un titolo sepolcrale dal castrum di Luguido (Oschiri), Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 189 – 199, figg. 1 – 2. Grande stele di trachite rossa, mancante della parte inferiore, ora nel Museo di Sassari. E' stata rinvenuta nel giugno del 1963 o 1964 in località Iscia Cunzada, sul lago del Coghinas, poco a sud di Nostra Signora di Castro (Oschiri). Misure: largh. cm 73, alt. residua cm 55, spess. massimo cm 18; alt. lettere cm 5 – 8. *(Ti.?) Claudi / Capiton(is) [l(iberta) ?] Fauxtila* (sic) / *vixit an(nis) XXXV / h(ic) s(ita) e(st), Clau/[dius ---]* vel *Clau/[dia ---].*

MARTIS

B 161 – R. C(APRARA). Iscrizione deprecatoria. Loc. La Balza (Martis), in: AAVV, Settimana dei beni culturali 1979. Guida alle mostre (a cura del Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali), Sassari, s. d., pp. 65 – 66, nr. 8. Dell'iscrizione, rinvenuta in località La Balza, comune di Martis, è stato pubblicato solamente il testo, senza nessun'altra indicazione riguardante il monumento su cui è incisa, le misure o altro. D'altronde la Soprintendenza archeologica per le province di Sassari e Nuoro presso la quale l'epigrafe è conservata, più volte interpellata, non mi ha dato informazioni e non mi ha permesso di vederla perchè in corso di studio più approfondito da parte del suo primo editore.
Si riporta il testo così come è stato pubblicato:

[PRO] SALVTE ET INCO-
[LUM]ITATE ET REDITV ET
[VI]CTORIA⟨S⟩ IMP(ERATORIS) CAES(ARIS)
[CAI I]VLI(I) VERI MAXIMINI PII
FELICIS INVICTI AVG(VSTI) CO(N)S(VLIS) ET C(AI) IVLI(I)
VERI MAXIMI⟨NI⟩ NOBILIS-
SIMI IMP(ERATORIS) . . .
DOMUS DIVIN(A)E IPSORVM
IOVI OPTIMO MAXIMO
IVNONI REGIN(A)E MI-
NERV(A)E SPEI SALV-
[TI] . . . . . .
. . . .

Già il titolo di 'iscrizione deprecatoria' lascia perplessi e l'interpretazione che ne è stata data non sempre pare esatta. D'altronde rimangono dubbi anche per quanto riguarda la lettura: per il momento, in attesa di poterne trattare più diffusamente, mi limito a sottolinearne l'importanza per l'epigrafia della Sardegna.
Il nome dell'imperatore Massimino e del figlio Massimo compare in due miliarii dell'isola, B 90 del 235 e C 19 del 236. E' la prima volta che si ha menzione della triade Iuppiter, Iuno, Minerva, della Spes, della Salus e forse di qualche altra divinità.

AGGIUS

add. B 82 – R. J. Rowland Jr., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 147: „... stele recante l'immagine del defunto schematizzata a forma di specchio, con iscrizione“: ... *GIANUS*. La stele è stata trovata in località S. Leonardo, nel comune di Viddalba, già frazione di quello di Aggius.

OLBIA

add. B 84 – Cf. R. J. Rowland Jr., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 79, che considera l'iscrizione funeraria come un bollo.

B 162 – D. Panedda, Tracce di età preromana e romana in Gallura e nelle Baronie, Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, V, 1979, pp. 112–113, nr. 7. Lastra marmorea mutila (cm 26 × 20 × 8,5), rinvenuta nel 1968 nella spiaggia di Sos Salinas, ad est di Olbia. La lettura proposta dall'editore non è certa:

LA
QVOPV (rior meno ? ...)
MENSIBUS . III . (diebus...)
VIBUSIA . SABINA . M(ater)
INCOMPARRBII . FILIO

E' particolarmente interessante la menzione della *gens Vibusia* d'origine etrusca e pochissimo nota.

B 163 – R. Zucca, Iscrizioni latine inedite del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari e dell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano, in corso di stampa, nr. 13. Lastra di marmo bianco (cm 20,5 × 31,3 × 4,2; alt. lettere ll. 1–3 cm 2,1; ll. 4–7 cm 2,6) conservata nel Museo di Cagliari insieme ai reperti provenienti dagli scavi del Levi in Olbia (a. 1950?) (Tav. XIV 2): *D(is) M(anibus) / Tadius T. f. Lygda(m)/us vixit annis / XXXIII, d(iebus) XV fra(t)ri / karissimo Tad(i)us / Quintanus b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit).*

PROVENIENZA SCONOSCIUTA

B 164 – A. E., 1981, 470 = A. E., 1982, 423 = G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 29–32, nr. 1, tav. II. Frammento di lastra marmorea di provenienza sconosciuta. Municipio di Cagliari. *[---]CEM[--- / --- p]atrono col[oniae / d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) / [---]entibus Ti. Arrunt[io --- / Euty ?] chiano II et Q.[--- / ---] Diodoro [---].*
V. ora F. Porra', Su una dedica ad un 'patronus coloniae' in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, VI (1), 1982, pp. 83–92, tavv. I–III, il quale con molta verosimiglianza propone che questo frammento

faccia parte della stessa lastra, e quindi della stessa iscrizione, proveniente con certezza da Portotorres, data in A 350. La lettura dei due frammenti riuniti sarebbe pertanto: *[---]CEM[---] / patrono col[oniae] / d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) p(ecunia) p(ublica) / referentibus Ti. Arrunt[io] / Eutychiano II et Q. [---] / Diodoro [---].*
Per la sicura provenienza di A 350 il *patronus coloniae* di cui si parla appartiene alla città di Turris Libisonis.

B 165 – Sotgiu, ibid., pp. 34–35, nr. 4, tav. III. Frammento di capitello marmoreo con sezione triangolare; i lati del triangolo risultano leggermente concavi e in essi è ripetuta incompleta la stessa iscrizione:
a) *---] pius L(uci) f(ilius) Pri[---.*
b) *--- pi]us L(uci) f(ilius) P[ri ---.*
c) *---] pius L(uci) f(ilius) P[ri ---.*

B 166 – Sotgiu, ibid., p. 32, nr. 2, tav. V. Frammento marmoreo, iscrizione funeraria di un bambino: *--- a]nnis V [--- / ---] dieb(us) IIII, h[---.*

B 167 – L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 41, nr. 56, tav. Framm. marmoreo (cm 18 × 40 × 0,5; alt. lettere cm 4): (croce) *Hic iacet [---] / LXX requiev[it ---].*

B 168 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 43, nr. 61, tav. Framm. marmoreo (cm 9 × 14 × 5,5; alt. lettere cm 2–3): *[---] qui vixit [--- / ---] in pac[e ---].*

B 169 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 43, nr. 62, tav. Framm. di marmo bianco (cm 22 × 22,5 × 4,5; alt. lettere cm 4,5–6,5): *[--- qu]i vix[it --- / ---] mens(es) [--- / ---] mater [--- / ---] O[---].*

B 170 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 44, nr. 67, tav. Framm. di marmo bianco (cm 15 × 32 × 6,5; alt. lettere cm 5–6): *[---] plus m(inus) LXXX requi[evit ---].*

B 171 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 45, nr. 69, tav. Framm. di marmo bianco (cm 23 × 16 × 3,5; alt. lettere cm 4,5): *[--- F]ebr[uarias ---].*

B 172 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 45, nr. 70, tav. Framm. di marmo bianco (cm 13 × 21,5 × 5,5; alt. lettere cm 4): *[---] k(alendas) Iunia[s ---]* / (croce, edera).

B 173 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 46, nr. 72, tav. Framm. di marmo bianco (cm 15 × 24,5 × 2,2; alt. lettere cm 7,5): *[---] XXI [--- / ---] et die [---].*

B 174 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 46, nr. 74, tav. Framm. di marmo bianco (cm 14,5 × 10 × 8; alt. lettere cm 2,5–3): *[---]sub di[e ---].*

B 175 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 50, nr. 81 (ove bibliografia precedente), tav. Lastra frontale di un sarcofago:

+Μνήσθητι κ(ύρι)ε τῆς δούλης
(σ)ου Γρεκὰ μωνάστρηα ἀμ
ή(ν). ἀνάθεμα ἔσχουσην
τõν ἁγήων τρηακοσήω
ν ἑξήκοντα πέντε πατ
έρον ὡ ἐχσανύξη τὸ λαρν
άκι τοῦτο ὥτη ὅδε οὐδ
ὲ χρυσάφη οὐδὲ ἀρσήμη

Data: fine del V o del VI secolo d. C.

B 176 – Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 50, nr. 80, tav.

---] οσια τη [---
---] ζήσας ἔτη λζ′ ἐν ε(ἰ)ρ⟨ή⟩ν[η
---] ἐκοιμήθη μην(ὶ) ἰ⟨α⟩(νυαρίου) θ′
---] κὲ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ
---] Μαρία ζήσασα μῆ(νας) ιδ′
ἐν ε(ἰ)ρ⟨ή⟩νη ἐκοιμήθη
μην(ὶ) μαρτ(ίου) γ′ ἰ(ν)δ(ικτιῶνος) δ′

Data: non anteriore al V secolo d. C.

– Miliarii

Via KARALIBUS – OLBIAE

add. B 88 – A. E., 1980, 535; F. Porra', Sulla datazione di un miliario della a Karalibus Olbiae recentemente rinvenuto in agro di Bonorva, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 215 – 218.

add. B 90 – A. E., 1977, 346.

add. B 91 – A. E., 1977, 344.

add. B 92 – A. E., 1977, 345. V. nuova lettura in A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliarii nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 54 – 56, nr. 8, fig. 8. Si conserva nel giardino archeologico di Bonorva.
M(ilia) p(assuum) CX[VII ? / I]m[p(erator)] Caes[ar ?] / ⟦M(arcus) Iulius Philippus⟧ / pius felix Aug(ustus) pont(ifeẋ) max(imus)] / t[rib(unicia)] potest(ate) [p(ater) p(atriae) proco(n)s(ul)] / viam qu(a)e duc[it a Kara]/li[.] Olvi(a)e vetustate / corrupta(m) restitu[i]t / curante Ṃ(arco) Ulp[io / V]ictore pr(a)ef(ecto) prov(inciae) / Sard(iniae) proc(uratore) suo / e(gregio) v(iro).
L'incavatura della l. 3 fa supporre l'erasione del nome dell'imperatore, reso certo dalla menzione del governatore M. Ulpius Victor per il quale v. p. 32 e nota 8.
Data: primi mesi del regno di Filippo, a. 244 d. C.

add. B 93 – Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 54, nota 79, attribuiscono il miliario a Valeriano I, Gallieno, Valeriano II con il procuratore P. Maridius Maridianus.

add. B 94 – A. E., 1977, 347.

add. B 97 – A. E., 1984, 447 = A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliari nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 47–48, nr. 5. Lettura più completa: *–––]/ biạṃ [qu(a)]e [ducit] / a Kar(alibus) Olvi(a)e b[etust(ate) corr(uptam)] / restituer(unt) cu[rante] / M. Ant(onio) Sep(timio) H[eraclito] / proc(uratore) suo e(gregio) v(iro)* (palma).

B 177 – A. E., 1984, 444 = A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliari nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 30–33, nr. 1, fig. 1. Mores, località Silvaru. Museo di Sassari, inv. 56057, trachite rossa porosa: *M(ilia) p(assuum) CXVIIII. / [I]mp(erator) Caesar M(arcus) Iul[ius / Phil]ippus pius felix Aug(ustus) / pontifex maximus tr[i]/buniciae potesta(ti)s p(ater) p(atriae) / proconsul viam qu(a)e du[cit] / a Karalis Olviae betust[ate] / corruptam restituit cur[a]/nte M(arco) Ulpio Victore / proc(uratore) suo / e(gregio) v(iro).*
Data: tra il marzo e la fine del 244 d. C.

B 178 – A. E., 1984, 445 = Boninu – Stylow, ibid., pp. 33–37, nr. 2, fig. 2. Mores, località Silvaru. Trachite rossa porosa. Museo di Sassari. *[M(ilia) p(assuum) CXVIIII / Imp(eratori)] Caes(ari) [P(ublio) Licinio / Va]leriano pio [fel(ici) Aug(usto)] / pont(ifici) max(imo) trib(unicia) pote[st(ate) co(n)s(uli) pro/co(n)s(uli)] et Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) P(ublio) Lici[nio / G]allenio Valeria[no / p]io fel(ici) Aug(usto) pont(ifici) [max(imo) / t]rib(unicia) pot[e]st(ate) co(n)s(uli) [proco(n)s(uli)] / viam quae duc[it a Karalibus] / Olb[iae] vet(ustate) cor[ruptam restituerunt / curante M(arco) C]alpu[rnio / Cael]iano [v(iro) e(gregio) ? / pr]oc(uratore) suo.*
Data: tra il 254 e il 256 d. C.

B 179 – A. E., 1984, 446 = Boninu – Stylow, ibid., pp. 37–44, nr. 3, fig. 3. Mores, località Silvaru. Museo di Sassari, inv. 56508. Trachite rossa porosa: *M(ilia) p(assuum)* CXVIIII / *D(omino) n(ostro) Imp(eratori) Ca/es(ari) M(arco) Aurelio / Claudio p(io) felici / invicto ‘is’ Aug(usto ‘is duobus’) / pontifici maxi/{xi}mo tr(i)b(unicia) pot(estate) p(atri) p(atriae) / proco(n)s(uli) viam q/u(a)e duc(it) a Kar(alibus) Olb(iae) ve/tust(ate) I corr(uptam) rest(ituit) cur(ante) / M(arco) Aurelio Quin/tillo proc(uratore) suo / e(gregio) v(iro).*
Data: a. 268 d. C.

B 180 – Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 47, nota 58. Miliario inedito, conservato nel giardino archeologico di Bonorva (miglio 116 o 117), menzionato in Stylow, Chiron, p. 527, nota 46: ––– *H]eraclito [–––.*

B 181 – Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 36, nota 19: „frammento inedito (?, se non si tratta della parte inferiore di CIL 8028 [ove il nome del governatore è Ianuarius]), nella chiesa di S. Simplicio, che conserva soltanto *[--- M]aridiano / [proc.] suo.*"

B 182 – A. E., 1979, 302 = L. Campus, Nuovi miliari dalla Sardegna, Archeologia Classica, XXIX, 2, 1977 [1980], pp. 411 – 414, nr. 1, tav. CXVII, 1. Cippo di trachite rossa porosa, rinvenuto in località Code, agro di Torralba. Si conserva nel Museo di Sassari (inv. 36986). La lettura delle prime righe lasciava molti dubbi, per cui v. ora A. E., 1984, 448 = A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliari nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, pp. 48 – 50, nr. 6, fig. 6: *[---] / nobilissimis [Caesaribus] / principibus iuvẹ[ntutis] / fili(i)s d(omini) ṇ(ostri) Tṛaia[ni Aug(usti)] / viam qụ[ae ducit a Karalibus] / Olvi(a)e v[etustate corruptam restituerunt] / curante M(arco) [Ant(onio) Sept(imio) Heraclito] / proc(uratore) [suo] / e(gregio) v(iro).*
Data: a. 250 – 251 d. C.

B 183 – A. E., 1979, 303 = Campus, ibid., pp. 414 – 417, nr. 2, tav. CXVII, 2 – 3. Stele di trachite rinvenuta come il miliario precedente in località Code, agro di Torralba. Si conserva nel Museo di Sassari (inv. 36985). Una lettura nuova e molto più esatta è in A. E., 1984, 449 = Boninu – Stylow, ibid., pp. 50 – 54, nr. 7, fig. 7: *Imp(eratoribus duobus) Caes(aribus duobus) / d(ominis) n(ostris duobus) Flavio Val(erio) / Constantio (et) Galerio Val(erio) Max/simiano pi(i)s felici(bus) inbict(is) Aug(ustis duobus) / et d(ominis) n(ostris duobus) princ(ipibus) Severo et Ga(lerio) Val(erio) Maxsimiano nobilissimi[s ?]/ Caes(aribus duobus) princ(ipibus) iuv(entutis) via(m) quae du/[cit] a [K]a[r]alib(us) Olvi[ae ? / vetust(ate) c]or(r)um[p/tam] res(tituente) [.] Al Va[--- / ⟦---⟧ v(iro) p(erfectissimo) praes(ide)] / p[r]ov(inciae) Sa[rd(iniae) / d(evoto) n(umini) m(aiestatique) eorum ?].*
Data: 1 maggio 305 – 25 luglio 306 d. C.
L'editore di A. E. propone come nome del governatore *[G]al(erius)? Va[lerius Domitianus]*, per il quale v. C.I.L., X, 8030.

B 184 – D. Panedda, Tracce di età preromana e romana in Gallura e nelle Baronie, Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, V, 1979, pp. 107 – 109, nr. 4. Miliario parallelepipedo di granito, rinvenuto in località Pasàna (Olbia), in un fondo di proprietà di Sisinnio Carta. Misure: alt. cm 128; largh. media cm 35; spessore medio cm 28; alt. lettere cm 3 – 4. Lo stato di conservazione è tale per cui la lettura dell'iscrizione non è facile; si presumono nove ll. Si ripropone per il momento il testo dato dall'editore:

. . . . . . D
. . . A A . . .
. . V V . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . M S I I
O E S V P E R I D
V P P N S A R D
I N I A E

Alle ll. 7–9 sembrerebbe possibile intendere: *[Salvi]o E[x]superio / u(iro) p(erfectissimo) p(raeside) p(rovinciae) Sard/iniae.* V. più avanti B 186.

B 185 – Panedda, ibid., pp. 113–114, nr. 8. Frammento di fusto di colonna granitica, rinvenuto durante scavi nella piazza Civita in Olbia. Misure: alt. cm 189, diametro alla base cm 40, in alto cm 33; alt. lettere cm 5.

. . . . N
I P O . . .
V X X X . . .
. . . .
S V

B 186 – P. Meloni, Un nuovo miliario di Magno Massimo rinvenuto nel territorio di Berchidda, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 179–188, figg. 1–2. Tre frammenti di un „cippo parallelepipedo rettangolare di calcare molto tenero", rinvenuto nel 1980 in regione Errianoa, in territorio del comune in Berchidda (Sassari): *[M(ilia)] p(assuum) XXIIII. / Salbis d(ominis) n(ostris duobus) Ma/gni Maximi et Fl(avi) Vic/toris [se]mper Aug(ustorum duorum) / admin[is]trante Sal/[vio Exsup]erio v(iro) p(erfectissimo) pr(aeside) S(ardiniae).*
Data: estate 387–estate 388 d. C.
Da segnalare la nuova numerazione delle miglia da Olbia e non più da Carales. Per il governatore dell'isola Salvius Exsuperius, certamente lo stesso ricordato in modo poco chiaro in ILSard 370 = A 370, v. A. H. M. Jones–J. R. Martindale–J. Morris, The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I (A. D. 260–395), Cambridge, 1971, p. 322.

– Instrumentum domesticum

add. B 98 – *Lucernae*
f) (A. Boninu), Materiali di età ellenistica e romana (collezione della Biblioteca Comunale 'Sebastiano Satta' di Nuoro), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, p. 180, nr. 84, tav. LXIX, 1: *Honora/ti.*
g) R. Zucca, in: G. Tore–R. Zucca, Testimonia antiqua Uticensia (Ricerche a S. Giusta–Oristano), Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIV, 1983, p. 30: *C. Iun. [---].*
h) A. E. 1981, 473 = G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, p. 36, nr. 6, tav. IV: *Q(uinti) Mem(mi) Kar(i)* (cfr. ILSard 446).
i) C. Vismara Pergola, I materiali romani (Una collezione privata di Gavoi), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, p. 71, nr. 47, tav. XXII, 3: *L. Mun(ati) Suc(cessi)* (cfr. ILSard 454).
l) D. Panedda, Tracce di età preromana e romana in Gallura e nelle Baronie, Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, V, 1979, pp.

114–115, nr. 9. Lucerna rinvenuta nel 1971 in Olbia (località Su Cuguttu), tra i materiali di riempimento d'un pozzo: *Pull/aeni* (cfr. ILSard. 471).
m) C. VISMARA PERGOLA, I materiali romani (Una collezione privata di Gavoi, Nuoro), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, p. 71, nr. 50: *PVLLANAN*; quasi certamente si tratta di errata lettura del bollo della fabbrica ricordata in l).
n) L. PANI ERMINI – M. MARINONE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981. Lucerne con bollo *P*: nrr. 238, 243, 256, 270 (cf. ILSard. 465), con bollo *CRE*: nr. 248 (= ILSard., 413); con croce monogrammatica: nrr. 211 (= ILSard., 504), 212, 213 (= ILSard., 506); con cristogramma: nrr. 215, 216, 217 (= rispettivamente ILSard., 496, 494, 497).

add. B 99 – *Vascula*
c) F. G. LO PORTO, Fittili dalla necropoli di Tharros esistenti in Torino, Studi Sardi, XIV–XV (1), 1955–1957 [1958], p. 303, nr. 2: *VIBIEN*; p. 304, nr. 4, in planta pedis: *MURRI*.
d) A. MASTINO, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, pp. 178–180, nrr. 102–110. Frammenti di *vascula*: *Zoili*; *[B]ou( ) Ge( )*; *C. O. S.*; *Croc...* (?), tutti in planta pedis; *S. M. T.* (due ess., di cui uno in planta pedis); *T(iti) At( ) Va( )* e *[S]ex(ti) M. F.* (ambedue in planta pedis); *At[imeti* (?)*]*.
e) E. USAI – R. ZUCCA, Nota sulle necropoli di Tharros, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, in corso di stampa. Tomba della necropoli di Capo S. Marco: *P. Cl(odii) Eup(hemi)*; *Pius*.
f) G. S(TEFANI), La ceramica sigillata, in: AAVV, La 'villa di Tigellio'. Mostra degli scavi (Cagliari. Cittadella dei musei, 24 Ottobre – 14 Novembre 1981), Cagliari, 1981, pp. 56–57 = G. STEFANI Sigillata italica, in: AAVV, Cagliari 'Villa di Tigellio'. I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980–1981 [1982], p. 53, nr. 56: *Primus / L. Titi*; *...MA...* (in planta pedis); *Zoili*.
g) G. STEFANI, Sigillata italica, ibid., pp. 53–56, nrr. 57, 61: *Zo[ili]*; *Mulvi* (?) (in planta pedis).
h) G. STEFANI, Sigillata sud-gallica, ibid., p. 62: *Volu(si)*.
i) R. ZUCCA, Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum (Contributo alla storia delle milizie ausiliarie romane in Sardegna), Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984 [1985], p. 242, nota 23: *MANNE(I)*.
l) Inseriamo tra i bolli di *vascula* (seguendo C.I.L., X, 8056, 191) i nomi dei fabbricanti comparsi in busti fittili di divinità femminili, per cui v. in particolare C. VISMARA, Sarda Ceres. Busti fittili di divinità femminile della Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1980 (ove anche bibliografia precedente): p. 17, nr. 1, tav. I: *Carpi* (da Sorso ?); pp. 18–22 e 53, nrr. 2–7, tavv. II, IV–VII: *Luci* (nrr. 2, 4, 7 da Sorso ?; nr. 3 da Tharros; nr. 5 da Portotorres; di provenienza ignota il nr. 6; per un altro es. C.I.L., X, 8056, 191; per il nr. 3 v. anche F. G. LO PORTO, Fittili dalla necropoli di Tharros esistenti a Torino, Studi Sardi, XIV–XV (1), 1955–1957 [1958], pp. 304–305, nr. 1, tav. II, 1); pp. 22–23 e 55, nr. 8, tav. VIII: *Maximi* (da Olmedo; v. anche A. TARAMELLI, Tempietto

protosardo del Camposanto di Olmedo, Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana, LIII, 1933, p. 121, figg. 6–7 = A. Taramelli – E. Lavagnino, Il R. Museo G. A. Sanna di Sassari, Roma, 1933, p. 9, fig. p. 34); pp. 24 e 55, nr. 10, tav. X: *Pompei* (da Olmedo ?; v. anche Taramelli – Lavagnino, ibid., p. 9, fig. p. 34).
m) R. Zucca, Sulla ubicazione di Sarcapos, Studi Ogliastrini, 1984, p. 39. Nel comune di Villaputzu, area di S. Maria, sul fondo esterno di una patera in campana B (seconda metà del II sec.) un'iscrizione graffita: *[---] TEVD OS.*

add. B 100 – *Amphorae*
c) G. Sotgiu, Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, p. 36, nr. 7. Collo d'anfora con graffito: *---]donti.*
d) G. Pianu, Contributo ad un corpus del materiale anforario della Sardegna. Le anfore rodie e le anfore Dressel 1 e Dressel 2/4, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980: p. 17, nr. 24, tavv. III e V, anfora da Olbia (museo di Cagliari), bollo rettangolare: *SOPAT FAV*; nr. 25, tavv. III e V, sull'orlo bollo rett. *APOLOM*, sulla spalla graffita la lettera *B*; p. 17, nota 43: un bollo da Cagliari *de predio Apolloni*, un terzo rinvenuto di recente tra il materiale della cripta di S. Restituta in Cagliari, *APO*; p. 20, nr. 35, tavv. IV e V, in un riquadro, con lettere in rilievo, il bollo *EP* (prov. da Tharros, ora nel museo di Cagliari); p. 18, anfora (museo di Sassari) con bollo *NON* (?).
e) V. Righini Cantelli, Una marca anforaria di Mahes da Tharros, Rivista di Studi Fenici, X (1), 1982, pp. 87–95, tav. XXXVI. Frammento di orlo (tophet di Tharros, scavi del 1981) con bollo *MAHE(S).*
f) Fr. V(illedieu), Didascalie dei monumenti della colonia, in: AAVV, Il territorio di Porto Torres. La colonia di Turris Libyssonis. Guida alla mostra fotografica, Porto Torres, 1980, p. 77, nr. 74: anfora oliaria con bollo di Fanius Fortunatus da Hadrumetum.
g) R. Martorelli, Cagliari. Un frammento di anfora con bollo da Tubursuctu, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II convegno di studio. Sassari, 14–16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 123–128, figg. 1–3. Frammento di ansa di anfora con marchio di fabbrica rettangolare: *Maur(etaniae) Caes(ariensis) / Tubus(uctu)* (cf. per bolli dello stesso tipo C.I.L., XV, 2635, 1–4).
Data: II–III sec. d. C. (?).

add. B 101 – *Dolia*
add. b) A. E., 1981, 486.
add. c) R. J. Rowland, Jr., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 142.
d) A. Boninu, S. Lussorio. Tortolì, in: AAVV, Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, p. 106 = Rowland, ibid., p. 142: *GERMA.*
e) V. M. Cannas, I nuraghi Aleri e Nastasi e le nuove scoperte archeologiche nel territorio di Tertenia, Cagliari, 1972, p. 51, nr. 6, fig. 35 = Rowland, ibid., p. 136. Due frammenti di orlo di *dolium*, rinvenuti nel 1968 in località Sa Matta 'e Nigola nel comune di Tertenia; il bollo, incompleto, era ripetuto: *Antonius f(ecit)* (edera).

f) R. ZUCCA, Sulla ubicazione di Sarcapos, Studi Ogliastrini, 1984, p. 39, tav. 2, fig. 12. A nord di Sarcapos in località Longu Flumini sono stati rinvenuti frammenti di *dolium*, di produzione locale, con bollo; entro un cartiglio rettangolare (cm 11,6 × 2,5) si legge, per almeno tre volte, *Tartalasso f(ecit)*.

add. B 102 – *Tegulae*

add. c) A. MASTINO, La gens Rutilia in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. I (XXXVIII), 1976–1977 [1980], p. 52, nota 46; R. J. ROWLAND, JR., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 80, che erroneamente dà *EX FIGLIN RUTILIAE / CIVIVUS APTUS F.*

f) C. PUXEDDU, La romanizzazione, in: AAVV, La Diocesi di Ales–Usellus–Terralba. Aspetti e valori, Cagliari, 1975, pp. 195–196, segnala il rinvenimento di alcune *tegulae* con bollo nella zona dell'antica Neapolis, alla foce del Riu Sabokku: *LUCIN FELI / FIGLIN*; *PRIMIC / DOMITIO* (certamente = *Primigeni(us) Domitior(um) s(ervus) f(ecit)*, C.I.L., XV, 1000 c); *NABLLICINA*; *CIN FELI*.

g) A. E., 1981, 474 = G. SOTGIU, Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo XXXI, 1980, pp. 36–37, nr. 8, tav. VI. Frammento di embrice: *Actes Aug(usti) l(ibertae)*. E. ACQUARO, Olbia II (Campagna 1978), Rivista di Studi Fenici, VIII, 1980, p. 77, tav. XXII = C. FINZI, Le città sepolte della Sardegna, Perugia, 1982, p. 373, fig. Embrice con bollo da Olbia, trovato nel 1978: *Actes Aug. l.*

F. GALLI, Archeologia del territorio. Il comune di Ittireddu (Sassari), Sassari, 1983, p. 59, nr. 3. Da Ittireddu, località Olensas, frammento di embrice: *[Actes A]ug. l.*; p. 61, nr. 1, altro bollo.

h) A. E., 1981, 475 (erroneamente dati come bolli circolari su anfore) = SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 37–40, nrr. 9–12, embrici: p. 37, nr. 9, tav. VI, *L. Lur[ius Proculu]s fec(it)* (v. C.I.L. XV, 1253 e, età domizianea); p. 37, nr. 10, tav. VI: *Ex fig(linis) Pl(aetori) [Nep(otis) o(pus) d(oliare) ab A.] Aristio Thallo / Serviano III et Varo / co(n)s(ulibus)* (C.I.L. XV, 1365, a. 134 d. C.); pp. 38–39, nr. 11, tav. VII: *Opus dol(iare) ex praed(is) Staton(iensibus) [ ] Aug(usti) / domin(i) n(ostri) ex fig(linis) Ma( ) disp(ensatoris)* vel *M. Adi Sp(erati)* (C.I.L. XV, 541, inizio dell'a. 193 d. C.); p. 40, nr. 32, tav. VII: *---]PIAN Victorini [---] OT S[---]L.*

i) A. E., 1982, 422 = R. ZUCCA, I bolli laterizi urbani della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 51–58. Vari bolli su embrici, provenienti dalla località Coddu de Acca Arramundu, a circa due chilometri a nord-ovest dell'antica Neapolis (in comune di Guspini): pp. 51–52, nr. 1 (a–r), tav. I e figg. 1–2 (e ancora per altri ess. R. ZUCCA, Osservazioni sull'*opus doliare* urbano della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXII, 1981, pp. 12–13, nr. 1 (s–aa), fig. 1): *Ex figlin(is) Tonneian(is) ab L. Licin(io) Fel(ici)* (C.I.L. XV, 635 c, fine età domizianea inizi età traianea); pp. 53–54, nr. 2 (a–o), tav. I e figg. 3–5 = R. J. A. WILSON, Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire, ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ, XXVI–XXVII, 1980–1981 [1982], I, p. 228, nota 33: *Callisti duor(um) Domitio(rum)* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 24; C.I.L., XV, 992 a, età domizianea); pp. 54–55, nr. 3 (a–g), tav. II e fig. 6 = WILSON, ibid., p. 228, nota 33 (e ancora per altri ess. ZUCCA, ibid., p. 13, nr. 3, h–l): *Primigeni(us) Domitior(um) s(ervus) f(ecit)* (C.I.L., XV, 1000 c, età tardo-domizianea); p. 55, nr. 4, tav. III e fig. 5: *[--- / ---] Domiti*; pp. 55–56, nr. 5 (a–b), tav. II e fig. 7: *Cn. Domiti Crhrysero(tis)* (sic) / (palma) (C.I.L., XV, 1105, età traianea); p. 56, nr. 6 (a–c), tav. III e fig. 7 = WILSON, ibid., p. 228, nota 33: (stella) *L.* (stella) *Luri Blandi* (stella)) (C.I.L., XV, 1248 a, età domizianea); pp. 56–57, nr. 7 (a–f), tav. III e fig. 8 (e ancora per altri ess. ZUCCA, ibid., p. 13, nr. 7, tav. II e fig. 2): (palma) *L. Lurius Procul(us)* (palma) / *fecit* (C.I.L., XV, 1253 c, età domizianea); p. 61, nr. 14, fig. 8, Cagliari, 'villa Tigellio': *M(yrtili) D(omitiae) P(ubli) f(iliae) L(ucillae) s(ervi)* (C.I.L., XV, 1037 a).

Per altri bolli urbani già noti nell'isola v. le pp. 57–61, nrr. 8–13, 15–25.

I bolli provenienti dalla località di Coddu de Acca Arramundu sono ricordati anche da C. TRONCHETTI, Rinvenimenti a Guspini, Fasti Archaeologici, XXXII–XXXIII, 1977–1978 [1984], p. 744, nr. 10578; egli a quelli pubblicati dal ZUCCA aggiunge un esemplare nuovo per l'isola: *Cn(aei) Domiti / Arignoti* (C.I.L., XV, 1094 a, età domizianea).

l) A. BONINU, Tomba di giganti di Thomes. Materiali di età romana, in: AAVV, Dorgali. Documenti archeologici, Sassari, 1980, p. 103, nr. 5, tav. XXXII, 12. Bollo impresso in cartiglio rettangolare: *EVSAP.*

m) R. ZUCCA, Osservazioni sull'*opus doliare* urbano della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXII, 1981, pp. 11–26: p. 14, nr. 16 d, da Assemini, località Mogura, a. 1981: *Ex pr(aedis) Dom(itiae) Luc(illae), opus dol(iare) / off(icinae) Pedu(caei) Lup(uli)* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 6 b); p. 14, nr. 30, fig. 3, da Guspini, località Coddu de Acca Arramundu, sett. 1959: *Fortunati Domitior(um)*; p. 15, nr. 32, fig. 3, da Arbus, *villa* di S'Aniriaxia, 11 agosto 1951: *Ex praedis L. Veri Aug(usti) op(us) do/lia(re) C. Nunidi Felic(is)* (C.I.L., XV, 737, aa. 161–168 d. C.).

n) G. SOTGIU, Le iscrizioni dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona (Portotorres, Turris Libisonis), Roma, 1981, pp. 39–41: p. 39, nr. 17, figg. 9–10, lettura poco sicura per la l. 1, certa nella l. 2, *et Diodorus*; p. 40, nr. 18, figg. 11–12: *Cn. [---]iris*; p. 41, nr. 19, fig. 13: *PEOMVCCAE.*

o) R. J. ROWLAND, JR., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 47 (= Notizie degli scavi di Antichità 1903, p. 474): da Fordongianus, *tegula* con bollo *M. V. O.*

add. B 103 – *Signacula*

add. a) R. J. ROWLAND, JR., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 71: *Iuniae Rufinae* (da Neoneli).

add. b) ROWLAND, ibid., p. 77: a proposito del *signaculum*: *Veneris ob-/sequentis* dà erroneamente *Veris ob/serventis.*

c) A. E., 1981, 472 = G. SOTGIU, Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 35–36, nr. 5, tav. IV. *Signaculum* in bronzo con ansa spezzata: *Nestoris / Nettiorum (servi).*

d) R. Zucca, Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum (Contributo alla storia delle milizie ausiliarie romane in Sardegna), Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984, p. 243, nota 31. *Signaculum* ora perduto da Tharros, già appartenente alla collezione Pischedda e ricordato nel catalogo dattiloscritto della stessa collezione, curato nel 1916 da F. Nissardi: Γ. Ἰουλ(ίου) Μάγν(ου).

add. B 104 – *Supellex reliqua*

add. e) R. J. A. Wilson, Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire, ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ, XXVI–XXVII, 1980–1981 [1982], p. 240, nota 88 = P. A. Gianfrotta – P. Pomey, Archeologia subacquea. Storia, tecniche, scoperte e relitti, Milano, 1981, p. 189 = R. J. Rowland, Jr., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 14.

l) Gianfrotta – Pomey, ibid., pp. 186–187, 189. Lingotti di piombo, rinvenuti recentemente nei pressi di Capo Testa su un relitto datato un po' prima della metà del I sec. a. C., con i bolli di *Cn. Atellius* e *C. Utius C. f.* (sedici ess. di quest'ultimo); nella Sardegna meridionale, non lontano da Cagliari lingotti con il bollo dei *Pontilieni*; p. 189: ad Arbatax numerosi lingotti di stagno: *MARO.*

m) A. E., 1983, 450 = A. Boninu, Testimonianze di età romana nel territorio di Dorgali, in: AAVV, Dorgali. Documenti archeologici, Sassari, 1980, p. 228. Lingotto di piombo (kg 29,300), recuperato sulla costa, nelle acque di Cala Cartoe: *L. Pla⟨a⟩ni L. f. Russini.*

R. Zucca, Rinvenimenti archeologici sottomarini presso il ΚΟΡΑΚΩΔΗΣ ΛΙΜΗΝ, Actas VI Congreso Internacional de Arqueología submarina. Cartagena 28 marzo – 19 aprile 1982, Cartagena, 1985, p. 150. Lingotto di piombo (kg 35), rinvenuto fortuitamente nel 1967 nel canale tra la penisola del Sinis e l'isola di Mal di Ventre, su un fondale a 18 metri di profondità (ora nell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano). Nella parte superiore tre cartigli rettangolari; sui due laterali: *M. Plani L. f.* (delfino) *Russini*; in quello centrale un delfino a s.

Data: fine II – inizi I sec. a. C. (cfr. C. Domergue, Les Planii et leur activité industrielle en Espagne sous la République, Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, I, 1965, pp. 14–16).

n) Zucca, ibid., p. 151.

Lingotto di piombo (kg 52,750), rinvenuto nel 1981 a trecento metri a NO dell'isola di Mal di Ventre (ora nel museo di Cagliari). Nella parte superiore entro un cartiglio rettangolare: *M. Val. [– – –] Rect.* Su un lato cinque contromarche, di cui due indecifrabili e tre uguali: *Sex. Ul.*

o) L. Pani Ermini, Recenti contributi dell'archeologia per la Sardegna paleocristiana e altomedioevale, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia, LIII – LIV, 1980 – 1981, 1981 – 1982, 1984, pp. 237 – 238, figg. 12 – 13. Cornus, ago crinale argenteo a sezione quadrangolare, rinvenuto in una tomba integra (nr. 80) con i resti di un individuo femminile; su tre delle quattro facce: *Patriga / femina / honesta.*

C

add. C2 – C.I.L., X, 7565–7576 = I.G., XIV, 607 c–o, Cagliari.
A.E., 1981, 469 = C. Cocco, Reminiscenze letterarie in C.L.E. 1551 A–G, Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, n.s. III, 1978–1979 [1979], pp. 89–110: in particolare vengono notate reminiscenze di Ovidio, Virgilio e Marziale.

add. C3 – C.I.L., X, 7588, Cagliari.
A.E., 1979, 299 = G. Sotgiu, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della familia Caesaris in Sardegna), in: Φιλίας χάριν. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1979, pp. 2025–2045, tav. I.

add. C6 – C.I.L. X, 7662–7663.
M. Bonello Lai, Il simbolo dell'ascia nelle iscrizioni funerarie latine della Sardegna, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 211–212, nr. VIII, fig. 3. Per le due iscrizioni, già da me indicate come appartenenti ad un unico monumento (v. G. Sotgiu, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della *familia Caesaris* in Sardegna), in: ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1980, VI, p. 2027, nota 8), viene proposta una lettura in alcuni punti incompleta e imprecisa: *[---]inianus, vixit annis XVIII, me(n)sibus duobus [d]ie[b(us) ---] mater fil[io pi]entissimo b(ene) [m(erenti)] f(ecit)* (7662); *[---] Saturnin[(o* vel *ae ?], vix(it) an(nis) XXXI[I] Iunia Thallusa mat(er) fil(io)* vel *(iae) piissim(o* vel *ae ?) f(ecit)* (7663).

add. C11 – C.I.L. X, 7787, Cagliari.
L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 61, nr. 94, tav.

add. C21 – Sullo stesso argomento v. ora anche F. Porra', Osservazioni sul materiale epigrafico citato da Roderigo Hunno Baeza nel 'Caralis Panegyricus', Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n.s. I (XXXVIII), 1976–1977 [1980], pp. 181–188.

C23 – C.I.L., X, 7550, Pula.
L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 19, nr. 25, tav.

C24 – C.I.L., X, 7551, Pula.
Diehl 3399 = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 30, nr. 40, tav.: l. 5: *fecit in ☧(ist)o Hi(esus).*

C25 – C.I.L., X, 7599, Cagliari (Tav. XVIII 2).
Da un recente riesame del grosso blocco in calcare su cui si legge l'iscrizione risulta una l. in più, nella quale, sulla destra, sono visibili le lettere (Fig. 10): *pontif. sa[---]*, da intendere *pontif(ici) sa[cror(um)].*

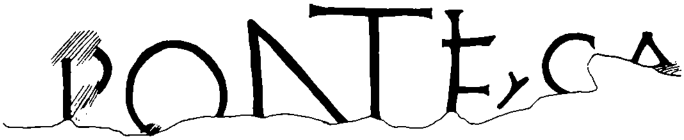


Fig. 10. C25

C26 – C.I.L., X, 7618, Cagliari.
M. **Bonello Lai**, Il simbolo dell'ascia nelle iscrizioni funerarie latine della Sardegna, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 203, nr. I.

C27 – C.I.L., X, 7619, Cagliari.
Bonello Lai, ibid., p. 204, nr. II.

C28 – C.I.L., X, 7632, Cagliari.
Bonello Lai, ibid., p. 205, nr. III: qualche imprecisione nella trascrizione.

C29 – C.I.L., X, 7638, Cagliari.
Bonello Lai, ibid., p. 206, nr. IV.

C30 – C.I.L., X, 7665, Cagliari.
A. **Taramelli**, Notiziario archeologico della regione sarda per il 1912, Archivio Storico Sardo, VIII, 1912, p. 369: dà notizia del ritrovamento (nella demolizione del palazzo dell'intendenza) dell'iscrizione, che si credeva perduta. Era stata vista dal **Dani** e pubblicata dal **Muratori**.

C31 – C.I.L., X, 7690, Cagliari.
Bonello Lai, ibid., p. 206, nr. V: qualche imprecisione nella trascrizione.

C32 – C.I.L. X, 7698, Cagliari.
Bonello Lai, ibid., p. 207, nr. VI; la trascrizione è incompleta. Il monumento spezzato sul lato destro comprendeva un'altra iscrizione di cui il **Mommsen** aveva letto poche lettere: *[D. M.]/ Ca[---] q[---]/ m(ensibus ?) [---]/ be(ne) [---]*. Nella fig. 2 non è riprodotto questo cippo, che del resto non pare essere nel museo di Cagliari, ma è data la fotografia di ILSard 64 = A64, di cui non si parla nell'articolo.

C33 – C.I.L., X, 7703.
Bonello Lai, ibid., p. 209, nr. VII, fig. 3: qualche imprecisione nella trascrizione (*Bachillas* invece di *Bachyllas*).

C34 – C.I.L., X, 7729.
L. **Pani Ermini** – M. **Marinone**, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 43, nr. 64, tav.: ...*]N V[... / --- qui]evit i[n pace --- / Hic iac ?] et b(onae) m(emoriae) [---*.

C35 – C.I.L., X, 7738, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – **Marinone**, ibid., p. 26, nr. 34, tav.: l. 1: *---] Prisca fidel[is]*.

C 36 – C.I.L., X, 7740, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 46, nr. 73, tav.: *––– depositu?]s su[b die ––– / –––] XXII [–––].*

C 37 – C.I.L., X, 7744, Cagliari.
Diehl 3103 C nota = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 3, nr. 1, tav.

C 38 – C.I.L., X, 7745.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 10, nr. 10: *[Hic ia?]cet deflet[a ––– A]deodata* vel *Deodata c[–––].*

C 39 – C.I.L. X, 7747.
Diehl 1455 = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 3, nr. 2: *H(i)c i(a)c(et) s(an)c(ta)e m(emoriae) / Amabilis d(e)i s(e)rb(us) / q(ui) v(ixit) an(nis) p(lus) m(inus) LXXX / r(e)q(uievit) XV k(a)l(endas) Ap(ri)l(is).*

C 40 – C.I.L., X, 7748.
Diehl 3062 = Pani Ermini – Marinone, p. 4, nr. 3, tav.

C 41 – C.I.L., X, 7749.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 5, nr. 5, tav.: *[Hic iac]et b(onae) m(emoriae) Antio[chus ? / qui] vixit annos [plus / m]inus L requi[evit –––.*

C 42 – C.I.L., X, 7751, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 6, nr. 6, tav.: *Arthemi[us ? / qu?]iebit in pac[e] / Miccina qui v[ixi/]t in pace s(ub) d(ie) / [–––].*

C 43 – C.I.L., X, 7752 e 7786, Cagliari.
Diehl 3063 B e 3061 A = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 36, nr. 48, tav.

C 44 – C.I.L., X, 7754, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 42, nr. 59, tav.: *––– q]ui vi[xit ––– / –––] kal(endas) Apr[iles –––].*

C 45 – C.I.L., X, 7756, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., pp. 10 – 11, nr. 12, tav.: l. 1, *Fortuna*, non *Fortuna[ta].*

C 46 – C.I.L., X, 7757.
Diehl 3103 A = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 11, nr. 13, tav.

C 47 – C.I.L., X, 7758.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 12, nr. 14, tav.: *––– Iu]nias ind(ictione) q(uarta)* vel *q(uinta) [––– / –––]rus et Gav[inus –––/–––] quiebit in pa[ce ––– / –––]a + +* (?).

C 48 – C.I.L., X, 7759, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 13, nr. 16, tav.: *Hic iacet b(onae) m(emoriae) Ho[norius qui vi]/xit annos plus [minus –––]/ requiebit i[n pace] / sud(die) pri(di)e n(onas) I[anuarias ?] / ind(ictione) quin[ta].*

C 49 – C.I.L., X, 7760, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 17, nr. 18, tav.: *Hi(c) (i)ac(ent) b(o)n(ae) m(emoriae) Ioan/nes et Redem(p)tu/s et Matrona, re/quiescunt in pa/ce d(ie) XIIII k(a)l(en)d(as) A/pr(i)l(is) ind(ictionis) non(a)e / et undecim(a)e.*

C 50 – C.I.L., X, 7761 e 7797, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 20, nr. 26, tav. Per la l. 2 di 7797: ---]*VT que v[ixit* (?).

C 51 – C.I.L., X, 7762 – 7763 (opistografa), Cagliari.
Diehl 3062 A e 3062 D = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 21, nr. 28, tav. Nella l. 2 di 7763 gli anni ricordati sarebbero *LX* invece di *XX*: in tal caso si può supporre che la Maria menzionata nelle due iscrizioni fosse la stessa persona.

C 52 – C.I.L., X, 7764, Cagliari.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 22, nr. 29, tav.: *---]ta Maria q[uae --- / ---]m fecit ? m[---].*

C 53 – C.I.L., X, 7765.
Diehl 3062 B = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 25, nr. 33, tav.

C 54 – C.I.L., X, 7766 e 7770, Cagliari.
Diehl 3103 C e 3061 = Pani Ermini – Marinone, pp. 28 – 29, nr. 38, tav.

C 55 – C.I.L., X, 7768, Cagliari.
Diehl 2841 A = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., pp. 26 – 27, nr. 35, tav.

C 56 – C.I.L., X, 7769, Cagliari.
Diehl 3137 A = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 28, nr. 37, tav.

C 57 – C.I.L., X, 7771.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 30, nr. 39: *Hi]c iac[et --- / Re]parat[us* vel *a --- / a]nn(is) pl(us) m(inus) [--- / ---]d(epo)s(itus)* vel *(ita) [---].*

C 58 – C.I.L., X, 7772.
Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., pp. 31 – 32, nr. 42, tav.

C 59 – C.I.L., X, 7774.
Diehl 2376 nota = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 32, nr. 43, tav.

C 60 – C.I.L., X, 7775.
Diehl 3062 C = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 34, nr. 45, tav.

C 61 – C.I.L., X, 7776, Cagliari.
Diehl 2812 = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 34, nr. 46, tav.

C 62 – C.I.L., X, 7778.
Diehl 3063 = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., p. 37, nr. 49, tav. Per le lettere *C V S* delle ll. 2 – 3 si intende *c(asta) v(irgo) s(acra)* o *s(acrata).*

C 63 – C.I.L., X, 7781, Cagliari.
Diehl 2101 nota = Pani Ermini – Marinone, ibid., pp. 38 – 39, nr. 51, tav.: I]ησου Χρ*(ist)i et reliquiae / [---]a Theodoro be[ato* (?).

C64 – C.I.L. X, 7783, Cagliari.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 40, nr. 54, tav.

C65 – C.I.L., X, 7785 e 7792.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., pp. 22 – 23, nr. 30, tav. Per il 7792: *[---]antis [--- / ---] Maticio (?) [--- / --- p(lus)] m(inus) LXXV q[uievit --- / --- d]ie V kal(endas) Ia[nuarias ---].*

C66 – C.I.L., X, 7790.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 43, nr. 63, tav.

C67 – C.I.L., X, 7791.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 45, nr. 68, tav.

C68 – C.I.L., X, 7796, Cagliari.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 41, nr. 57, tav.

C69 – C.I.L., X, 7798.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., pp. 7 – 8, nr. 7, tav.: *[Bene]nata fide/lis in pace / recessit / an(nis) p(lus) m(inus) XL. / B(onae) [---].*

C70 – C.I.L., X, 7799, Cagliari.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 41, nr. 55.

C71 – C.I.L., X, 7800, Cagliari.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 47, nr. 76, tav.

C72 – C.I.L., X, 7801, Cagliari.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 45, nr. 71, tav.

C73 – C.I.L., X, 7803.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 44, nr. 66, tav.

C74 – C.I.L., X, 7805.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 44, nr. 65, tav.

C75 – C.I.L., X, 7806.
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 42, nr. 60, tav.

C76 – C.I.L., X, 7836, Uta.
DIEHL 4376 = PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 17, nr. 21, tav.

C76a – C.I.L., X, 7846, Uselis.
R. ZUCCA, in: G. TORE – R. ZUCCA, Testimonia antiqua Uticensia (Ricerche a Santa Giusta-Oristano), Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIV (1), 1983, p. 13.

C77 – C.I.L., X, 7852, Esterzili.
A.E., 1983, 447 = A. BONINU, Documenti epigrafici della collezione Spano, in: AAVV, Contributi su Giovanni Spano 1807 – 1878, Sassari, 1979, pp. 99 – 104 = M. BONELLO LAI, Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di Galillenses e Patulcenses Campani, Studi Sardi, XXV, 1978 – 1980 [1981], pp. 29 – 42.

C78 – C.I.L., X, 7866, Fordongianus (?).
PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., p. 14, nr. 17, tav.

C 79 – C.I.L., X, 7890 = XVI, 40, Dorgali.
A. E., 1983, 449 = A. BONINU, Testimonianze di età romana nel territorio di Dorgali, in: AAVV, Dorgali. Documenti archeologici, Sassari, 1980, pp. 225–228.

C 80 – C.I.L., X, 7891 = XVI, 9, Anela.
A. E., 1983, 451 = A. BONINU, Documenti epigrafici della collezione Spano, in: AAVV, Contributi su Giovanni Spano, Sassari, 1979, pp. 105–111.

C 80 a – C.I.L., X, 7902, Oristano.
R. ZUCCA, in: G. TORE – R. ZUCCA, Testimonia antiqua uticensia (Ricerche a Santa Giusta-Oristano), Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIV (1), 1983, p. 12.

C 81 – C.I.L., X, 7914, Tharros.
DIEHL 3400 = A. E., 1982, 430. PANI ERMINI – MARINONE, ibid., pp. 8–9, nr. 9, tav., ripropongono la lettura del MOMMSEN: (chrismon) *D(ignae)* vel *D(ulci) m(emoriae)* (chrismon) / *Spirito requiescenti Karissimi,/ amicorum omnium prestatori bono / pauperum, mandatis serviens /* (palma) *vit(a)e in omnibus XP(ist)i Clementia bene* (palma) / *coniuge tibi de mhis bixsit / an(nis) LXV, m(ensibus) III, d(iebus) XII, r(ecessit ?)/ in pace /* (chrismon e cavallo in corsa).
Del tutto diversa è la lettura e l'interpretazione di N. DUVAL, Une mensa funeraire de Tharros (Sardaigne) et la collection chrétienne du musée de Cagliari, Revue des Études Augustiniennes, XXVIII (3–4), 1982, pp. 280–288, tav.: (chrismon) *D(is) M(anibus)* (chrismon). / *Spirito requiescenti Karissimi, / amicorum omnium pr(a)estatori bono. / Pauperum mandatis serviens, / vige in omnibus! Chr(ist)i clementia bene / coniuget ibidem his. Bixsit an(n)is LXV m(ensibus) III d(iebus) XII. R(equievit) / in pace /* (chrismon).
V. recentemente anche A. M. GIUNTELLA, in: A. M. GIUNTELLA – G. BORGHETTI – D. SCHIAFFINI, Mensae e riti funerari in Sardegna. La testimonianza di Cornus, Martina Franca, 1985, pp. 45–46, che sottolinea in particolare la destinazione del manufatto, „una di quelle mense inserite in una struttura in muratura o poggiate su un supporto", proposta del resto dal DUVAL e da L. PANI ERMINI, Recenti contributi dell'archeologia per la Sardegna paleocristiana e alto medievale, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia, LIII – LIV, 1980 – 1981, 1981 – 1982 [1984], p. 233.

C 82 – C.I.L., X, 7915, Cornus.
A. MASTINO, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, pp. 109–110, nr. 1.

C 83 – C.I.L., X, 7916, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 110–111, nr. 2.

C 84 – C.I.L., X, 7917, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 111–112, nr. 3.

C 85 – C.I.L., X, 7918, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 112, nr. 4.

C 86 – C.I.L., X, 7919, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 113, nr. 5.

C 87 – C.I.L., X, 7920, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 113 – 114, nr. 6, tav. IX, 1: *[--- co]niugi vi[--- / ---] Crescen[---].*

C 88 – C.I.L., X, 7921, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 114, nr. 7.

C 89 – C.I.L., X, 7922, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 114 – 115, nr. 8.

C 90 – C.I.L., X, 7923, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 115 – 116, nr. 9, tav. IX, 2.

C 91 – C.I.L., X, 7924, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 116, nr. 10.

C 92 – C.I.L., X, 7925, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 116, nr. 11.

C 93 – C.I.L., X, 7926, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 116 – 117, nr. 12.

C 94 – C.I.L., X, 7927, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 117, nr. 13.

C 95 – C.I.L., X, 7928, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 117, nr. 14.

C 96 – C.I.L., X, 7929, Cornus.
MASTINO, ibid., pp. 117 – 118, nr. 15.

C 97 – C.I.L., X, 7930 = I, 2^2 2227 = I.L.S., 5983 = I.L.L.R.P., 478, Cuglieri.
A. MASTINO, La supposta prefettura di Porto Ninfeo (Porto Conte), Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, II (2), 1976, pp. 186 – 205 = A. MASTINO, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, nr. 20, tavv. XI – XIII. La lettura della l. 4 (già di E. BORMANN, Iscrizioni della Sardegna, Bullettino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica di Roma, 1869, pp. 181 – 185, seguito nel C.I.L. dal MOMMSEN), *praef(ectura) N(ymphaei) Portu(s)*, non viene accettata, mentre, dopo un nuovo esame del cippo ed un calco dell'iscrizione, si ripropone quella che era stata l'interpretazione di E. D(ESJARDINS), Une inscription géographique récemment découverte en Sardaigne, Revue Archéologique, XX, 1869, pp. 347 – 349: *prim(us) e(st) in portu.* Con la parola *portus* si avrebbe un evidente riferimento alla foce del Rio Mannu, dove aveva certamente inizio la numerazione dei vari cippi terminali rinvenuti nella stessa zona, numerazione che aumentava regolarmente allontanandosi della costa (vd. A 233, C 98, C 99).

C 98 – C.I.L., X, 7931, Cuglieri.
A. MASTINO, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, pp. 121–122, nr. 21, tav. XIV. Da un lato: *Eutychiani*; dall'altro: *[Termin]us / [pri]mus* (?) / *[– – –]uthon / [Num]isiarum.*

C 99 – C.I.L., X, 7932, Cuglieri.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 122, nr. 22, tav. XV. Da una parte: *[Eutychiani ?]*; dall'altra: *[Ter]minus / [se]cundus / [– – –]rarri / [Nu]misiaru[m].*

C 100 – C.I.L., X, 7933, Cuglieri.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 118, nr. 16.

C 101 – C.I.L., X, 7934, Cuglieri.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 118, nr. 17.

C 102 – C.I.L., X, 7935, Cuglieri.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 119, nr. 18.

C 103 – C.I.L., X, 7951, Portotorres.
A.E., 1982, 433 = M. BONELLO LAI, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n.s. III (XL), 1980–1981 [1982], pp. 186–191. Viene ripreso in esame il testo dell'iscrizione giunta a noi attraverso un manoscritto del XVII secolo, conservato nell'archivio del capitolo sassarese e pubblicato dallo SPANO, in Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1855, pp. 93 e 160. La proposta di lettura per le ll. 7–8, *tabular[ius] pertic[aru]m Turris / et Tharros [– – –]*, non è nuova. Già nel secolo scorso C. CAVEDONI, Annotazioni ai due primi anni del Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, III, 1857, p. 102, che la BONELLO LAI non cita e pare ignorare, aveva inteso, accanto a *tabular[ius] pertic[ae] m[unicip. ...* anche *tabular[ius] pertic[aru]m Turr[is Lybiss.] et Tharros.*
Vd. anche R. ZUCCA, Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 164–165, nr. 1.

C 104 – C.I.L., X, 7953 = I.L.S. 6766, Portotorres.
A. MASTINO, Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. BONINU – M. LE GLAY – A. MASTINO, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari 1984, p. 87, nr. 1, tav. I.

C 105 – C.I.L., X, 7955 = XIV, 346 = I.L.S. 6151, Castelsardo.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 93, nr. 7, tav. VII.

C 106 – C.I.L., X, 7956, Portotorres.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 92, nr. 6, tav. VI; l'unica variante è alla l. 2: *Cerdoni L. Verati.*

C 107 – C.I.L., X, 7959, Portotorres.
MASTINO, ibid., p. 95, nr. 9, tav. X.

C 108 – C.I.L., X, 7962, Portotorres.
G. PESCE, Sarcofagi romani di Sardegna, Roma, 1957, pp. 96–97, nr. 54, tav. LXXV, fig. 104 = MASTINO, ibid., p. 94, nr. 8, tav. IX.

C 109 – C.I.L., X, 7967, Portotorres.
E. Equini Schneider, Catalogo delle sculture romane del Museo Nazionale 'G. A. Sanna' di Sassari e del comune di Porto Torres, Sassari, 1979, pp. 42–43, nr. 35, tav. XXXIV, 1–2 = Mastino, ibid., p. 88, nr. 2, tav. II.

C 110 – C.I.L., X, 7972.
Diehl 3445 = L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, pp. 35–36, nr. 47.

C 111 – C.I.L., X, 7976, Olbia.
A. E., 1982, 440 = M. Bonello Lai, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980–1981 [1982], pp. 195–198. Lo scioglimento delle lettere *SEM* della l. 1 del primo frammento, *s(anctae) e(cclesiae) m(inister)* non è molto convincente; non si conoscono, tra l'altro, per quanto mi consta, abbreviazioni ridotte alla sola lettera iniziale per le parole *ecclesia* e *minister.*

C 112 – C.I.L., X, 8009, via Tharros-Cornus.
A. Mastino, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, p. 120, nr. 19. R. Zucca, Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 165–166, nr. 2, tenendo conto del luogo di rinvenimento integra la l. 1 *M(ilia) p(assuum) I* e ripropone per le ll. successive il nome eraso dell'imperatore *M. Iulius Philippus.*

C 113 – C.I.L., X, 8321, Buggerru (loc. Grugua).
R. Zucca, Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum (Contributo alla storia delle milizie ausiliarie romane in Sardegna), Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984, p. 241, nr. 1. Il rinvenimento nel deposito del museo di Cagliari della piccola lastra di marmo rosa incompleta sui lati destro e inferiore (cm 12,2 × 10,1 × 3,2; alt. lettere cm 1,4) ha permesso una lettura più completa ed esatta: *D(is) M(anibus) / Charitti Cota[e f(ilii) ---] / Sardorum (centuria) Pa[---] / b(ene) [m(erenti)] / Bolsona Cotae [f(ilius)* vel *f(ilia) --- / ---].*

C 114 – C.I.L., XIV, 423, Ostia.
R. Zucca, Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 165–166, nr. 3, segue quanto già proposto da altri autori (G. Spano, Iscrizioni latine, Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, VII, 1861, pp. 95–96 e E. Pais, Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano, Roma, 1923, p. 369, nota 3) e ritiene che l'iscrizione sia stata importata ad Ostia dalla Sardegna come zavorra di nave considerando i Tarrenses abitanti della Tharros sarda: *...]ul L(uci) [l(ibertus)] Storax / [---]us macellum et [pon]dera Tarrensibus / [s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) i]demque dedicav[it].*

C 115 – E. E., VIII, 709, Cagliari.
A. E., 1982, 426 = M. Bonello Lai, Nuove proposte di lettura di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia

dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), pp. 184 – 185. Per la l. 4 si propone *(centuria) [Al]bati* o *(centuria) [Fa]bati.*

C 116 – E. E., VIII, 721, Donori.
L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedievali, Roma, 1981, pp. 47 – 48, nr. 77, tav. Dell'importante documento epigrafico, purtroppo incompleto, che riguarda disposizioni sulle tasse portuali (dazi di transito, di trasporto di vari generi di consumo etc. a Cagliari), stabilite sotto il regno di Maurizio Tiberio (578 – 602), la Pani Ermini dà una lettura diversa e più completa di quella del Mommsen.
Frammenti 1 – 2: *[---]ane secund(um) gesta / [--- sub] n(obilissimo) d(omino) n(ostro) Mauricio Tiberi[o / ---] mod[ice] var[ia]dimi [---].*
Frammenti 3 – 6: *[--- de]leas cap[nicum --- / ---] portant(i) ae(s) frument[aque ---] midp animal(ia) [--- / sa]rcinario abent(i) spar[sarum re]rum honus fa[s --- / ---] b(elantia) pecora p(rae) cap(itibus) XX carn(arium) L[--- ali]tor(em) laboran[tem / ---] an(imalibus) intromitt(ent)ib(us) olera p(ro) cofin(o) un(o) fascic(ulum) un[um / ---] p(ro) animal(ibus) portant(ibus) extibal p(ro) cofino L r[esidua / d]ixtracta p(ro) sol(ido) uno num(mos) XX p(ro) horca vi[ni / oc]cil(lant)ib(us) L p(ro) naucell(is) abentib(us) frument[um / ---] omittentib(us) aber(rationibus) p(ro) n(umero) XXX ab(eatur) II H F com[munitus ---.*

C 117 – E. E., VIII, 732 = C.I.L., I, 2^2, 2227 = I.L.S., 5983 nota, Cuglieri.
A. Mastino, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, p. 123, nr. 23, tav. XVI.

C 118 – E. E., VIII, 745, via Caralibus-Turrem.
A. E., 1890, 88. La nuova lettura in A. Boninu – A. U. Stylow, Miliari nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982, p. 41, nota 36, è dello Stylow: *M(ilia) p(assuum) XXXIII / Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio / Claudio maximọ pịọ / felici invicto Aug(usto) [pont(ifici)] / max(imo) imp(eratori) II co(n)s(uli) [trib(unicia) p(otestate) --- ?] / p(atri) p(atriae) procons(uli) v(iam) q(uae) [d(ucit) ---] / curante L(ucio) Septimio / Leontico e(gregio) v(iro) proc(uratore) [prov(inciae) ?] / Sard(iniae)* (palma).
Data: tra l'estate del 269 e la morte di Claudio nel 270.

C 119 – E. E., VIII, 751, via Caralibus-Olbiam.
Secondo Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 36, nota 19: accanto alla parola *Salonino* anche *princ. iuv. nob. Caes. Aug.*; p. 36, nota 17: il governatore ricordato non è Calpurnius Caelianus, ma Maridius Maridianus.

C 120 – E. E., VIII, 763, via Caralibus-Olbiam.
Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 36, nota 19: secondo la nuova lettura dello Stylow gli imperatori sarebbero Valeriano I, Gallieno, Valeriano II.

C 121 – E. E., VIII, 773, via Caralibus-Olbiam.
Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 46, nota 58: *M(ilia) p(assuum) CLXX / D(omini) n(ostri duo) imp(eratores duo) sanctissimi et pi(i)sṣịm[i] / C(aius) Bibius*

Trebonianus Gallus pius / fẹlix invictus Aug(ustus) et / [C(aius)] Bibius Afinius Veldumnianus / Volusianus pius felix invictus / Aug(ustus) viam qu(a)e a Karalibus Olbiae ducit vetustate consunptam / restituerunt curante et dedicant[e] / M(arco) Antonio Septimio Heraclito / v(iro) e(gregio) proc(uratore) suo (palma).
Data: aa. 251 – 253 d.C.

C 122 – E. E., VIII, 787, via Caralibus-Olbiam.
Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 41 e nota 35. Una nuova lettura dello Stylow propone come nome dell'imperatore: *[Aureli]ano* senza la menzione del consolato.

C 123 – E. E., VIII, 797, via Caralibus-Olbiam.
Boninu – Stylow, ibid., p. 36, nota 19. Secondo la nuova lettura dello Stylow si devono intendere gli imperatori Valeriano I, Gallieno, Valeriano II; il nome del governatore, non conservato, dovrebbe essere stato probabilmente quello di Maridius Maridianus.

C 124 – Per l'*instrumentum domesticum* rinvenuto nel territorio di Cornus e già in C.I.L., X, v. ancora A. Mastino, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979, pp. 125 – 140, nrr. 26 – 61.

C 125 – C. Tronchetti, I materiali di epoca storica della collezione Spano, in: AAVV, Contributi su Giovanni Spano (1803 – 1878), Sassari, 1979, pp. 124 – 129: soprattutto *instrumentum domesticum*, già edito in C.I.L., X.

C 126 – R. J. Rowland, Jr., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981. Riporta vecchie letture dello Spano per alcune iscrizioni, specialmente dell'*instrumentum domesticum*, pubblicate in modo corretto nel C.I.L., X: p. 17, da Sorso, Oristano e Sassari (non da Barumini), *vascula* con *L. CAEC. LEM* invece di *L. Cae. Clem.* (C.I.L., X, 8056, 72); p. 32, da Cagliari, *dolium* con *L. RVSTI REPENTINI* semplicemente, invece di *L. Rusti / Repentini fec(erunt) / L. Rusti / Lupionis fec(erunt)* (C.I.L., X, 8056, 311); p. 40, da Decimo, *tegula* con *EX FIGLINIS AVID. IOVI* invece di *ex figlinis / Avidi Quieti* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 11); p. 41, da Cornus (non da Donigala), *amphora* con ... *TVCCI. ET PR / ... GALEONIS*, invece di *Tucci L. f. Tro. / Caleonis* (C.I.L., X, 8051, 34); p. 59, da Macomer, *tegula* con *VAL: ? VCILZ* invece di *Val. L/ucillz* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 26); p. 61, da Marrubiu, *tegula* con ...*ROBIN ET ... / VENVSTA FEC.* invece di *[Pat]robius / Venustae* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 39); p. 92, da Orune, *tegula* con ☧ *FVSERI VIVAS* invece di ☧ *[E]use[b]i vivas* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 15); p. 121, da Selegas, *vasculum* con *OMERCURIALRFEC* invece di Θ *Mercurialis fec.* (C.I.L., X, 8056, 215); *tegula* con *C. N. C. M. L. S.* invece di *Cn. Cl. S.* (C.I.L., X, 8046, 30); p. 122, da Senorbì, spillo crinale con *ENARIA ENDIABELA* invece di *Senaria in / Deo bibas* (C.I.L., X, 8072, 18); p. 137, da Tharros lucerna con *LX. LI VICTORV* invece di *ex ofi(cina) / Victo/ris* (C.I.L., X, 8053, 205); p. 144, da Ulassai, *signaculum* con *ANOD/IEDEI* invece di *de dei / dona* (C.I.L., X, 8059, 496).

C 127 – C.I.L., X, 8053, 299.
L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 130, nr. 214: lucerna con cristogramma gemmato e bollo *B*.

D

D 26 – S. Angiolillo, Una galleria di ritratti giulio-claudii da Sulci, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 157 – 170.

D 27 – S. Angiolillo, Architettura e scultura nell'età di Roma, in: AAVV, La Sardegna, 1. La geografia, la storia, l'arte e la letteratura, Cagliari, 1982, pp. 77 – 84.

D 28 – M. Bonello Lai, Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di Galillenses e Patulcenses Campani, Studi Sardi, XXV, 1978 – 1980 [1981], pp. 29 – 42.

D 29 – M. Bonello Lai, Le raccolte epigrafiche del '600 in Sardegna, Atti del Convegno Nazionale 'Arte e cultura del '600 e del '700 in Sardegna' (Cagliari – Sassari 2 – 5 maggio 1983), Napoli, 1984, pp. 379 – 395.

D 30 – S. F. Bondi', Osservazioni sulle fonti classiche per la colonizzazione della Sardegna, Saggi Fenici, I, 1975, pp. 49 – 66.

D 31 – I. Didu, I centri abitati della Sardegna romana nell'Anonimo Ravennate e nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 203 – 213.

D 32 – E. Equini Schneider, La Sardegna in età romana, in: AAVV, Ichnussa. La Sardegna dalle origini all'età classica, Milano, 1981, pp. 479 – 484.

D 33 – A. Mastino, La voce degli antichi, in: AAVV, Nur. La misteriosa civiltà dei Sardi, Milano, 1980, pp. 261 – 264.

D 34 – A. Mastino, La dominazione romana, in: AAVV, La provincia di Sassari: I secoli e la storia, Sassari, 1983, pp. 52 – 74.

D 35 – A. Mastino, A proposito di continuità culturale nella Sardegna romana, Quaderni Sardi di Storia, 3, 1981 – 1983, pp. 189 – 218.

D 36 – A. Mastino, Le relazioni tra Africa e Sardegna in età romana: inventario preliminare, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II convegno di studio. Sassari, 14 – 16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 27 – 91.

D 37 – F. Mazza, Vita pubblica e privata nella Sardegna antica. Le testimonianze epigrafiche fenicie e puniche, Antiqua, III, 1978, 10, pp. 7 – 18.

D 38 – F. Nicosia, La Sardegna nel mondo classico, in: AAVV, Ichnussa, La Sardegna dalle origini all'età classica, Milano, 1981, pp. 421 – 476.

D 39 – G. G. Pani, L'epigrafia cimiteriale di Cornus: alcune riflessioni, L'archeologia romana e altomedioevale nell'oristanese. Atti del convegno di Cuglieri (22–23 giugno 1984), Taranto, 1986, pp. 95–101.

D 40 – L. Pani Ermini, Antichità cristiana e alto medioevo in Sardegna attraverso le più recenti scoperte archeologiche, AAVV, La cultura in Italia tra tardo antico e alto medioevo. Atti del convegno CNR, Roma 12–16 nov. 1979, II, Roma, 1981, pp. 903–911.

D 41 – L. Pani Ermini, La Sardegna e l'Africa nel periodo vandalico, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II convegno di studio. Sassari, 14–16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 105–122.

D 42 – G. Sotgiu, Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della *familia Caesaris* in Sardegna), in: ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, Roma, 1980, VI, pp. 2023–2045.

D 42a – G. Sotgiu, Insediamenti romani, in: Atlante della Sardegna, II, Roma, 1980, pp. 90–93.

D 43 – G. Sotgiu, Per la diffusione del culto di Sabazio. Testimonianze dalla Sardegna, Leiden, 1980 (EPRO 96), pp. 5–27.

D 44 – G. Sotgiu, Nuovi contributi dell'epigrafia latina alla conoscenza della Sardegna romana, in: AAVV, La ricerca storica sulla Sardegna. Problemi, risultati, prospettive, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIII, 1983, pp. 103–110.

D 45 – G. Sotgiu, Lapidari in Sardegna, in: AAVV, Il museo epigrafico. Colloquio AIEGL – Borghesi 83, Faenza, 1984, pp. 601–619.

D 46 – C. Tronchetti, Il territorio dell'oristanese in età romana, L'archeologia romana e altomedievale nell'oristanese. Atti del Convegno di Cuglieri (22–23 giugno 1984), Taranto, 1986, pp. 17–22.

D 47 – R. Zucca, I rapporti tra l'Africa e la Sardinia alla luce dei documenti archeologici. Nota preliminare, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II convegno di studio. Sassari, 14–16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 94–104.

E

add. E 2 – P. Cugusi, Un nuovo carmen epigraphicum sardo, Epigraphica, XLII, 1980, pp. 85–92: carme in esametri, reminiscenze del 'Culex' (?). Data: tra l'età di Tiberio e la prima età flaviana.

add. E 21 – F. Porrà, Una nuova associazione nella Sardegna romana. I sodales Buduntin(enses), Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. VII (4), 1983, pp. 263–270. Intende: *Sodales / Buduntịn(enses) / fecerunt* e considera questi dedicanti come un gruppo di abitanti di una città dell'Apulia, *Butuntum* (od. Bitonto), stabilitisi nell'isola tra la fine del I sec. a. C. e la fine del I d. C. V. anche R. J. Rowland, Jr., I Ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981, p. 77: *SODALEDS / BUDUNTINI / FECERUNT.*

add. E 22 – A. E., 1981, 485 = G. SOTGIU, Le iscrizioni dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona (Portotorres, Turris Libisonis), Roma, 1981, pp. 35 – 36, nr. 16, fig. p. 68 e tav. XIII; S. ANGIOLILLO, Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981, p. 194, nr. 175, tav. XXXVIII; A. MASTINO, Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: A. BONINU – M. LE GLAY – A. MASTINO, Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, p. 91, nr. 5.

add. E 23 – A. E., 1981, 476 = SOTGIU, ibid., p. 18, nr. 1, fig. 4 e tav. V. A. E., 1983, 448 = P. MELONI, Stato attuale della ricerca sulla Sardegna romana, in: AAVV, La ricerca storica sulla Sardegna. Problemi, risultati, prospettive, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXII, 1983, pp. 81 e 125, propone di intendere alla l. 4 *proc(urator) r[eg(ionis)]*. Ma v. ancora G. SOTGIU, Sul 'procurator ripae' dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona (Portotorres, Turris Libisonis), in: AAVV, Studi in onore di Giovanni Lilliu per il suo settantesimo compleanno, Cagliari, 1985, pp. 247 – 249, ove è data una più completa lettura dopo il recente rinvenimento di nuovi frammenti: *D(is) M(anibus) / Flaviae Amoebe / T. Aelius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) Vic/tor proc(urator) ripae / [---]*.

add. E 24 – A. E., 1981, 477 = SOTGIU, ibid., p. 23, nr. 2, tav. VI.

add. E 25 – A. E., 1981, 478 = SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 23 – 27, nr. 3, fig. 5 e tav. VI. Il recente rinvenimento di due nuovi frammenti comprendenti la centrale delle tre parti in cui era stata volutamente divisa l'intera lastra e quella a destra, che però è incompleta inferiormente, permettono ora di completare e correggere la precedente lettura. Purtroppo per il momento ho potuto vedere solo attraverso il vetro della vetrina questi nuovi frammenti e mentre per la prima parte la lettura non lascia dubbi, l'ultima è ancora incerta: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurelia Muscia/na vix(it) annis XXI, / m(ensibus) IIII, dies XXI, hu/nc tumulum fe/cerunt pa[rent(es) ?] / velles do [... ma]/ritus eius f(ecit) [---]*.

add. E 26 – A. E., 1981, 479 = SOTGIU, ibid., p. 27, nr. 4, tav. V.

add. E 27 – A. E., 1981, 479 = SOTGIU, ibid., p. 28, nr. 5, tav. VII. Un nuovo frammento permette di completare la seconda parte dell'iscrizione: *D(is) M(anibus) / Porciae Staphiliae / piae vix(it) an(nis) XLVII, men(sibus) / III, die(bus) X* (?) *VIII, fecit mari/tus coniugi rarissi/m(a)e*.

add. E 28 – A. E., 1981, 481 = SOTGIU, ibid., p. 29, nr. 6, tav. VII.

add. E 29 – SOTGIU, ibid., p. 29, nr. 7, tav. VIII.

add. E 30 – SOTGIU, ibid., p. 30, nr. 8, tav. VIII.

add. E 31 – SOTGIU, ibid., p. 30, nr. 9, tav. IX.

add. E 32 – SOTGIU, ibid., p. 30, nr. 10, tav. IX.

add. E 33 – SOTGIU, ibid., p. 30, nr. 11, tav. X.

add. E 33 a – SOTGIU, ibid., p. 31, nr. 12, tav. X.

add. E 34 – A. E., 1981, 482 = SOTGIU, ibid., pp. 31 – 32, nr. 13, fig. 6 e tav. XI.

add. E 35 – A. E., 1981, 483 = Sotgiu, ibid., p. 33, nr. 14, tav. XI.

add. E 36 – A. E., 1981, 484 = Sotgiu, ibid., p. 34, nr. 15, tav. XII.

add. E 37 – A. E., 1980, 533 = A. E., 1982, 439 = I. Didu, II. (Museo 'G. A. Sanna', Sassari, inv. nr. 11431), in: F. Porrà – I. Didu, Due nuove iscrizioni di ausiliari in Sardegna, Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'antichità classica, Atti X 1978 – 1979, pp. 147 – 153, nr. 2, tav. II. Viene proposta una lettura nuova e poco convincente per le ll. 2 – 3: *Silo Te/renti / f(ilius), tur(ma) E[l]/i* (?) *Faus/tilli a/n(norum) LX / mil(itavit) an(nis) / XXXV, / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*
Ancora diversa, e più che mai errata a mio parere, la lettura di R. J. Rowland, Jr., Two Sardinian notes, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, XXX, 1978, p. 168: *Silio Te/renti / f(ilio) ann(is) L/I, Faustillia / an(nis) LX. / mil(itavit) ann(os) / XXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st).*

add. E 38 – A. E., 1980, 532 = A. E., 1982, 438 = F. Porrà, I. (Museo 'G. A. Sanna', Sassari, inv. nr. 22087), in: F. Porra' – I. Didu, ibid., pp. 141 – 147, tav. I; Rowland, ibid., p. 168, con diverse imprecisioni, intende: *Ti(berius) Iulius Fab(ia) / Capito Misic/ius ex c(o)hor(tis) / Aq[u]itanor(um) / (annorum) LXV, hic sit(us) est.*
Per il *missicius* v. ora F. Porrà, Missicius nell'esercito romano. Studi e ricerche (Istituto di Studi Storici. Facoltà di Magistero, Università di Cagliari), I, Cagliari, 1981, pp. 5 – 19.

add. E 39 – D. Panedda, Tracce di età preromana e romana in Gallura e nelle Baronie, Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, V, 1979, p. 115, nr. 10.

add. E 41 – L. Pani Ermini – M. Marinone, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981, p. 5, nr. 4, tav. Alla l. 1 s'intende Antiocia.

Bibliografia

Acquaro, E., Olbia II (Campagna 1978), Rivista di Studi Fenici, VIII, 1980, pp. 75 – 77.

Alziator, F., 'Caralis Panegyricus' di Roderigo Hunno Baeza, Cagliari, 1974.

Andreotti, R., Problemi di epigrafia costantiniana. I: La presunta alleanza con l'usurpatore L. Domizio Alessandro, Epigraphica, XXXI, 1969, pp. 144 – 180.

Angiolillo, S., Osservazioni sul patrimonio musivo della Sardegna, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 183 – 199.

Angiolillo, S., Una galleria di ritratti giulio-claudii da Sulci, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 157 – 170.

Angiolillo, S., Mosaici antichi in Italia. Sardinia, Roma, 1981.

Angiolillo, S., Architettura e scultura nell'età di Roma, in: AAVV, La Sardegna. 1. La geografia, la storia, l'arte e la letteratura, Cagliari, 1982, pp. 77 – 84.

Angiolillo, S., A proposito di un monumento con fregio dorico rinvenuto a Cagliari. La Sardegna e i suoi rapporti con il mondo italico in epoca tardo-repubblicana, in: Studi in onore di Giovanni Lilliu per il suo settantesimo compleanno, Cagliari, 1985, pp. 99 – 116.

ARIAS, P. E. – CRISTIANI, E. – GABBA, E., Camposanto monumentale di Pisa. Le antichità, Pisa, 1977.

ASTIN, A. E., The status of Sardinia in the Second Century A. D., Latomus, XVIII, 1959, pp. 150 – 153.

BALIL, A., En torno a las relaciones de Cerdeña y Hispania en la epoca romana, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV (2), 1955 – 1957 [1958], pp. 130 – 133.

BARBIERI, G., L'albo senatorio da Settimo Severo a Carino (193 – 285), Roma, 1952.

BARRECA, F., La Sardegna fenicia e punica, 2ª ed., Sassari, 1979.

BARRECA, F., La civiltà fenicio-punica in Sardegna, Sassari, 1986.

BIRLEY, E., Die cohors I Tungrorum und das Orakel des Klarischen Apollo, Germania, XXIII, 1939, pp. 189 – 190.

BIRLEY, E., Cohors I Tungrorum and the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 511 – 513.

BONDI', S. F., Osservazioni sulle fonti classiche per la colonizzazione della Sardegna, Saggi Fenici, I, 1975, pp. 49 – 66.

BONELLO LAI, M., Sulla localizzazione delle sedi di *Galillenses* e *Patulcenses Campani*, Studi Sardi, XXV, 1978 – 1980 [1981], pp. 29 – 42.

BONELLO LAI, M., Nuove proposte di letture di alcune iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 179 – 201.

BONELLO LAI, M., Le raccolte epigrafiche del '600 e del '700 in Sardegna, Atti del Convegno Nazionale 'Arte e Cultura del '600 e del '700 in Sardegna' (Cagliari – Sassari 2 – 5 maggio 1983), Napoli, 1984, pp. 379 – 395.

BONELLO LAI, M., Il simbolo dell'ascia nelle iscrizioni funerarie della Sardegna, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 201 – 227.

BONINU, A., Torralba, località Code (Sassari), in: AAVV, Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 98 – 102.

BONINU, A., Tortolì, località S. Lussorio (Nuoro), in: AAVV, Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 105 – 106.

BONINU, A., Turris Libyssonis (Porto Torres, Sassari), in: AAVV, Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 97 – 98.

BONINU, A., Materiali di età ellenistico romana (della collezione Biblioteca Comunale 'Sebastiano Satta' di Nuoro), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, pp. 171 – 182.

BONINU, A., Documenti epigrafici della collezione Spano, in: AAVV, Contributi su Giovanni Spano (1807 – 1878), Sassari, 1979, pp. 99 – 113.

BONINU, A., Tomba di giganti di Thomes. Materiali di età romana, in: AAVV, Dorgali. Documenti archeologici, Sassari, 1980, p. 103.

BONINU, A. – STYLOW, A. U., Miliarii nuovi e vecchi dalla Sardegna, Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982 [1983], pp. 29 – 56.

BONINU, A. – LE GLAY, M. – MASTINO, A., Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984.

BORMAN, E., Iscrizioni della Sardegna, Bullettino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica di Roma, 1869, pp. 181 – 185.

CADEDDU GRAMIGNA, E., Necropoli punico-romana in territorio di Bortigali, Sardigna Antiga, I, 1983, pp. 8 – 11.

CAMPUS, L., Nuovi miliari dalla Sardegna, Archeologia Classica, XXIX (2), 1977 [1980], pp. 411 – 417.

CANNAS, V. M., I nuraghi Aleri e Nastasi e le nuove scoperte archeologiche nel territorio di Tertenia, Cagliari, 1972.

CANNAS, V. M. – PILI, F., Nuova iscrizione funeraria scoperta nei pressi di Tertenia. Un ciottolo fluviale con epitaffio latino, Speleologia Sarda, 45, a. XII (1), 1983, pp. 1 – 12 (estratto).

(CAPRARA, R.), Due *tabellae defixionis* (della collezione Cabras di Orosei), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, pp. 152 – 154.

C(APRARA), R., Iscrizione deprecatoria. Loc. La Balza (Martis), Settimana dei beni culturali 1979. Guida alle mostre (a cura del Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali), Sassari, s. d., pp. 65 – 66.

CAVEDONI, C., Annotazioni ai due primi anni del Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, III, 1857, pp. 100 – 103.

CHANTRAINE, H., Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser. Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei Bd. I, Wiesbaden, 1967.

COCCO, C., Reminiscenze letterarie in C. L. E. 1551 A – G, Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III, 1978 – 1979 [1979], pp. 89 – 110.

COMPARETTI, D., Iglesias. Iscrizione greca di Grugua, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 10, 1913, p. 423.

C[ONTU], E., Portotorres (Sassari). Ruderi romani denominati 'Palazzo di Re Barbaro'. Rinvenimento di un'ara circolare dedicata a Bast, Bollettino d'Arte, LII (3), 1967, p. 205.

COPPOLA, C., L'heroon di Atilia Pomptilla in Cagliari, Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, VII (s. VI), 1931, pp. 388 – 437.

CUGUSI, P., In margine al carmen epigraphicum del Museo di S. Antioco (Sulci), Epigraphica, XXXVII, 1975, pp. 142 – 152.

CUGUSI, P., Un nuovo carmen epigraphicum sardo, Epigraphica, XLII, 1980, pp. 85 – 92.

CUGUSI, P., Ancora su un recente 'carmen epigraphicum' di S. Antioco (Sulci), Epigraphica, XLIII, 1981, pp. 115 – 117.

CUSCITO, G., Le epigrafi musive della basilica martiriale di Trieste, Aquileia Nostra, XLIV, 1973, cc. 127 – 166.

DEGRASSI, A., I fasti consolari dell'Impero romano, Roma, 1952.

DEGRASSI, A., Epigraphica III, Scritti di varia antichità, III, Venezia – Trieste, 1967, pp. 93 – 97.

DELATTRE, R. P., Museé Lavigerie Saint Louis de Carthage (Musée et collections Archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie), Paris, 1899.

DELOGU, L., Un recente ritrovamento archeologico: il battistero di Cornus in Sardegna, Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana, LII, 1965, p. 256.

DE SANCTIS, G., La Sardegna ai tempi di Costantino Pogonato, Rivista di Filologia Classica, LVI, 1928, pp. 118 – 122.

D(ÉSJARDINS), E., Une inscription géographique récemment découverte en Sardaigne, Revue Archéologique, XX, 1896, pp. 347 – 349.

DESMED, R., Le roman de Pomptilla et de Philippe, Ludus Magistralis, 1968, pp. 9 – 13.

DIDU, I., I centri abitati della Sardegna romana nell'Anonimo Ravennate e nella Tabula Peutingeriana, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 203 – 213.

DOMERGUE, C., Les Planii et leur activité industrielle en Espagne sous la République, Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez, I, 1965, pp. 14 – 16.

DUVAL, N., Une mensa funéraire de Tharros (Sardaigne) et la collection chrétienne du musée de Cagliari, Revue des Études Augustiniennes, XXVIII (3 – 4), 1982, pp. 280 – 288.

ECK, W., Zum Rechtsstatus von Sardinien im 2. Jh. n. Chr., Historia, XX, 1971, pp. 510 – 512.

EQUINI SCHNEIDER, E., Catalogo delle sculture romane del Museo Nazionale 'G. A. Sanna' di Sassari e del comune di Porto Torres, Sassari, 1979.

EQUINI SCHNEIDER, E., La Sardegna in età romana, in: AAVV, Ichnussa. La Sardegna dalle origini all'età classica, Milano, 1981, pp. 479 – 484.

EUZENNAT, M., Une dédicace volubilitaine à l'Apollon de Claros, Antiquités Africaines, X, 1976, pp. 63 – 68.

FALANGA, L., Albori del Cristianesimo in Sardegna. Quando il Cristianesimo è approdato in Sardegna?, Campania sacra, Studi e Documenti (Pont. Fac. Teol. dell'Italia meridionale, Sezione di Capodimonte), XIII – XIV, 1982 – 1983, pp. 22 sgg.

FARRIS, G., La aree paleocristiane di Cornus, Cagliari, 1976.

FINZI, C., Le città sepolte della Sardegna, Perugia, 1982.

FREY, J. B., Corpus Inscriptionum Judaicarum. Recueil des inscriptions juives du III^e siècle avant Jésus Christ au VII^e siècle de notre ère (Prolegomenon, a cura di B. LIFSHITZ), I, New York, 1975.

GALLAVOTTI, G., Iscrizioni latine di Sardegna, Rivista di Filologia, XCIII, 1965, pp. 302 – 304.

GALLI, F., Archeologia del territorio. Il comune di Ittireddu (Sassari), Sassari, 1983.

GIANFROTTA, P. A. – POMEY, P., Archeologia subacquea. Storia, tecniche, scoperte e relitti, Milano, 1981.

GIUNTELLA, A. M. – BORGHETTI, G. – STIAFFINI, D., Mensae e riti funerari in Sardegna. La testimonianza di Cornus, Martina Franca, 1985.

GIUNTELLA, A. M. – PANI ERMINI, L., Cornus (Oristano). Indagini nell'area paleocristina. Relazione preliminare della campagna 1978, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, XXXV, 1981 [1982], pp. 541 – 591.

JONES, A. H. M. – MARTINDALE, J. R. – MORRIS, J., The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I (A. D. 260 – 395), Cambridge, 1971.

KAJANTO, I., The Latin cognomina, Helsinki, 1965.

LAMARMORA, A., Voyage en Sardaigne, II. Antiquités, Paris, 1840.

LE GLAY, M., Isis et Serapis sur un autel de Bubastis à Porto Torres (Turris Libisonis), in: BONINU A. – LE GLAY M. – MASTINO A., Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, pp. 105 – 116.

LEVI, D., L'ipogeo di S. Salvatore di Cabras in Sardegna, Roma, 1949.

LODDO, R., Note illustrative su un manoscritto del secolo XVIII con documenti epigrafici romani, bizantini e medioevali dell'agro cagliaritano, Archivio Storico Sardo, II, 1906, pp. 36 – 59.

LODDO, R., Alcune iscrizioni romane inedite della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, V, 1909, pp. 122 – 129.

LO PORTO, F. G., Fittili della necropoli di Tharros esistenti in Torino, Studi Sardi, XIV – XV (1), 1955 – 1957 [1958], pp. 299 – 306.

LUZZATTO, G. I., In tema di organizzazione municipale della Sardegna sotto il dominio romano, in: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Grosso, I, Torino, 1968, pp. 293 – 312.

MAETZKE, G., Scavi e scoperte nelle provincie di Sassari e Nuoro 1959 – 1961, Studi Sardi, XVII, 1959 – 1961 [1962], pp. 651 – 663.

MAETZKE, G., Stele scoperta ad Ozieri, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 267, nr. 4063.

MAETZKE, G., Miliario scoperto ad Ossi, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 267, nr. 4048.

MAETZKE, G., Scavi e scoperte, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 176, nr. 2630.

MAETZKE, G., Scoperte ad Oschiri, Fasti Archaeologici, XIV, 1959 [1962], p. 277, nr. 4232.

MAETZKE, G., Portotorres (Sassari). Iscrizioni funerarie romane, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1964, pp. 323 – 330.

MAETZKE, G., Olbia (Sassari). Titolo funerario cristiano da S. Simplicio, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1966, pp. 353 – 354.

MAETZKE, G., Portotorres (Sassari). Tomba paleocristiana con rivestimento in mosaico, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1966, pp. 355 – 365.

MAETZKE, G., Scavi e scoperte nel campo dell'archeologia cristiana negli ultimi dieci anni in Toscana e in Sardegna, Atti del II Congresso di Archeologia cristiana, Matera 25 – 31 maggio 1969, Roma, 1971, pp. 311 – 335.

MALAISE, M., Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie, Leiden, 1972 (EPRO 21).

MALAISE, M., Les conditions de pénetration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie, Leiden, 1972 (EPRO 22).

MALAISE, M., Documents nouveaux et points de vue récents sur les cultes isiaques en Italie, in: Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren, Leiden, 1978 (EPRO, 68, 2), pp. 627 – 717.

MARTORELLI, R., Cagliari. Un frammento di anfora con bollo da Tubursuctu, L'Africa romana. Atti del II Convegno di Studio. Sassari, 14 – 16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 123 – 129.

MASTINO, A., La supposta prefettura di Porto Ninfeo (Porto Conte), Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, II (2), 1976, pp. 187 – 205.

MASTINO, A., Un'iscrizione funeraria inedita proveniente da Austis (Nuoro), Archivio Storico Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 51 – 53.

MASTINO, A., Una nuova iscrizione funeraria dalla necropoli di S. Pietro di Bosa, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 209 – 213.

MASTINO, A., La chiesa di S. Pietro in Bosa alla luce della documentazione epigrafica, in: AAVV, Le chiese di Bosa, Cagliari, 1978, pp. 9 – 70.

MASTINO, A., La gens Rutilia in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. I (XXXVIII), 1976 – 1977 [1980], pp. 41 – 56.

MASTINO, A., La voce degli antichi, in: AAVV, Nur. La misteriosa civiltà dei Sardi, Milano, 1980, pp. 261 – 264.

MASTINO, A., La dominazione romana, in: AAVV, La provincia di Sassari: i secoli e la storia, Sassari, 1983, pp. 52 – 74.

MASTINO, A., A proposito di continuità culturale nella Sardegna romana, Quaderni Sardi di Storia, III, 1981 – 1983, pp. 189 – 218.

MASTINO, A., Popolazione e classi sociali a Turris Libisonis: i legami con Ostia, in: BONINU, A. – LE GLAY, M. – MASTINO, A., Turris Libisonis colonia Iulia, Sassari, 1984, pp. 37 – 104.

MASTINO, A., Le relazioni tra Africa e Sardegna in età romana: inventario preliminare, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II Convegno di Studio. Sassari, 14 – 16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 27 – 91.

MASTINO, A., Ancora un titolo sepolcrale dal *castrum* di Luguido (Oschiri), Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 189 – 199.

MAZZA, F., Vita pubblica e privata nella Sardegna antica. Le testimonianza epigrafiche fenicie e puniche, Antiqua, III, 1978, 10, pp. 7 – 18.

MAZZARINO, S., Su un'iscrizione trionfale di Turris Libisonis, Epigraphica, II, 1940, pp. 292 – 313.

MELONI, P., Libisonis Turris (Porto Torres), Dizionario Epigrafico, IV, 1, 1950, p. 947.

MELONI, P. Turris Libisonis romana alla luce delle iscrizioni, Epigraphica, XI, 1949 [1951], pp. 88 – 114.

MELONI, P., I miliarii sardi e le strade romane in Sardegna, Epigraphica, XV, 1953, pp. 42 – 50.

MELONI, P., L'amministrazione della Sardegna da Augusto all'invasione vandalica, Roma, 1958.

MELONI, P., Stato attuale dell'epigrafia latina in Sardegna e nuove acquisizioni, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 241 – 245.

MELONI, P., La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975; II ed. 1980.

MELONI, P., Stato attuale della ricerca sulla Sardegna romana, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXII, 1983, pp. 73–90.

MELONI, P., Un nuovo miliario di Magno Massimo rinvenuto nel territorio di Berchidda, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 179–188.

MELONI, P., La provincia romana di Sardegna, I. I secoli I–III, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11, 1), pp. 451–490.

MELONI, P., La Sardegna romana. I centri abitati e l'organizzazione municipale, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11, 1), pp. 491–551.

MINGAZZINI, P., Cagliari. Resti di santuario punico e di altri ruderi a monte di Piazza del Carmine, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1949 [1950], pp. 213–274.

MISTRETTA, P., Il teatro romano di Nora, Dioniso, XXXV (3), 1961, pp. 28–37.

MOTZO, B. R., L'attività guerriera di re Liutprando nei primi quattordici anni di regno, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXIV, 1954, pp. 51–93.

MOTZO, B. R., Barlumi dell'età bizantina in Sardegna. Studi cagliaritani di storia e filologia, Cagliari, 1927, pp. 64–97.

MUREDDU, D. – STEFANI, G., La diffusione del mosaico funerario africano in Sardegna: scoperte e riscoperte, L'Africa Romana. Atti del III Convegno di Studio. Sassari, 13–15 dicembre 1985, Sassari, 1986, pp. 339–355.

MUREDDU, D. – STEFANI, G., Scavi 'archeologici' nella cultura dell'600 e '700 in Sardegna, Atti del Convegno Nazionale 'Arte e cultura del '600 e '700 in Sardegna' (Cagliari – Sassari 2–5 maggio 1983), Napoli, 1984, pp. 397–406.

NICOSIA, F., La Sardegna nel mondo classico, in: AAVV, Ichnussa. La Sardegna dalle origini all'età classica, Milano, 1981, pp. 421–476.

OLIVER, J. H., The descendants of Asinius Pollio, American Journal of Philology, LXVIII, 1947, pp. 147–160.

PAIS, E., Prima relazione intorno ai viaggi fatti per la compilazione dei 'Supplementa Italica' al C. I. L., Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, III, 1894, pp. 911–939.

PAIS, E., Ricerche storiche e geografiche sull'Italia antica, Torino, 1908.

PAIS, E., Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica durante il dominio romano, Roma, 1923.

PANEDDA, D., Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Roma, 1953.

PANEDDA, D., Tracce di età preromana e romana in Gallura e nelle Baronie, Bollettino dell'Associazione Archivio Storico Sardo di Sassari, V, 1979, pp. 99–124.

PANI, G. G., L'epigrafia cimiteriale di Cornus: alcune riflessioni, L'archeologia romana e altomedioevale nell'Oristanese. Atti del Convegno di Cuglieri (22–23 giugno 1984), Taranto, 1986, pp. 95–101.

PANI ERMINI, L., Note su alcuni cubiculi dell'antico cimitero cristiano di Bonaria in Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XX, 1966–1967 [1968], pp. 152–166.

PANI ERMINI, L., Iscrizioni cristiane inedite di S. Saturno a Cagliari. Contributo allo studio del 'Defensor Ecclesiae' nell'antichità cristiana, Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XXIII, 1969, pp. 1–20.

PANI ERMINI, L., Antichità cristiana e alto medioevo in Sardegna attraverso le più recenti scoperte archeologiche, La cultura in Italia tra tardo antico e alto medioevo. Atti del Convegno CNR (Roma 12–16 nov. 1979), II, Roma, 1981, pp. 903–911.

PANI ERMINI, L., Recenti contributi dell'archeologia per la Sardegna paleocristiana e alto medioevale, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, LIII – LIV, 1980–1981, 1981–1982 [1984], pp. 221–245.

PANI ERMINI, L., Ricerche nel complesso di S. Saturno a Cagliari, Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, LV – LVI, 1982–1983–1984, pp. 111–128.

PANI ERMINI, L., La Sardegna e l'Africa nel periodo vandalico, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II Convegno di studio. Sassari, 14–16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 105–122.

PESCE, G., Sarcofagi romani di Sardegna, Roma, 1957.

PESCE, G., Il primo scavo di Tharros (anno 1956), Studi Sardi, XIV – XV (1), 1955 – 1957 [1958], pp. 307 – 372.

PESCE, G., I risuonatori del teatro romano di Nora, in: Gli archeologi italiani in onore di Amedeo Maiuri, Cava dei Tirreni, 1965, pp. 359 – 366.

PESCE, G., Case romane a Campo Viale in Cagliari, Studi Sardi, XIX, 1964 – 1965 [1966], pp. 329 – 348.

PESCE, G., Tharros, Cagliari, 1966.

PFLAUM, H.-G., Une page nouvelle de l'histoire de l'Afrique au IV^{e} siècle: Constantin et Domitius Alexander, Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 1965, pp. 52 – 53.

PFLAUM, H.-G., L'alliance entre Constantin et L. Domitius Alexander, Bulletin Archéologique Algérienne, I, 1962 – 1965 [1967], pp. 159 – 161 = ID., Afrique Romaine: Scripta varia, I, Paris, 1978, pp. 226 – 228.

PFLAUM, H.-G., Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 57.112, Paris, 1960/1961; Suppl. 1982.

PIANU, G., Contributo ad un corpus del materiale anforario della Sardegna. Le anfore rodie e le anfore Dressel 1 e Dressel 2/4, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 11 – 23.

PIANU, G., Villaspeciosa (Ca), Archeologia Medioevale, Cultura materiale insediamenti territorio, IX, 1982, pp. 390 – 403.

PICARD, CH., L'ascia et la 'Porta Inferi' sur un sarcophage païen de Sardaigne, Revue Archéologique, 1958, pp. 102 – 105.

PILI, F., Nuove iscrizioni dal Sulcis Iglesiente, Dottrina Sacra. Saggi di teologia e di storia, Volume speciale in occasione del cinquantesimo dell'istituzione della Facoltà teologica del S. Cuore di Cagliari (1927 – 1977), pp. 137 – 161.

PORRÀ, F., Sulla datazione di un miliario della *a Karalibus Olbiae* recentemente rinvenuto in agro di Bonorva, Studi Sardi, XXIV, 1975 – 1977 [1978], pp. 215 – 218.

PORRÀ, F., Osservazioni sul materiale epigrafico citato da Roderigo Hunno Baeza nel 'Caralis Panegyricus', Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filisofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. I (XXXVIII), 1976 – 1977 [1980], pp. 181 – 188.

PORRÀ, F., Missicius nell'esercito romano, Studi e ricerche (Istituto di Studi Storici. Facoltà di Magistero, Università di Cagliari), I, Cagliari, 1981, pp. 5 – 19.

PORRÀ, F., Su una dedica ad un 'patronus coloniae' in Sardegna, Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, VI (1), 1982, pp. 83 – 87.

PORRÀ, F., Una nuova associazione nella Sardegna romana. I sodales Buduntin(enses), Annali della Facoltà di Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. VII (4), 1983, pp. 263 – 271.

PORRÀ, F. – DIDU, I., Due nuove iscrizioni di ausiliari in Sardegna, Centro Ricerche e Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica, Atti X, 1978 – 1979, pp. 141 – 153.

PUXEDDU, C., La romanizzazione, in: AAVV, La Diocesi di Ales-Usellus-Terralba. Aspetti e valori, Cagliari, 1975, pp. 165 – 220.

RIGHINI CANTELLI, V., Una marca anforaria di Mahes da Tharros, Rivista di Studi Fenici, X (1), 1982, pp. 87 – 95.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Mortality in Roman Sardinia, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 1972 [1973], pp. 359 – 368.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Onomastic remarks on Roman Sardinia, Names, XXI (2), 1973, pp. 82 – 102.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Onomasticon Sardorum Romanorum, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, N. F. VIII, 1973, pp. 81 – 118; Onomasticon Sardorum Romanorum: Addenda, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, N. F. X (2), 1975, p. 420.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Sardinians in the Roman Empire, Ancient Society, V, 1974, pp. 223 – 229.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Isis in Roman Sardinia: Addenda to Malaise's Inventaire, Classical Philology, LXXI (2), 1976, pp. 169 – 170.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Numismatics and the military history of Roman Sardinia, Akten des XI. Internationalen Limes-Kongresses Székesfehérvár 30. 8. – 6. 9. 1976, Budapest, 1977, pp. 87 – 112.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Another anachronism in the Historia Augusta?, Liverpool Classical Monthly, 2, 1977, p. 59.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Aspetti di continuità culturale nella Sardegna romana, Latomus, XXXVI, 1977, pp. 160 – 170.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., Two Sardinian notes, Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, XXX, 1978, pp. 167 – 172.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., The Christianization of Sardinia to ca. A. D. 600, Bulletin of Mediterranean Archaeology, II, 1977 – 1978, pp. 31 – 36.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, Roma, 1981.

ROWLAND, R. J., JR., The Archaeology of Roman Sardinia: a Selected Typological Inventory, in questo stesso volume (ANRW II 11, 1), pp. 740 – 875.

RUSSI, A., Teanus Apulum. Le iscrizioni e la storia del municipio, Roma, 1976.

SALETTI, C., Iscrizioni, in: AAVV, Cagliari. 'Villa di Tigellio'. I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 153 – 157.

SALVI, D., Pirri (Cagliari). Rinvenimento di un cippo funerario romano, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], p. 387.

SCHULZE, W., Zur Geschichte Lateinischer Eigennamen, Berlin, 1904, rist. anastatica ibid., 1966.

SCIARRA, B., Alcuni bolli anforari brindisini, Epigraphica, XXVIII, 1966, pp. 122 – 134.

SERRA, P., Reperti tardoantichi e altomedievali dalla Nurra, Sassari, 1976.

SERRA, P. B., Miliari romani del Basso Impero (Bonorva, loc. Mura Menteda), in: AAVV, Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale, Sassari, 1976, pp. 103 – 104.

SERRA, R., La chiesa quadrifida di S. Elia a Nuxis (e diversi altri documenti altomedievali in Sardegna), Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 1970 [1971], pp. 30 – 64.

SOLIN, H., Analecta Epigraphica. XXXII. Zu Sardischen Inschriften, Arctos, X, 1976, pp. 87 – 88.

SOLMI, A., L'iscrizione greca di Portotorres del sec. VII, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXI, 1939, pp. 1 – 20 = Studi di Storia e diritto in onore di Enrico Besta per il XL anno del suo insegnamento, IV, Milano, 1939, pp. 337 – 349.

SOTGIU, G., Supplementum Epigraphicum ad C. I. L. X (7513 – 8013) (Inscriptiones Sardiniae), Studi Sardi, X – XI, 1950 – 1951 [1952], pp. 536 – 578.

SOTGIU, G., Culti e divinità nella Sardegna romana attraverso le iscrizioni, Studi Sardi, XII – XIII (1), 1952 – 1954 [1955], pp. 575 – 588.

SOTGIU, G., La Sardegna e il patrimonio imperiale nell'Alto Impero, Epigraphica, XIX, 1957 [1959], pp. 25 – 48.

SOTGIU, G., La 'cohors II Sardorum', Archivio Storico Sardo, XXVI, 1959, pp. 481 – 508.

SOTGIU, G., Iscrizioni Latine della Sardegna (Supplemento al Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, X e all'Ephemeris Epigraphica, VIII), I, Padova, 1961; II. Instrumentum domesticum, 1. Lucerne, Padova, 1968.

SOTGIU, G., Sardi nelle legioni e nella flotta romane, Athenaeum, XXXIX, 1961, pp. 78 – 97.

SOTGIU, G., Un miliario inedito sardo di L. Domitius Alexander e l'ampiezza della sua rivolta, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXIX, 1964, pp. 149 – 159.

SOTGIU, G., Matrici inscritte da Tharros, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 99 – 102.

Sotgiu, G., Nuove iscrizioni inedite sarde, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 1 – 78.

Sotgiu, G., Nuove lucerne con bollo, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXII, 1969, pp. 79 – 98.

Sotgiu, G., Instrumentum domesticum della Sardegna, Acta of the Vth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy. Cambridge 1967, Oxford, 1971, pp. 247 – 251.

Sotgiu, G., Le iscrizioni latine del tempio del Sardus Pater ad Antas, Studi Sardi, XXI, 1968 – 1970 [1971], pp. 5 – 20.

Sotgiu, G., Iscrizioni di S. Antioco (Sulci). Collezione Giacomina, Annali delle Facoltà di Lettere Filosofia e Magistero dell'Università di Cagliari, XXXVI, 1973, pp. 97 – 126.

Sotgiu, G., Un miliario di Gallo e Volusiano 'riscoperto' a Villanova Truschedu, Studi Sardi, XXII, 1971 – 1972 [1973], pp. 290 – 292.

Sotgiu, G., Un collare di schiavo rinvenuto in Sardegna, Archeologia Classica, XXV – XXVI, 1973 – 1974 [1975], pp. 688 – 697.

Sotgiu, G., Un nuovo 'carmen epigraphicum' e le iscrizioni del Museo di S. Antioco, Epigraphica, XXXVII, 1975, pp. 124 – 141.

Sotgiu, G., Un liberto dei Flavi in una nuova iscrizione cagliaritana, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXX, 1976, pp. 55 – 57.

Sotgiu, G., Riscoperta di un'iscrizione: CIL X 7588 (Contributo alla conoscenza della *familia Caesaris* in Sardegna), in: ΦΙΛΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore di Eugenio Manni, VI, Roma, 1980, pp. 2023 – 2045.

Sotgiu, G., Insediamenti romani, in: Atlante della Sardegna, II, Roma, 1980, pp. 90 – 93.

Sotgiu, G., Le iscrizioni della collezione Piero Cao ora proprietà del comune di Cagliari, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 29 – 47.

Sotgiu, G., Per la diffusione del culto di Sabazio. Testimonianze dalla Sardegna, Leiden, 1980 (EPRO 96), pp. 5 – 27.

Sotgiu, G., Le iscrizioni dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona (Portotorres, Turris Libisonis), Roma, 1981.

Sotgiu, G., Nuovi contributi dell'epigrafia latina alla conoscenza della Sardegna romana, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIII, 1982, pp. 103 – 110.

Sotgiu, G., Un devoto di Sid nella Sulci romana imperiale? (Rilettura di un'iscrizione: ILSard, 3), Epigraphica, XLIV, 1982 [1983], pp. 17 – 28.

Sotgiu, G., Lapidari in Sardegna, in: Il museo epigrafico. Colloquio AIEGL – Borghesi 83, Faenza, 1984, pp. 601 – 619.

Sotgiu, G., Arula dedicata ad Esculapio da un L. Cornelius Sylla (Fordongianus, Forum Traiani), in: Studi in onore di Giovanni Lilliu per il suo settantesimo compleanno, Cagliari, 1985, pp. 117 – 124.

Sotgiu, G., Sul 'procurator ripae' dell'ipogeo di Tanca di Borgona (Portotorres, Turris Libisonis), in: Studi in onore di Giovanni Lilliu per il suo settantesimo compleanno, Cagliari, 1985, pp. 247 – 249.

Spano, G., Scoperte Archeologiche fattesi in Sardegna in tutto l'anno 1874, Cagliari, 1874.

S(tefani), G., La ceramica sigillata, in: AAVV, La 'villa di Tigellio'. Mostra degli scavi (Cagliari. Cittadella dei Musei, 24 Ottobre – 14 Novembre 1981), Cagliari, 1981, pp. 54 – 61.

Stefani, G., Sigillata italica, in: AAVV, Cagliari 'Villa di Tigellio'. I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n.s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 51 – 58.

Stefani, G., Sigillata sud-Gallica, in: AAVV, Cagliari 'Villa di Tigellio'. I materiali dei vecchi scavi, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n.s. III (XL), 1980 – 1981 [1982], pp. 59 – 62.

Stylow, A. U., Un titolo sepolcrale di Bitia, Studi Sardi, XXIII (1), 1974 [1975], pp. 213 – 216.

STYLOW, A. U., Ein neuer Meilenstein des Maximinus Thrax in Sardinien und die Straße Karales – Olbia, Chiron, IV, 1974, pp. 515 – 532.

TAMBRONI, F., Un'Alcesti romana, Romana Gens, nov. 1935, pp. 2 – 3.

TAMPONI, P., Oristano, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1891, p. 363.

TAMPONI, P., Silloge epigrafica olbiense, Sassari, 1895.

TARAMELLI, A., Cagliari. Iscrizione imperiale e tombe di età cristiana, scoperte in regione Bonaria, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1909, pp. 183 – 187.

TARAMELLI, A., Notiziario archeologico della regione sarda per il 1912, Archivio Storico Sardo, VIII, 1912, pp. 363 – 369.

TARAMELLI, A., Iglesias. Iscrizione greca di età imperiale romana rinvenuta in regione Grugua, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1913, pp. 89 – 92.

TARAMELLI, A., Notiziario archeologico, Archivio Storico Sardo, XI, 1915 [1916], pp. 225 – 231.

TARAMELLI, A., Portotorres. Iscrizione bizantina rinvenuta presso i ruderi delle antiche terme di Turris Libisonis proveniente da una chiesa distrutta, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1928, pp. 256 – 259.

TARAMELLI, A., Portotorres. Iscrizioni romane rinvenute nei lavori ferroviari ed edilizi nell'area dell'antica Turris Libyssonis, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1931, pp. 114 – 123.

TARAMELLI, A., Porto Torres. Indagini negli avanzi della costruzione da cui proviene l'iscrizione bizantina commemorante una vittoria contro i Longobardi, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1931, pp. 111 – 114.

TARAMELLI, A., Tempietto protosardo del Camposanto di Olmedo, Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana, LIII, 1933, pp. 110 – 112.

TARAMELLI, A. – LAVAGNINO, E., Il R. Museo G. A. Sanna di Sassari, Roma, 1933.

TCHERNIA, A., Premiers résultats des fouilles de juin 1968 sur l'épave 3 de Planier, Études Classiques, III, 1968 – 1970, pp. 51 – 82.

TCHERNIA, T., Études d'Archéologie Provençale, 1971, pp. 60 – 61.

TEDDE, F., Ardara, capitale del giudicato di Torres, Cagliari, 1985.

TESTINI, P., Il complesso paleocristiano di Cornus (regione Columbaris) in Sardegna, Actas del VIII Congreso Internacional de Arqueologia Cristiana, Barcelona 5 – 11 Octubre 1969, Barcelona, 1972, pp. 537 – 561.

TETTI, V., Appunti sulle strade romane nella zona di Bonorva, Studi Sardi, XXIII, 1973 – 1974 [1975], pp. 191 – 211.

THOMASSON, B. E., Zur Verwaltungsgeschichte der Provinz Sardinia, Eranos, LXX, 1972, pp. 72 – 81.

THOUVENOT, R., Un oracle d'Apollon de Claros à Volubilis, Bulletin d'Archéologie Marocaine, VIII, 1968 – 1972, pp. 221 – 227.

TORE, G. – ZUCCA, R., Testimonia antiqua Uticensia (Ricerche a S. Giusta-Oristano), Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXIV, 1983, pp. 11 – 35.

TRONCHETTI, C., Scavi e scoperte a Cagliari, Fasti Archaeologici, XXXII – XXXIII, 1977 – 1978 [1984], pp. 756 – 757, nr. 10766.

TRONCHETTI, C., I materiali di epoca storica della collezione Spano, in: AAVV, Contributi su Giovanni Spano (1803 – 1878), Sassari, 1979, pp. 115 – 130.

TRONCHETTI, C., Una iscrizione latina inedita da Tharros, Epigraphica, XLV, 1983 [1984], pp. 224 – 225.

TRONCHETTI, C., Rinvenimenti a Guspini, Fasti Archaeologici, XXXII – XXXIII, 1977 – 1978 [1984], p. 744, nr. 10578.

TRONCHETTI, C., Il territorio dell'oristanese in età romana, L'archeologia romana e altomedioevale nell'oristanese, Atti del Convegno di Cuglieri (22 – 23 giugno 1984), Taranto, 1986, pp. 17 – 22.

USAI, E. – ZUCCA, R., Nota sulle necropoli di Tharros, Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Cagliari, n. s. V (XLII), 1983 – 1984 [1986], pp. 23 – 27.

VALMIN, N., Rapport préliminaire de l'expédition en Messénie 1933, Arsberätelse, Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 1934 – 1935, I, pp. 44 – 46.

VIDMAN, L., Duo tituli nondum recte intellecti, Listy Filologické, LXXX, 1963, pp. 259 – 260.

VIDMAN, L., Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berolini, 1969.

V(ILLEDIEU), FR., Didascalie dei monumenti della colonia, in: AAVV, Il territorio di Porto Torres. La colonia di Turris Libyssonis. Guida alla mostra fotografica, Porto Torres, 1980, pp. 63 – 83.

VISMARA, C., Sarda Ceres. Busti fittili di divinità femminile della Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1980.

VISMARA PERGOLA, C., I materiali romani (Una collezione privata di Gavoi), in: AAVV, Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico, Sassari, 1978, pp. 70 – 73.

VIVANET, F., Cagliari, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità, 1893, pp. 88 – 89.

WEAVER, P. R. C., Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves, Cambridge, 1972.

WILSON, R. J. A., Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire, ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ, XXVI – XXVII, 1980 – 1981 [1982], I, pp. 219 – 241.

ZEDDA, F., Forum Traiani, Cagliari, 1906.

Zovatto, P. L., Il 'defensor ecclesiae' e le iscrizioni musive di Trieste, Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia, XX, 1966, pp. 1 – 8.

ZUCCA, R., Rinvenimenti archeologici sottomarini presso il ΚΟΡΑΚΩΔΗΣ ΛΙΜΗΝ, Actas VI Congreso Internacional de Arqueología submarina. Cartagena, 28 marzo – 19 aprile 1982, Cartagena, 1985, pp. 149 – 151.

ZUCCA, R., I rapporti tra l'Africa e la Sardinia alla luce dei documenti archeologici. Nota preliminare, L'Africa Romana. Atti del II Convegno di Studio. Sassari, 14 – 16 dicembre 1984, Sassari, 1985, pp. 94 – 104.

ZUCCA, R., I bolli laterizi urbani della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXI, 1980, pp. 49 – 82.

ZUCCA, R., Osservazioni sull'*opus doliare* urbano della Sardegna, Archivio Storico Sardo, XXXII, 1981, pp. 11 – 26.

ZUCCA, R., Il battistero di Nurachi, L'archeologia romana e altomedievale nell'Oristanese. Atti del convegno di Cuglieri (22 – 23 giugno 1984), Taranto, 1986, pp. 23 – 32.

ZUCCA, R., Ad Nuragas in età romana e altomedievale, in: AAVV, Nurachi. Storia di una ecclesia, Oristano, 1985, pp. 27 – 31.

ZUCCA, R., Testimonianze letterarie ed epigrafiche su Tharros, Nuovo Bullettino Archeologico Sardo, I, 1984 [1986], pp. 163 – 177.

ZUCCA, R., Una nuova iscrizione relativa alla cohors I Sardorum (Contributo alla storia delle milizie ausiliarie romane in Sardegna), Epigraphica, XLVI, 1984 [1985], pp. 237 – 246.

ZUCCA, R., Sulla ubicazione di Sarcapos, Studi Ogliastrini, 1984, pp. 29 – 46.

ZUCCA, R., Iscrizioni latine del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari e dell'Antiquarium Arborense di Oristano, in corso di stampa.

Indici

1. Onomastica (nomi di persona menzionati nelle iscrizioni)

A

M. A[---] A 244
L. A( ) H( ) B 104b
Caecilia A[.....]sse A 61b
A[..]st[---] Sp. f. Du[---] A 347
+ A[---]ttus A 358
+ Abeddea C 37
Acareltorte A 217
Acte A 313
Acte Aug. l. B 102g
[Claudia] Aug. lib. Acte A 309
+ [A]deodata (?) C 38
M. Adius Speratus (?) B 102h
Ἄδμ[ητ]ος C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7577)
Aeli [---] E 24
C. Stertinius Aelianus C 33
M. Aelius [---] B 31
A[e]lius Doci[m(us)] A 269
Cn. Aelius Gaia[nus] B 141
Aelius Lesus B 129
Sex. Aelius Modestus C 77
P. Aelius Per[---] A 54
Aelius Tosuna A 153
T. Aelius Aug. lib. Victor E 23 e add.
Aelia Annia A 308
Aelia Bonavia A 98
(A)elia Cara Marcellina A 46
Aelia Nerfis (= Nereis ?) A 98
Aelia Verecunda E 34
M. Aemilius Capito C 80
L. Aemilius Honoratus A 225
L. Aemilius Pacatus A 225
L. Aemil(ius) Rusticus A 241
L. Aemil[ius] L. f. Quir. Saturninus A 35
Emilia A 162
Aemilia Urbana A 8
C. Aes[---] A 181
(L.) Afinius (Gallus), cos. A 177
Agais C 86
Ti. Claudius Agathangelus A 62
+ Agnes A 113b
Agria V[---] A 247
L. Helvius Agrippa, procons. C 77
D. Alarius Pontificalis C 80
Alexander Aug. ser. B 14

M. Claud[ius Al]exander B 121
Ἄλκη[στ]ις C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7577)
Alia A 9
L. Ceion[ius ---] Alienus A 51
M. Alli[us ---] Celer (?) A 342
[Q.] Allius Memor A 249
Q. Allius Q. f. Col. Pudentillus C 104
Q. Allius Telesphorus A 249
+ Amabilis C 39
[Ama?]bilis A 90
Rutilia Ammia add. A 234
Amantius A 272
Ἀμ(μ)ύα B 15
Ἀμμίη B 43
Flavia Amoebe E 23 e add.
L. Amu[r]ius Pudentianus A 161
+ Andreas C 40
+ Anilsiocia (?) E 41
L. Cornelius Annalis, *pater* B 9
L. Cornelius Annalis, *filius* B 9
Aelia Annia A 308
+ Anianus B 74
[Q. Herenni]us [A]nnianus C 6a
[.] Annius [M]aximus A 250
Annius Ser(apiodorus ?) B 98c
Ansius B 102b
Anteius Faustillus E 37
L. Anteius Sura B 100b
Antigon[---] A 339
Antioch[---] A 39
+ Antio[chus ?] C 41
Antonianus A 333
Antonius B 101e
[A]ntonius A 99
Ant[onius ---]ricinius A 99
L. Antonius L. [f. ---]lus A 10
L. Antonius L. l. [---] A 10
M. Antonius Apelles (l.) C 26
Antonius Calvisianus C 27
Antonius Calvisius C 27
M. Antonius Septimius Heraclitus, e. v. C 121
M. Ant(onius) Sep(timius) H[eraclitus], e. v. B 97 e add.
M. Ant(onius) [S]ept[imius Heraclitus], e. v. B 97
M. [Ant(onius) Sept(imius) Heraclitus], e. v. B 182
Antonia A 229
Antonia L. [f. ---]ulla A 10
Antonia Urri f. A 174
Antonia Naevia A 59
Antonia Rutilia B 155
M. Antonius Apelles (l.) C 26
Apertia S[---]as (?) A 60
Apo(   ) B 100d
Apolausus C 3

[Ca]ecilia Apollonia A 61a
Apollonius B 100d
'Απολλόνιος C 20
C. Apronius C. [---] A 251
Apronius Iuli[---] A 74
C. Apronius C. f. [---] Postumianus A 251
C. Iulius Aptus B 102c e add.
C. Apsena C. f. Pollio B 111
[A]rethusa A 314
Cn. Domitius Arignotus B 102i
Aristia A 226
Lucius H( ) Aristius A 340
[A.] Aristius Thallo B 102h
Ti. Claudius Arogus C 107
Arrius Callistus A 100
L. Arrius Crescens B 155
Arrius Iscini[...] C 84
Arria Chia A 100
Arria Crispinilla A 100
Arriae (plur.) A 100
Ti. Arrunt[ius] Eutychianus B 164
Arruntius Gallus B 10
M. Arruntius Rogatus B 10
L. Arruntius Teres B 10
Arsatus B 128
+ Arthemi[us ?] C 42
Asclepiade(s) B 84
Clodius Asellianus A 255
L. A(tilius) Asiaticus Pa( ) B 100b
P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, cos. C 80
C. Asinius Tucurian[us] A 40
T. At( ) Va( ) B 99d
Ateius Victorini A 252
Cn. Atellius B 104l
Sutoria Athenais C 9
L. A(tilius) Asiaticus Pa( ) B 100b
[L. Ati]lius Eutychus lib. C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
L. Atilius Felix C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
T. Atilius Sabinus C 77
['A]τιλία C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7577)
Atilia L. f. Pomptilla C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7563)
Atilia L. f. Pom[p]tilla C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
Atilia Pomptilla C 2
Aufidia Lucretia E 35
Aur(elius) Atimetianus A 334
At[imetus ?] B 99d
Claudius Atticus B 102b
Lucinius Aur( ) A 209
Aureli (plur.) B 34
Aurelius B 127
(Aurelius) [.....]cola B 34
(Aurelius) [.....]nus B 34
Aur(elius) Atimetianus A 334

Aur(elius) Eperecius E 40
Aurelius Gallus C 77
Aurelius Gigas E 34
Aure[lius Marcus, v.] p. A 388
(Aurelius) Montanus B 34
[L. Aurel]ius Pạtroclus A 378
M. Aurelius Quintillus, e. v. B 179
(Aurelius) Silvanus B 34
(Aurelius) Victor B 34
Aur(elius) Xan(thus) B 104b
(Aurelia) [. . .]untia B 34
Aurelia Custa E 40
Aurelia Musciana E 25 e add.
(Aurelia) Saturnina B 34
Aurelia Victoria A 46
[F]lavia Auxesis B 35
Avionia Restituta A 13
C. Avidius Speratus, *filius* A 178
C. Av(i)dius Speratus, *pater* A 178
Axtinia Sofia C 28

B

Q. B[---] B 136
C. Stertinius Bachyllas C 33 (due volte)
C. Stertinius Bacilas C 33
Iulius Bacilas C 33
Bacoru A 177
Barex A 175
Basilius, v. c. C 14
Gabinius Bassus C 21
C. Bellicus Natalis, cos. C 80
+ [Bene]nata C 69
+ Benenatus A 329
Benets A 177 (= Benetus ?)
L. Pullius Benignus A 182
Benit[us ?] A 196
L. Bennius L. f. Qui. Felix Minicianus A 55
Bennia [---]ca A 55
+ Bernaceius C 43
Beronice A 30
Bfelsa (*vel* Belsa, Beisa) Cariti A 196
C. Cassius Pal. Blaesianus A 313
Lurius Blandus B 102i
L. Blossius [. f.] Faustinus C 7
M. Blossius Nepos C 77
Bolsona Cotae [f.] C 113
Aelia Bonavia A 98
+ Bonifatius C 21
Bou( ) Ge( ) B 99d
M. Danicius Buccula B 6

C

Ser. G[---] Ca[---] A 330
N. S( ) Ca( ) B 100b
Caecilius Simplex *vir clarissimus* C 77
Caecilia A[.....]sse A 61b
[Ca]ecilia Apollonia A 61a
Caecilia Candida E 4b
Caecilia Tyche lib. A 61a e b
Valeria L(a)urẹnti Caelesitana E 3
Caelianus, v. e. A 377
M. Calpurnius Caelianus, e.v. A 383
[M. C]alpurn[i]us [Cae]lianus A 389
[M. Calpur]nius Cae[li]anus, e. v. A 238
[M. C]alpu[rnius Cael]ianus B 178
C. Caelius C. f. Quir. Magnus A 3
C. Caisius Victor C 80
M. Tuccius L. f. Tro. Caleo B 100b
Callistus duor(um) Domitior(um) (s.) B 102i
Arrius Callistus A 100
C. Ter(entius) Callist(us) C 10
M. [C]alpurn[ius ---]ecus, cos. C 79
M. Calpurnius Caelianus A 383
[M. C]alpurn[i]us [Cae]lianus, e.v. A 389
[M. Calpur]nius Cae[li]anus, e. v. A 238
[M. C]alpu[rnius Cael]ianus B 178
C. Calpurnius Felix A 253
Calpurnia Ostia E 22
Antonius Calvisianus C 27
Antonius Calvisius C 27
L. Can( ) Sec( ) B 100b
Caecilia Candida E 4b
Capito B 128
M. Aemilius Capito C 80
(Ti. ?) Claudius Capito B 160
Ti. Iulius Fab. Capito E 38
Caprarius B 98c
Capri[us] A 89
(A)elia Cara Marcellina A 46
Iulia Cara B 8
Fl(avius) Karalitanus C 21
Caritus A 196
+ Karissimus C 81
+ Carminea A 75 e add.
Carpus B 99l
Carsio (?) A 72
Q. Mem(mius) Kar(us) B 98e, B 98h
A. Caspidius Secundus A 152
Ti. Claudius Cassander A 182
+ Cassianus B 65
C. Cassius Pal. Blaesianus A 313
Cassius [F]irminianus, v. e. B 96
Cassius Honor[atus] C 82

L. Cassius Philippus C 2
M. Cassius Phili[p]pus C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
Cassia Severa A 225
Vera Cassia A 71
Castus E 9
L. Herennius Castus C 4
Caterbarius C 29
Ti. Catius [Fron]to, cos. C 79
Caturonus B 52
[---] C. f. Ce[---]nus A 238 bis
Iulia Ce[.]le B 67
L. Ceion[ius ---] Alienus A 51
Celele A 177
M. Alli[us ---] Celer(?) A 342
+ Celius A 101
(P.) Marius (Celsus), cos. A 177
Cerdo (s.) C 106
C. Cestius (Gallus), cos. B 69
Charittus Cota[e f.] C 113
Arria Chia A 100
Cirnetus A 222
Cl( ) Papyrius C 21
Cl( ) Sentiu[---] A 322
Cn. Cornelius Cladus A 239
Clau[d ---] B 160
Claud[ius] E 11
Claud[ius ---]nus A 254
Ti. Claudius Agathangelus A 62
M. Claud[ius Al]exander B 121
Ti. Claudius Arogus C 107
(Ti. ?) Claudius Capito B 160
Claudius Atticus B 102b
Ti. Claudius Cassander A 182
Ti. Claudius Epinicius A 182
Ti. Claudius Actes l. Eutychus A 313
Ti. Claudius Lascivus B 102b
Ti. Claudius Marcellus A 63
(Ti. Claudius) Ponpeianus, cos. A 182
Ti. Claudius Servilius Geminus C 79
(Cn. Claudius) Severus, cos. A 182
[Cl]audia A 317
[Claudia] Aug. lib. Acte A 309
Cl(audia) Ti. f. Hermione C 105
Cl(audia) Ti. f. Irena C 105
Claudia Pompeia B 4
Claudia Sameramis A 63
L. Lucretius Clemens C 77
+ Clementia C 81
Clodius Asellianus A 255
P. Cl(odius) Eup(hemius) B 99e
L. Clodius Festus A 335
C. Clodius Gallus B 8

L. Clodius Saturninus A 335
Clodius Venerianus E 16
Clodia Euphrosyne A 255
Clodia Hygia A 255
L. Cocceius Genialis C 77
Co[elius] Iunior E 16
Q. Co[el]ius (?) Proculus B 13
P. Vitruvius Coetus A 278
Conatinus B 128
Danicia Consulta B 6
Cora[....] A 177
C. Cordius Felix C 77
[---]us Corisc[us] A 199
Corneli (plur.) B 9
[C]orneli[---] A 15
L. Paccius Cornelianus A 270
L. Cornel(ius) [---] C 85
Cornelius A 207
L. Cornelius Annalis, *pater* B 9
L. Cornelius Annalis, *filius* B 9
Cn. Cornelius Cladus A 239
L. Cornelius Felix B 9
L. Corne[lius] Felix A 215
Cornelius Memor A 218
P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, cos. C 80
L. Cornelius Sylla B 130
C. Cor(nelius) Urs(us) B 98c
Cornelia B 45
Cornelia Peregrina B 9
Cota (vir) C 113
Coturis B 128
L. Valerius Creius A 345
Crescens A 336, C 107
Crescen[s] A 359, C 84, C 87
+ Cresces B 71
L. Arrius Crescens B 155
L. Tettius Crescens A 57
Val(eria) Crescentia B 132
+ Cresconius C 76
Crisa A 280
Arria Crispinilla A 100
L. Vigellius Crispinus C 77
Crysis A 256
Cn. Domitius Crhrysero B 102i
Critonius Hermes C 88
Curelus Nercati (?) A 213
C. Cuspius Felix B 69
Aurelia Custa E 40

D

Damophilus A 66
M. Danicius Buccula B 6

Danicia Consulta B 6
Dareus B 70
Ti. Iulius Dativus A 182
P. Pompeius Dativus A 14
M. Dat(us) B 98c
Debos Pat. A 176
M. Decianus Vigio A 365
C. Decimius Ingenuus E 7b
Decimius Vitalis E 7a
Decumus Cirneti f. A 222
+ Deodata (?) C 38
+ Deusdedit B 36
Deutera A 337
Diadumenus Aug. ser. Epaphrodit(ianus) C 3
C. Terentius Diocles C 10
C. Ter(entius) Diocles C 10
Diodorus B 102m
Q. [---] Diodorus B 164
Διονύσιος B 15
+ Dionisius B 76
P. Docetiu[s] (?) A 18
Docimus C 3
A[e]lius Doci[m(us)] A 269
Pompeius Docimus A 11
+ Dominica A 113
Valerius Domitianus, v. p. A 241
[G]al[erius]? Va[lerius Domitianus] B 183
Domitii (plur.) B 102m, B 102i
Domitii duo B 102h
Domitius B 102i
Cn. Domitius Arignotus B 102i
Cn. Domitius Crhrysero B 102i
M. Domitius Tert[ullus ?] A 158
[M. Do]mitius [Tertullus] (?) B 3
M. Domitius Vitalis C 77
Dom(itia) Luc(illa) B 102m
D(omitia) P. f. L(ucilla) B 102i
Sempronia Donata A 165
Dorotia Simplicissima C 21
Iun(ius) Dra(co) B 98e
A[..]st[---] Sp. f. Du[---] A 347
+ Dulcitia A 95

E

C. Sittius Egnatianus A 273
Cn. Egnatius Fuscus C 77
A. Egrilius A. f. Plarianus C 105
Q. Plautius Q.P.T. l. Elenchus C 80a
C. Iulius Enecio C 80
Ep(   ) B 100d
Diadumenus Aug. ser. Epaphrodit(ianus) C 3
Aur(elius) Eperecius E 40

Epidius B 59
Ti. Claudius Epinicius A 182
+ Epittitus B 117
Esychius B 76
P. Cl(odius) Eup(hemius) B 99e
Clodia Euphrosyne A 255
Eusap(ius) B 102l
+ Euticius B 62
Euty[---] A 349
+ Eutychianus A 102
Ti. Arrunt[ius] Eutychianus B 164
+ Eytychius A 102
[L. Ati]lius Eutychus lib. C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
Ti. Claudius Actes l. Eutychus A 313
L. Remmius Exsuper[---] B 4
Sal[vi]us E[x]superius, v. p. B 184
Sal[vius Exsup]erius, v. p. B 186
[Sal]v[i]us Ex[s]u[p]er[i]us A 370 e add.
M. Pupius Extricatus E 5
Pupia Extricata E 5

F

[S]ex. M(   ) F(   ) B 99d
[---]erius Fa[---] B 47 (duo)
[Fa]bianus B 149
M. Fabius Faustus A 218
Q. Fabius Li[---] E 18
Q. Fabius Montanus E 2
Fabia [---] E 18
Fabia Flora A 173
Fabia Ni[ce] B 11
Fanius Fortunatus B 100f
Faric(us ?) A 207
Farrius Satur(   ) C 13
Sopat(   ) Fau(   ) B 100a
Faust[---] A 39
Anteius Faustillus E 37
L. Herennius Faustillus A 338
Faustina A 64
+ Faustina A 103
L. Blossius [. f.] Faustinus C 7b
L. Iunius Faustinus E 4a
Iunius Faustinus E 4b
Faustus B 128
M. Fabius Faustus A 218
Lucius H(   ) Faustus A 340
Lucius H(   ) Faustio A 340
C. Herennius Faustus C 80
C. Valerius Faustus C 77
Fauxtila (l.) B 160
+ Felicissima A 102
Felicissimus A 257

Felicitas A 41
Felix A 270, B 84, E 8
+ Felix A 360, B 104d, C 21
[---] Felix A 258
L. Atilius Felix C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
L. Bennius L. f. Qui. Felix Minicianus A 55
C. Calpurnius Felix A 253
C. Cordius Felix C 77
L. Cornelius Felix B 9
L. Corne[lius] Felix A 215
C. Cuspius Felix B 69
C. Gabinius Felix A 65, C 21
L. Graecinius Felix C 80
L. Heren(nius) Felix, pater C 5
L. He[re]n[ni]us Felix, filius C 5
L. Hostili[us] Felix B 67
L. Licin(ius) Fel(ix) B 102i
C. M[---] Felix A 80
C. Nunidius Felix B 102m
Pompeius Felix A 11
Rutilius Felix B 68
Surdinius Felix B 115
D. Veturius Felix C 77
Ferentius Miloni f.
Cn. Pompeius Ferox C 77
Festus C 21
L. Clodius Festus A 335
M. Lusius Fidus C 77
L. Cassius Philippus C 2
Philippus C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7562, 7565, 7575)
Φίλιππος C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7568, 7577)
M. Cassius Phili[p]pus C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
Phoebus (s.) B 101 b
Cassius [F]irminianus, v. e. B 90
[F]lamin[ius *vel* ia] A 92
Q. Fla[vius ---] E 29
T. Flav[ius ...]gnus C 79
Fl(avius) [---] B 145
Q. Flav[ius ---]tus A 104
Fl(avius) Florus A 173
Fl(avius) Karalitanus C 21
T. Flavius Iustus B 35
T. [Fl]a[v]ius Aug. lib. Ma[r]tialis B 35
T. Flav(ius) Aug. l. Maximus B 101b
Fl(avius) Titianus, v. p. B 88
Tit. Fl(avius) V[---] B 53
Flavia [.....]a A 55
Flavia Amoebe E 23 add.
[F]lavia Auxesis B 35
[Fl]avia Prim[it]iva B 35
Flo[---] A 348
Fabia Flora A 173
Baleria Flora A 173

[Volu ?]mnia Flora A 332
+ [F]lorentia B 86
+ Florentius B 159
Fl(avius) Florus A 1
Fon(teius) Hil(arus) B 98c
Foronto A 212
+ Fortuna B 105, C 45
+ Fortuna[---] B 39
Fortunata A 164, A 315
+ Fortunata B 77
Petronia Fortunata A 343
Stertinia Fortunata C 33
Fortunatus C 32
+ Fortunatus C 46
+ [Fort ?]unatus A 101
Fortunatus Domitior(um) (s.) B 102m
Fanius Fortunatus B 100f
Petronius Fortunatus C 31
D. Veturius Fortunatus B 44
Fronim(us) C 13
Ti. Catius [Fron]to, cos. C 79
[Va]lerius Fronto, *filius* A 332
[Va]lerius Fro[nto], *pater* A 332
+ Frontosus A 118
Fruct(us) B 98c
Fructus Caesar(is) n. ser. B 5
T. Fulcinius Ingeniosus E 1
Fusca A 71
Cn. Egnatius Fuscus C 77

G

Ser. G[---] Ca[---] A 330
Gabinius Bassus C 21
Q. G̣ạ[bini]us A. f. Q]uir. [Ca]ral[itanus](?) B 122
Gabinius Felix C 21
C. Gabinius Felix A 65
Gab(inius) Merc(ator ?) C 13
Q. Gabinius A. f. Quir. Receptus C 25
Gabinia A 65, B 98c
Gabinia Leda C 21
Licinia Galla B 7
Cn. Aelius Gaia[nus] B 141
[G]al(erius)? Va[lerius Domitianus] B 183
(L.) Afinius (Gallus), cos. A 177
Arruntius Gallus B 10
Aurelius Gallus C 77
+ Gav[inus] C 47
C. Cestius (Gallus), cos. B 69
C. Clodius Gallus B 8
M. Scribonius Gallus A 343
Gargilia L. f. Gemella A 11
+ Gaudentius B 159

+ Gaudiosa B 73
+ Gaudiosus B 38
Bou( ) Ge( ) B 99d
Gelasinus A 66
Q. Valerius Gellianus A 165
Gargilia L. f. Gemella A 11
Lucius H( ) Geme[l]lus A 340
T. Claudius Servilius Geminus C 79
L. Cocceius Genialis C 77
M. Iulius Genialis C 106
C. Valerius Genialis B 16
Valerius Gentius A 229
Genus[---] A 344
Germa( ) B 101d
Germana B 105
G[er]mana A 198
Germanus A 7
C. Germanus Valens A 259
Aurelius Gigas E 34
[---] Gorge B 12
L. Graecinius Felix C 80
Gratus l. B 52
L. Plotius Gratus B 101b
+ Greca B 108 a

H

Lucius E 11
Lucius H( ) Aristius A 340
Lucius H( ) Faustio A 340
Lucius H( ) Faustus A 340
Lucius H( ) Geme[l]lus A 340
L. A( ) H( ) B 104b
Helia Victoria A 308
Helpis A 34
L. Helvius Agrippa, procos. C 77
[---] Heraclitus B 180
M. Antonius Septimius Heraclitus, v. e. C 121
M. Ant(onius) Sep(timius) H[eraclitus], e. v. B 97 e add.
M. [Ant(onius) Sept(imius) Heraclitus], e. v. B 182
M. Septimius Heraclitus A 376
Heracula A 260
Q. Iulius Herennianus B 7
+ Herennius A 105
[Q. Herenni]us [A]nnianus C 7a
L. Herennius Castus C 4
L. Herennius Faustillus A 338
C. Herennius Faustus C 80
L. Heren(nius) Felix, *pater* C 5
L. He[re]n[ni]us Felix, *filius* C 5
[Herennius] Saturninus C 6b
Herennia Procula A 67
Heren(nia) [Satu]rna C 6a

L. Valerius Herma C 80
L. Veratius Hermeros C 106
Critonius Hermes C 88
L. Valerius Hermesianax A 276 bis
Cl(audia) Ti. f. Hermione C 105
Hermogenes A 337
Iulius Hermogenes A 262
Iulia Heuresis C 21
Octavia Heuresis C 21
+ Hilarinus A 106
[H]ilarius A 339
Hilarus A 77, B 45
Hila(rus ?) B 59
Fon(teius) Hil(arus) B 98c
Honerata B 109
Honorata C 30
Honora[ta] C 30
Honoratianus B 105
Honoratus B 98f
Honor(atus) B 105
L. Aemilius Honoratus A 225
Cassius Honor[atus] C 82
Honorius C 83
+ Honorius C 51
+ Ho[norius] C 48
M. Hort[---] B 125
L. Horten[sius ---] A 16
C. Tarcutius Tarsaliae fil. Hospitalis A 182
L. Hostili[us] Felix B 67
Clodia Hygia A 255
Novia Hygia A 170
Hylas C 28

I

M. I( ) Mopsus B 100b
I[..]us Barecis *filius* A 175
Iacotulus B 74
C. Iani[---] A 215
Ianuaria B 59
Veturia Ianuaria B 44
Ianuarius C 30
+ Iannarius A 361
+ Ianuarius A 116, A 125
T. Semptimius (sic) Ianuarius, v. c. B 94
Indelec(atus ?) B 98c
+ Ingenua C 78
Manlia Ingenua C 21
T. Fulcinius Ingeniosus E 1
C. Decimius Ingenuus E 7b
Inivus A 180
Sulpicia Insulana C 7a e b
+ Ioannes C 49

+ Iohanna A 362
+ Iohannacius A 111
+ Iohannes A 112, A 160, C 76
+ [Ioa]hnnes, *[sa]nctus* B 151
+ [Io]ahnnes, [*sanctus*] B 151
+ Iuhannes A 118
Ioilus A 304
+ Iomisus A 95
+ Ionisus A 96
+ Isportel[l]a A 368 e add.
Ircunnis (?) A 333
Irena A 261
Cl(audia) Ti. f. Irena C 105
+ Irene B 78
+ Ireneus A 107, A 108
+ Munatius Ireneus A 108
+ Iscribonissa B 61
+ Istefanus B 37
+ Iste[fanus] A 75 e add.
Istumenius Victor E 26
Otacilia It(h)agenis A 269
Iucunda Caturoni l. B 52
Iud(a) A 33
Apronius Iuli[---] A 74
Iulian(us) B 102d
L. Iul(ius) [---] B 157
C. Iulius Aptus B 102c e add.
Ti. Iulius Fab. Capito E 38
Iulius Bacilas C 33
Ti. Iulius Dativus A 182
M. Iulius Enecio C 80
M. Iulius Genialis C 106
Q. Iulius Herennianus B 7
Iulius Hermogenes A 262
[I]ulius Lu[..]nus C 76a
Γ. Ἰούλ(ιος) Μάγν(ος) B 103d
L. Iulius Mario C 21
C. Iulius Optatus A 12
Iulius Paratus A 262
Iulius Pelagius A 159
C. Iulius Proculus B 7
M. Iulius Romulus C 77
Ti. Iulius [S]ucc(essus) B 98c
C. Iulius Trophimus A 59
Q. Iulius Zosimianus C 108
Iulia B 52
+ Iulia A 118
Iul[ia] E 7a
Iulia Kara B 8
Iulia Ce[.]le B 67
Iulia Heuresis C 21
Iulia Marcianes A 172
Iulia Minicia E 6

Iulia Primitiva, *filia* C 33
Iulia Primitiva, *mater* C 33
[Iul?]ia Sa[tur]nina A 263
Iulia Sex. f. Severa C 108
C. Iun[---] B 98g
Co[elius] Iunior E 16
Iun(ius) Dra(co) B 98e
Iunius Faustinus E 4b
L. Iunius Faustinus E 4a
M. Iunius Pius A 182
Iunia Rufina B 103 add. a
Iunia Thallusa C 6b
+ Iustinus B 159
T. Flavius Iustus B 35
Iuvenalis (s.) C 106
M. Iuventius Rixa *vir ornatissimus* C 77

L

Sex. Laecanius Labeo A 50
Lais A 250
Larent[u]s E 19
Ti. Claudius Lascivus B 102b
Laurentius A 23
+ Laurentius A 113
Valeria L(a)urẹnti Caelesitana E 3
Gabinia Leda C 21
L. Septimius Leonticus, e. v. C 118
+ Leont[---] A 364
Aelius Lesus B 127
Q. Fabius Li[---] E 18
L. Licin(ius) Fel(ix) B 102i
Licinia Galla B 7
Licinia Pompeia C 7a
Licinia Valentina A 264
+ Limenius B 63
Q. Minicius Longinus E 6
+ Luci[---] A 24
+ Lucifer C 23
+ [L]ucifera C 50
Luciferus A 153
Statius M(arcius) Luciferus B 102b
Vaterius Luciferus A 67
Lucilia Caesarum n. ser. B 5
D(omitia) P. f. L(ucilla) B 102i
Dom(itia) Luc(illa) B 102m
Lucinius Aur( ) A 209
Aufidia Lucretia E 35
Lucius B 99l
L. Lucretius A 219
P. Lucretius Clemens C 77
Q. Lucrinius Peptitus A 341
Lucustion B 106

L. Publicius Lupercus A 182
Pedu(caeus) Lup(ulus) B 102m
Lurius Blandus B 102i
L. Lurius Procul(us) B 102i
L. Lur[ius Proculu]s B 102h
Luria Privata A 265
Valeria Lurin (?) Caelesitana E 3
M. Lusius Fidus C 77
M. Lutatius Sabinus C 77
+ Luxuria A 363
+ Luxsurius B 159
Lyde Ti. Germanici (*serva*) B 3
Tadius T. f. Lygda(m)us B 163

M

Sex. M( ) F( ) B 89d
C. M[---] Felix A 80
C. Oclatius Macer C 80
Statia Magna C 103
Γ. Ἰούλ(ιος) Μάγν(ος) B 103d
C. Caelius C. f. Quir. Magnus A 3
Mahe(s) B 100e
Mai[---] A 349
Malli[---] Celer A 342
Manlia Ingenua C 21
Manne(ius) B 99i
(A)elia Cara Marcellina A 46
Ti. Claudius Marcellus A 63
Iulia Marcianes A 172
Marcianus A 266
Marcianus Aug. lib. C 103
L. Pompeius Marcianus A 13
L. Pullius Marcio A 182
Marcius B 98d
Q. Marcius B 98e
Statius M(arcius) Luciferus B 102b
Q. Marcius Tu[rbo] A 311
Aure[lius Marcus, v.] p. A 388
+ Maria C 51, C 52
+ Maria, *sancta* B 151
L. Iulius Mario C 21
[--- M]aridianus B 181
Maridius Maridianus, [v.] e. C 119
[Maridius Maridianus] C 123
Maridius [Maridianus], e. v. B 120
(P. Maridius Maridianus) add. B 93
(P.) Marius Celsus), cos. A 177
Maro B 104l
+ Martialis, v. c. A 300
Martialis C. n. ser. A 267
T. [Fl]a[v]ius Aug. lib. Ma[r]tialis B 35
+ Maticius C 65

+ Matrona C 49
Ulpia Matrona A 77
[M]aximilla B 116
Maximus B 991
+ Maximus B 64
[.] Annius [M]aximus A 250
T. Flav(ius) Aug. l. Maximus B 101b
C. Memmi[us ---] B 70
Q. Mem(mius) Kar(us) B 98e, B 98h
Q. Mem(mius) Pud(ens) B 98c
Memor A 124, A 280
[Q.] Allius Memor A 249
Cornelius Memor A 128
Menas C 15
+ Menas A 114
Gab(inius) Merc(ator ?) C 13
Merodorus A 343
+ Merula A 115
Valeria Messali(na ?) A 276
M. Metellus C 77
+ Miccina C 42
Milonius A 224
Iulia Minicia E 6
L. Bennius L. f. Qui. Felix Minicianus A 55
Q. Minicius Longinus E 6
Q. Minucius Q. f. Pius A 45
Minucius Severus A 219
Mislius A 177
Sex. Aelius Modestus C 77
Montana B 106
(Aurelius) Montanus B 34
Q. Fabius Montanus E 2
M. I( ) Mopsus B 100b
Mosanus B 128
+ Mukanus A 305
Mulvius B 99g
+ Munatius Ireneus A 108
L. Mun(atius) Suc(cessus) B 68b
Murrius B 99c
Musa A 62
+ Musa A 122B
+ Septimia Musa B 75
Aurelia Musciana E 25 add.
+ Muscula B 40
Pompeius Mustulus Pontian(us) A 14
M(yrtilus) D(omitiae) P. f. L(ucillae) s. B 102i

N

Antonia Naevia A 59
C. Bellicus Natalis, cos. C 80
Rufius Natalis B 104b

M. Blossius Nepos C 77
Pl(aetorius) [Nep(os)] B 102h
Nerca[tus ?] A 213
Socaras Nercanf (?) A 232
Aelia Nerfis (= Nereis ?) A 98
Neritus (?) A 55
Tarcuinus Neroneius A 209
Nestor Nettiorum (s.) B 103c
Nettii (plur.) B 103c
C. Tad(ius) Nic( ) E 14
Fabia Ni[ce] B 10
L. Sutorius Nicephorus C 9
M. Scribonius Nicomachus A 34
Nigella lib. C 80a
Urselus Nispeninus A 214
M. Servilius Nonianus, cos. B 69
Novia Hygia A 170
Numisiae (plur.) A 233
[Nu]misiae C 99
[Num]isiae C 98
Quinta Numitoria A 268
C. Nunidius Felix B 102m

O

C. O( ) S( ) B 99d
M. V( ) O( ) B 102o
Obrisio A 177
C. Oclatius Macer C 80
Octavia Heuresis C 21
[---] Octabianus B 90
[Octa]bianus, v. e. B 89
Olympias A 70
C. Iulius Optatus A 12
L. Pompeius C. libertlus (sic) Optimus A 68
Rutilius Ostesis A 272
Calpurnia Ostia E 22
Otacilia It(h)agenis A 269

P

(L.) Papius Pacatianus A 372
L. Aemilius Pacatus A 225
L. Paccius Cornelianus A 270
Paezusa A 337
Cl( ) Papyrius C 21
(L.) Papius Pacatianus A 372
Iulius Paratus A 262
+ Παρθενική B 43
[Pa]rthenius B 136a
+ Pascasius C 53, C 54

Patriga B 104o
[L. Aurel]ius Patroclus A 378
+ Paula B 41
[...]ubius Pauli[---] A 123 e add.
+ [P]aulus, *[sa]nctus* B 151
Pedu(caeus) Lup(ulus) B 102m
L. Pompeius Pelagianu[s] B 11
Iulius Pelagius A 159
L. Valerius Peplus C 77
Q. Lucrinius Peptitus A 341
P. Aelius Per[---] A 54
Cornelia Peregrina B 9
Peregrin(us) A 124a
+ Perpetua A 107, A 108
Petius B 128
Petr[---] A 271
Petronius Fortunatus C 31
Petronia Fortunata A 343
Philinus E 36
L. Cassius Philippus C 2
+ Philoponius B 77
[---]a Phoebe A 12
Phoebus (*s.*) B 101b
Pius B 99e
M. Iulius Pius A 182
Q. Minucius Q. f. Pius A 45
Pl(aetorius) [Nep(os)] B 102h
M. Planius L. f. Russinus B 104m
L. Pla⟨a⟩nius L. f. Russinus B 104m
A. Egrilius A. f. Plarianus C 105
Q. Plautius Q. P. Ti. l. Elenchus C 80a
L. Plotius Gratus B 101b
M. Plotius Silisonis f. Rufus A 58 e add.
L. Plotius Verus C 77
C. Apsena C. f. Pollio B 111
Polliu[s ---]us E 22
Pollius Sav[i]nus E 22
(Ti. Claudius) Ponpeianus, cos. A 182
Pompei (Plur.) A 11
Pompeius A 69, B 99l
P. Pompeius Dativus A 14
Pompeius Docimus A 11
Pompeius Felix A 11
Cn. Pompeius Ferox C 77
L. Pompeius Marcianus A 13
Pompeius Mustulus Pontian(us) A 14
L. Pompeius C. libertlus (sic) Optimus A 68
L. Pompeius Pelagianu[s] B 11
Pompeius Senecio A 11
Pompeius Mustulus Pontian(us) A 14
Pompeia Quinta A 11
Claudia Pompeia B 4
Licinia Pompeia C 7a

Pomptilla C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566, 7569, 7570, 7574–7576)
Πωμπτίλλα C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7567, 7568, 7571, 7578)
Atilia L. f. Pomptilla C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7563)
Atilia L. f. Pom[p]tilla C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
Atilia Pomptilla C 2
D. Alarius Pontificalis C 80
Pontilieni B 104l
Poni(cius ?) B 98c
Porcia Staphilia E 27
C. Apronius C. f. [---] Postumianus A 251
Poticus, ser. B 101b
+ Preiecta A 301
[---]pius L. f. Pri[---] B 165
Salvia Prima A 106
Primigeni(us) Domitior(um) s. B 102i
[Fl]avia Prim[it]iva B 35
Iulia Primitiva, *filia* C 33
Iulia Primitiva, *mater* C 33
Primitibus Pompei *servus* A 69
Primus L. Titi (s.) B 99f
+ Prisca C 35
Valeria Prisca Luci l. E 11
Priscus Ursinus C 102
C. Valerius Priscianus A 195
Luria Privata A 265
C. Probus A 64
Procu(l)a B 143
Herennia Procula A 67
[P]roculus A 258
Q. Co[el ?]ius Proculus B 13
C. Iulius Proculus B 7
L. Lurius Procul(us) B 102i
L. Lur[ius Proculu]s B 102h
Verrius Proculus A 234
+ Proiectus C 55
L. Publicius Lupercus A 182
Q. Mem(mius) Pud(ens) B 98c
L. Amu[r]ius Pudentianus A 161
Q. Allius Q. f. Col. Pudentillus C 104
Pullaeni (plur.) B 98d, B 98l
Pullainus B 98e
L. Pullius Benignus A 182
L. Pullius Marcio A 182
M. Pupius Extricatus E 5
Pupia Extricata E 5
+ Purpuria A 169
M. Slavius Putiolanus C 80
Pyrr(h)us B 59

Q

Quadr(atus) B 102d
Q. Sergius Q. f. Quir. Quadratus C 82

L. Quinctius L. l. [---] A 39
Quinta Numitoria A 268
Pompeia Quinta A 11
Tad(i)us Quintanus B 163
M. Aurelius Quintillus, e. v. B 179
C. Quintius C 21
+ Quobuldeus C 56

R

+ Raeceptu[s] A 126
[---]us Re[---] A 231
Q. Gabinius A. f. Quir. Receptus C 25
M. Val[---] Rect. B 104n
+ Redem(p)tus C 49
Reditus E 16
L. Remmius Exsuper[---] B 4
Remmia [---] B 4
+ Renobata C 54
+ [Re]parat[us] C 57
+ Respectus C 24
+ Restituta A 117, C 21
Avionia Restituta A 13
M. Iuventius Rixa, *vir ornatissimus* C 77
+ Rogata C 58
Rogatus A 229
+ Rogatus C 24
M. Arruntius Rogatus B 10
M. Iulius Romulus C 77
Rufina C 32
+ [Ru]fina C 59
Iunia Rufina B 103 add. a
Rufius Natalis B 104b
Ruf(us) B 59
C. Rufus, v. c. C 21
M. Plotius Silisonis f. Rufus A 58 e add.
M. Stertinius Rufus C 77
M. Stertinius Rufus, *f(ilius)* C 77
M. Valerius Rufus B 8
C. Vehilius C. l. Coll. Rufus C 109
M. Planius L. f. Russinus B 104m
L. Pla⟨a⟩nius L. f. Russinus B 104m
L. Aemil(ius) Rusticus A 241
L. Rutilianus B 68
Rutilius Felix B 68
Rutilius Ostesis A 272
Val(erius) Rutilius A 241
Rutilia B 102c e add.
Rutilia Ammia add. A 234
Antonia Rutilia B 155

S

C. O( ) S( ) B 99d
N. S( ) Ca( ) B 100b
+ Sabastus A 118a
+ Sabbatius A 366, B 42
Sabdaga A 177
C. Tad(ius) Sabi( ) E 14
Vibusia Sabina B 162
Ti. Atilius Sabinus C 77
M. Lutatius Sabinus C 77
Saidure B 127
Sallustius B 35
Sal[vi]us E[x]superius, v. p. B 84
Sal[vius Exsup]erius, v. p. B 186
[Sal]v[i]us Ex[s]u[p]er[i]us A 370 e add.
Salvia Prima A 106
Vera Salvia A 59
Claudia Sameramis A 63
G. Satrius B 101b
Heren(nia) [Satu]rna C 6a
Valeria Saturna A 253
Valleria Saturnia B 51
Farrius Satur( ) C 13
Saturnina A 260
[---]a Saturnina E 10
(Aurelia) Saturnina B 34
[Iul ?]ia Sa[tur]nina A 263
Saturninus B 104b
L. Aemil[ius] L. f. Quir. Saturninus A 35
L. Clodius Saturninus A 335
[Herennius] Saturninus C 6b
+ Saturnus C 21
L. Herennius Saturus A 338
Pollius Sav[i]nus E 22
P. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, cos. C 80
Iscribonissa B 61
M. Scribonius Gallus A 343
M. Scribonius Nicomachus A 34
Sex. Se[...]us A 154
L. Can( ) Sec( ) B 100b
Secunda A 67
Secunda Secundi l. A 220
Valeria Secunda A 67
Secundio s. B 3
Secundus A 220, B 59
A. Caspidius Secundus A 152
Semerhai A 180
Sempronia Donata A 165
Pompeius Senecio A 11
Seneqio Tamucaris E 12
+ Limenius Senior B 63
Cl( ) Sentiu[---] A 322

+ Septimia Musa B 75
M. Antonius Septimius Heraclitus, v. e. C 121
M. Ant(onius) Sep(timius) H[eraclitus], e. v. B 97 e add.
M. [Ant(onius) Sept(imius) Heraclitus], e. v. B 182
M. Septimius Heraclitus A 376
T. Semptimius (*sic*) Ianuarius, v. c. B 94
L. Septimius Leonticus, e. v. C 118
Annius Ser(apiodorus) B 98c
+ Sergis C 60
Q. Sergius Q. f. Quir. Quadratus C 82
Servianus III, cos. B 102h
Servilia C. l. Mo[---] A 251
Ti. Claudius Servilius Geminus C 79
M. Servilius Nonianus, cos. B 69
Serbulus C 1
+ Servulus C 61
Cassia Severa A 225
Iulia Sex. f. Severa C 108
(C. Claudius) Severus, cos. A 182
Minucius Severus A 219
C. Ulpius Severus A 221
Sex(   ) B 102c
Sidon(ius), signum A 3 e add.
Siliso A 58
Silius Tabernarius A 268
Silio Terenti f. E 37
Silvana E 4a, E 28
Silvanus B 106
+ Silbanos B 61
Silvanus Tantilianus A 41
(Aurelius) Silvanus B 34
+ Silbius C 110
Dorotia Simplicissima C 21
Caecilius Simplex, *vir clarissimus* C 77
+ Simplicius C 21
+ Sitiosus C 43
C. Sittius Egnatianus A 273
M. Slavius Putiolanus C 80
Socaras Nercanf (?) A 232
Axtinia Sofia C 28
Sopat(   ) Fau(   ) B 100d
Spana B 52
C. Avidius Speratus, *filius* A 178
C. Av(i)dius Speratus, *pater* A 178
[So?]phronia A 37
Sossius [---] A 227
M. Adius Speratus B 102h
Stab[---] A 78
+ Stabula[rius] C 59
Porcia Staphilia E 27
Stacle(nus ?) B 98c
Statius M(arcius) Luciferus B 102b
Statia Magna C 103

Stephana C 62
+ Istefanus B 37
+ Iste[phanus] A 75 e add.
C. Stertinius Aelianus C 33
C. Stertinius Bachyllas C 33 (due volte)
C. Stertinius Bacila C 33
M. Stertinius Rufus C 77
M. Stertinius Rufus, *filius* C 77
Stertinia Fortunata C 33
[---]ul L.[l.] Storax C 114
Ti. Iulius S[ucc(essus)] B 98c, B 98i
Sulpicia Insulana C 7a e b
L. Anteius Sura B 100b
Surdinius Felix B 115
L. Sutorius Nicephorus C 9
Sutoria Athenais C 9
L. Cornelius Sylla B 130
Symmacus B 104h
Symphor(us) A 265
Syra C 31

T

Silius Tabernarius A 268
Tadius T. f. Lygda(m)us B 163
C. Tad(ius) Nic( ) E 14
Tad(i)us Quintanus B 163
C. Tad(ius) Sabi( ) E 14
Tamucar E 12
Silvanus Tantilianus A 41
Tarcuinus Neroneius A 209
C. Tarcutius Tarsaliae fil. Hospitalis A 182
Taretius Faric(us) Corneli A 207
Tarsalia A 182
Tartalasso B 101f
L. Valerius Tatianus A 234
+ Taurus A 119
+ Tecla C 56
Q. Allius Telesphorus A 249
Terentius E 37
C. Ter(entius) Callist(us) C 10
C. Terentius Diocles C 10
C. Ter(entius) Diocles C 10
L. Arruntius Teres B 10
Tertellus B 127
Tertiolus A 274
M. Domitius Tert[ullus ?] A 158
[M. Do]mitius [Tertullus] (?) B 3
L. Tettius Crescens A 57
[Th]alassia (?) A 248
A. Aristius Thallo B 102h
Iunia Thallusa C 6b
+ Thedote A 120

+ Theodorus C 63
Theon C 3
M. Ulpius M. f. Theopompus A 279
Tiberianus C 15
Tilia A 175
C. Timinius [---]cens B 135
Fl(avius) Titianus, v. p. B 88
L. Titius B 99f
Tornalis C 80
Torquatus C 83
Aelius Tosuna A 153
Trofime A 344
C. Iulius Trophimus A 59
[Tr]ypho Vale[---] A 276 bis
M. Tuccius L. f. Tro. Caleo B 100b
C. Asinius Tucurian[us] A 40
Tunila C 79
Q. Marcius Tu[rbo] A 311
Caecilia Tyche lib. A 61

U

Sex. Ul( ) B 104n
Ulpia Matrona A 77
C. Ulpius Severus A 221
M. Ulpius M. f. Theopompus A 279
M. Ulpius Victor, e. v. B 177, C 112
M. Ulp[ius V]ictor, e. v. B 92 e add.
+ Ur[---] A 25
Aemilia Urbana A 8
A. Vitellius Urbanus A 49
Urrus A 174
Ursaris Tornalis f. C 80
Urseccur Tertelli (f.) B 127
Urselus Nispeninus A 214
Priscus Ursinus C 102
C. Cor(nelius) Urs(us) B 98c
C. Utius C. f. B 104l

V

M. V( ) O( ) B 102o
Tit. Fl(avius) V[---] B 53
T. At( ) Va( ) B 99d
M. Val[---] Rect. B 104n
[Tr]ypho Vale[---] A 276 bis
C. Germanus Valens A 259
Licinia Valentina A 264
Valen[tin]us A 275
[V]aleri[---] A 318
Valerianus Verseius A 200
[V]alerius [---]ius E 39
L. Valerius Creius A 345

{ Valerius Domitianus, v. p. A 241
{ [G]al(erius) Va[lerius Domitianus] B 183
C. Valerius Faustus C 77
[Va]lerius Fronto, *filius* A 332
[. Va]lerius Fro[nto], *pater* A 332
Q. Valerius Gellianus A 165
C. Valerius Genialis B 16
Valerius Gentius A 229
L. Valerius Herma C 80
L. Valerius Hermesianax A 276 bis
L. Valerius Peplus C 77
C. Valerius Priscianus A 195
M. Valerius Rufus B 8
Val(erius) Rutilius A 241
L. Valerius Tatianus A 234
L. Valerius Victorinus A 345
Valeria [---] A 346
+ Val[e]ria B 76
[V]aleria [---] A 227
Val(eria) Crescentia B 132
Baleria Flora A 173
Valeria L(a)urẹnti Caelesitana E 3
Valeria Messali(na ?) A 276
Valeria Prisca Luci l. E 13
Valeria Salvia A 59
Valeria Saturna A 253
Valleria Saturnia B 51
Valeria Secunda A 67
Varus B 102h
Vaterius Luciferus A 67
C. Vehilius C. l. Coll. Rufus C 109
Veneria A 267
+ Beneria E 15
Clodius Venerianus C 21
Venusta l. C 26
Venustus B 98c
Vera Cassia A 71
Veratius A 121
L. Veratius Hermeros C 106
Verrius Proculus A 234
Valerianus Verseius A 208
Aelia Verecunda E 34
L. Plotius Verus C 77
Veturia Ianuaria B 44
D. Veturius Felix C 77
D. Veturius Fortunatus B 44
+ Vi[---] A 105
Vibien(us) B 99c
P. Bibius [---], v. e. B 92
Vibusia Sabina B 162
T. Aelius Aug. lib. Victor E 23 e add.
(Aurelius) Victor B 34
C. Caisius Victor C 80

Istumenius Victor E 26
M. Ulpius Victor, e. v. B 177, C 112
M. Ulp[ius V]ictor, e. v. B 92 e add.
Vic[to]ria A 170
Aurelia Victoria A 46
Helia Victoria A 308
Victorinus B 102h, E 19
+ Victorinus A 299
Ateius Victorini A 252
L. Valerius Victorinus A 345
L. Vigellius Crispinus C 77
+ M. Decianus Vigio A 365
+ Vincentia B 65
Vitalis, mul. E 36
+ Vitalis A 122a
Decimius Vitalis E 7a
M. Domitius Vitalis C 77
Bitalius A 277
A. Vitellius Urbanus A 49
P. Vitruvius Coetus A 278
[Volu?]mnia Flora A 332
Volu(sius) B 99g

X

Aur(elius) X[an(thus)] B 104b

Z

Zmyrna lib. A 276 bis
Zoilus B 99d, B 99f
Zo[ilus] B 99g
[Ζώ]ιλος B 85
Q. Iulius Zosimianus C 108

2. Divinità

Aesculapius Augustus C 21
    Aescul(apius) B 130
    Aescu[l(apius)] A 186
    [Aescula]pius E 11
Ascl[epius] B 1
Apollo C 21
    Apollo Clarius (*oraculum*) A 42
    [Apolli?]ni B 1
A(taecina) T(urobrigensis), *d(ea) s(ancta)* C 1
Bubastis B 69
Cas(tor) (***templum***) B 104g
Ceres A 309
Deus C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570); dei C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7565)
Dii et Deae A 42

Fortu[na] A 330
[Geniu]m villae A 240
I(sis) A 239
[I]uno C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7576)
Iuno Regina B 161
Iupiter B 20, B 103b
    Iupiter Optimus Maximus C 21, B 161
Lares Aug(usti) C 104
Lares san[cti] B 53
Deus Ma[---] B 19
Minerva B 161
Mulciber B 17
Nymp[hae] E 11
    Nymphae Aug(ustae) A 186
    Nymph(ae) salutar(es) A 187
Salu[s] B 161
Sardus Pater B 14
    [Sa]rdus Pater Bab[..] E 13
Sida *vel* Sidia Babi B 104i
Silvanus A 221
Spes B 161
Venus B 18, B 103b e add.

3. Imperatori

Augusto o Tiberio

    [--- Caesa]r Aug. A 188

Claudio

    Ti(berius) Germanicus B 2
    [Ti. Cl]audius Caesar Aug. [Ger]manicus, pont. max., [tr. pot.] VI, p. p., imp. XI, cos. des. IIII A 378
    [---] Aug. Germanicua [---]cos IIII (?) A 35

Galba

    Ser. Galba imperator Caesar Aug. ponti. max. trib. pot., cos. desig. II C 80

Ottone

    Imp. Otho Caesar Aug. ... optumus maximusque princeps C 77

Domiziano

    Imp. Caesar div[i Aug.] Vespasiani f. D[omitianus] Aug. pont. max., tr. pot. II, imp. III, [c]os. VIIII, des. X A 50

Nerva

    Imp. Nerva Caesar Augustus pontifex maximus, tribunic. potestat., cos. II, p. p. C 79

Traiano

Imp. Caesar divi N[ervae f. Nerva] Traianus optimu[s Aug. Germ.] Dacicus, pontif. m[axim., tribu]nic. potestat. X[VIII], imp. VI, co[s. VI, p.p.] A 311
Imp. Caesar divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianus Aug. tr. p., cos., p. m. A 373

Adriano

[Imp. Cae]sar divi [Nervae ne]p., divi [Traiani] f. Traia[nus Hadrian]us Aug. [pont. m]ax., trib. pot. [II, cos.] II, p.p. A 1
[Imp. Caesar] divi T[raiani Parthici f., divi Nervae n]epos T[raianus Hadrianus Aug., pontif. m]ax., tri[b. pot. ---] A 312
[Imp. Caes.] divi Tr[aiani Parthic]i f. Nerv[ae n. Had]rianu[s Aug. --- trib. po]t. XV[I ---] B 137

Antonino Pio

[T. Ae]lius [Hadri]anus [Antonin]us Au[g. Pius ---] trib. p[ot. --- po]ntif. max. [---] B 23

L. Vero

L. Verus Aug. B 102m

Settimio Severo e Caracalla

[---]pont. max., [---] M. Antonin[--- Antonini] Pii pronep. [--- Hadri]ani abn[ep. --- Tr]aiani Pa[rthici --- N]ervae [---] A 43

Settimio Severo Caracalla e Geta

Imp. Caes. divi Marci filius, divi Pii nepos, divi Hadriani pronepos, divi Traiani et divi Nervae abnepos L. Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Aug. Arab. Ad[iab.] Parth. [ma]x., tribuniciae potestatis XV, cos. [III], p.p. et Imp. Caes. Severi Aug. fil. [d]iv[i] Marci nepos, divi Pii pronepos, divi Hadriani et divi Traiani abnepos M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Aug., trib. potest. X, cos. III, p.p. et [---] (il nome di Geta è eraso) A 375
[Imp. Caes. L. Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus (?) et Imp. C]aes. M. Aur[elius Antoninus et] P. Septimius Geta nob[ilissimus Caesar] A 158

Geta

[---] Get[a ---] L. Sep[timi Severi] filius B 54

Caracalla

Imp. [Caes. M.] Aurelius Antoninus Aug. p. f. B 13
Aug. Antoninus Pius B 34
[---] Aug. pon[t m]ax., trib. po[t. ---]I, cos. III, p.p., [---] divi Severi [---] A 189

Caracalla o Elagabalo

Imp. Caesar [---] M. Aurelius A[ntoninus p. f. Aug.] A 51

Elagabalo

Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius [An]to[ninus pius fe(li)x Aug., divi Antonini [M]agni Pii fil., divi Severi nepos, trib. pot. III, cos., [po]nt. max. p.p., procos. III (sic) B 95

Severo Alessandro

[Imp.] Cae[s M. Aur]elius S[everus Alexander p]i[us ---] A 190

Massimino

[I]mp. Caes. C. Iulius Verus Maximinus pius felix Aug. pont. max., trib. pot., cos. desig., imp. II, p.p., procos. B 90
[I]mp. Caes. C. Iulius Verus Maximinus pius felix Aug. pontifex max., trib. p. II, procos., cos. C 19

Massimino e Massimo

Imp. Caes. [C. I]ulius Verus Maximinus pius felix invictus Aug. cos. et C. Iulius Verus Maximinus (sic) *nobilissimus imp. (!) et domus divina* B 161

Filippo

[I]mp. Caesar M. Iul[ius Phil]ippus pius felix Aug., pontifex maximus, tr[i]buniciae potesta(ti)s, p.p., proconsul B 177
[I]m[p.] Caes[ar?] ⟦M. Iulius Philippus⟧ pius felix Aug., pont. max., t[rib.] potest., [p.p. procos.] B 92 add.
Imper. [M. Iulius Philippus] pont. max., trib. pot., p.p., procos. C 112

Decio Etrusco e Ostiliano

[D. n. Imp. Caes. C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius pius fel. Aug. et Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius et C. Val. Hostilianus] Messi[us Quintus nobilissimi Caesar]es, principes iu[ventutis, fil.] d. n. Trai[a]ni Aug. A 385
[---] nobilissimi [Caesares] principes iuve[ntutis] filii d. n. Traia[ni Aug.] B 182
[--- et C. Val(ens) Hostilianus] Messi[us Quintus nob. Caesar]es principes iu[vent. filii] d. n. Traiani Aug. A 385 e add.

Treboniano Gallo e Volusiano

[Im]pp. dd. nn. sanctis[simi] et piissimi [C. Vibiu]s Trebonianus [Gallu]s pius felix i[nv]ic[tus A]ug. et C. Vivius Afini[us Ve]ldumianus Belusi[an]us pius felix invictus Aug. A 376
Dd. nn. Impp. sanctissimi et pi(i)ssim[i] C. Bibius Trebonianus Gallus pius felix invictus Aug. et [C.] Bibius Afinius Veldumnianus Volusianus pius felix invictus Aug. C 121

Emiliano

Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Aemilianus pius fel. invic. Aug., p. m., trib., proc. A 383

Valeriano e Gallieno

[Imp. Caes.] P. Licini[us Valerianus p. f. A]ug. pont. m[axim.], trib. [pot., cos.], procos. et [Imp. Caes. P.] Licinius Egnatius Gallenius [p. f. Aug.], pont. maximus, trib. pot., cos., procos. A 389

[Imp.] Caes. [P. Licinius Va]lerianus pius [fel. Aug.] pont. max., trib. pote[st., cos., procos.] et Imp. Caes. P. Lici[nius G]allenius Valeria[nus p]ius fel. Aug., pont. [max. t]rib. pot[e]st. cos. [procos.] B 178
Imp. Caesa[r] Valerianus pius felix [---pont.] maximus trib. potes[t.---] Gall[i]enus [---] P. Licinius Caes. nobiliss. Caes. C 123

Valeriano I Gallieno Valeriano II

B 93 add., C 120

Gallieno

[---] Caesar Gallienus [---] B 91

Salonino

D. n. [P. Cornelius] Licinius Salo[ninus Valeria]nus nobili[simus Caes. pr]inceps iuventutis, filius do]mini nostri [Imp. P. Licini Egn]ati Gallieni pii [fel. Aug. inv., nep. d. n. I]mp. P. Licin[i Valeriani ---] B 21
P. L[icinius] Saloninus princ. iuv. nob. Caes. Aug. C 119

Claudio

D. n. Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Claudius p. felix invictus Aug., pontifex maxiximus (sic), *tr(i)b. pot., p.p., procos.* B 179
Imp. Caes. M. Aurelius Claudius maximus pius felix invictus Aug. [pont.] max., imp. II, cos., [trib.] p[---], p.p., procos. C 118

Quintillo

D. n. (I)mp. Caes. M. Quin[till]us felix invictus [Aug. ponti]fex maximus, [tribuniciae pot]estatis [---] A 237 e add.

Aureliano

Divus Aurelianus B 96
[Aureli]anus pius fe[---], pont. max., trib. pot. C 122

Diocleziano

Imp. [Cae]s. C. Valerius Diocletianus pius fel. [i]nv. Aug., pont. max. [---] A 379

Diocleziano Massimiano Galerio e Costanzo

Dddd. nnnn. [Impp. Caes]s. G. Valerius [Dio]cletianus et M. Aurelius [Val]erius Maxsimianus p. f. [invicti] Augg. et Flavius [Valerius C]ostantius et Gale[rius Valeri]us Maxsimianus [nobili]ssimi Cae[sares] A 388
[Dddd. nnnn. Impp. Caess. C. Valerius Diocletianus et M. Aurelius Valerius Maximianus p. f. invicti Augg. et Fl. Valerius Constantius et Galerius] Valerius Maximianus no[bilissimi Caesares ---] E 17

Costanzo Galerio Severo e Massimino

Impp. Caess. dd. nn. Flavius Val. Constantius (et) Galerius Val. Maxsimianus pi(i) felic. inbicti Augg. et dd. nn. princ. Severus et Galerius Val. Maxsimianus nobilissimi Caess. princ. iuv. B 183

Galerio

Fortissimus princeps Galerius Valerius Maxsimianus nobilissimus Caesar A 241
D. n. Imp. Caes. Gal. V[al. M]ax[imianus ---] A 374

Alessandro

D. n. Imp. L. Domitius Alexander p. f. inv. Aug. A 372

Costantino

[---] Costantinus maximus pi. fel. inv. ac perpetuus semper Aug. B 94

Costante

D. n. Imp. Fl. Iulius Constans beatissimus Caesar B 88

Costanzo II (?)

D. n. Fl. Iul[ius] Constan[tius ---] pius fel[ix ---] victor[---] B 87

Magnenzio e Decenzio

Dd. nn. [Imp. Caes. Fl.] Mag. M[agnentius p. f. Aug. et I]mp. Ma[g. Decentius n. fort. Caes. ---] A 384

Massimo e Vittore

Dd. nn. Mag[nus] Maximus et Fl. Victor A 191
Dd. nn. Magnus Maximus et Fl. Victor [s]em[p.] Aug. nobi. Caexa. A 370
Salbi dd. nn. Magnus Maximus et Fl. Victor [se]mper Augg. B 186

Graziano Valentiniano e Teodosio

Ddd. nnn. Flavii Gratianus [Valentinianus et The]odosius invictissimi princip[es] B 60

Anonimi

[I]mp. Caes. M. Au[---]elius pius f[elix --- pont.] max., t. p. II [---] A 380
[Imp.] Ca[es. --- nep]os B 140
Imp. C[aes. ---] nep[os] B 137
Imp. Ca[es --- po]ntif. [--- p]otesta[te ---] C 18
I[m]p. Ca[es. ---] Anto[ni---] B 28
Im[p. ---] B 26
[I]mp. [---] B 30
Magnus et invic[tus ---] princeps [---] A 44
Aug. domin. n. B 102h
[--- Caes]ar [---]ius Aug. [---] imp. V [---] A 331
[---] Caes. [---] Aug. [---]pii felices [---] A 381
[--- vic]torios[---] et resti[tutor ---] p.p. B 22
[---] rest[itutor --- potes]tatis [---] B 24
[--- glo]riosissimi [---] A 310
[--- pi]us felix in[victus --- po]ntifex m[ax. ---], cos. II, p.p. B 25; *[p]ius felix [--- po]ntifex* B 25
[--- pon]tif. ma[x., trib.] pot. B 120
[--- pont.] max., [tri]b. potest. II, [cos.], procos. A 238 (aa. 253 – 257)

[--- p]ontife[x max. trib.] p. II, p.p. proco[s.] A 386
[---] tri[b. pot. ---], cos. [---] patr[i patriae ---] B 55; *[---] ac supe[r omnes ---]* B 55
[---] tribunicia potestate [---] B 92
Salvi ac propitii domini nostri B 110
[---] divi [---] B 138

4. Geographica

a) Nomi di luoghi, di popoli ed etnici menzionati nelle iscrizioni

Altic(ienses) A 184
Aquitani (*cohors*) A 222
Aq(uitani) (*cohors*) E 38
Armenia A 57

Balari B 83
Barb[aria] A 188
Beroni[cen]ses A 4
Breuci (*cohors*) B 34
Buduntini (?) E 21 add.
Buduntin(enses) E 21 add.

Caralis A 182
Karales A 389, B 36, B 90, B 92, B 95, C 19, C 121; Kar[ales] B 97; K[aral.] A 388; Karalis A 385, B 177; [K]a[r]al. B 183; Kar. B 179; K. A 383
Ka(ra)litana (*ecclesia*) B 37
Kar(a)litana (*ecclesia*) B 36
Caralitanus C 80 (sette volte)
Karalitani A 52, [Ka]r(alitani) C 84, C[aralitani] A 50
Cares(ius) C 79
Ciddilitani C 117
Giddilitani C 97
Cniensis A 222
Cornenses C 82
Cursi (*cohors*) C 79

Dacia A 57
Ditis maestus C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7569)

Ema[---] B 83
Euthiciani C 97, C 117
Eutychiani C 98
[Euty]chia[ni] B 154

Φρυγίη B 43

Galillenses C 77
Galli (*ala*) B 34

(H)elenopolis B 84
[H]ispani (*cohors*) B 34

Iudaea A 57, Iuda[ea] B 113

Κύπριος B 85

[L]atobici (*cohors*) B 34
Lethe C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7569)
Ligures (*cohors*) A 113, C 79
Longonensis A 308

Maur(etania) Caes(ariensis) B 100g
Misen(ensis) (*classis*) A 332, [Misenen]sis A 55

Nea[poli]tani A 4
[No]renses B 25, B 27, [Nore]nse[s] B 30

Olbia B 90, C 121; Olbi. A 388; Olb[ia] B 178; Olb. B 179; Ul[bia] A 385
Olvia B 92, B 97, B 177, B 182, C 19; Olv[ia] B 183
Ostia C 106

Parthia A 57
Patulcenses C 77
Patulci[enses ?] C 100
Patulcenses Campani C 77

Roma A 57, A 182, C 80
Rubr(enses) A 184

Sarda tellus C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566)
Sardi (*cohors*) B 47, C 79, C 113
Sardus C 80
Sardinia A 241, B 92, B 96, B 184, C 79; Sardin[ia] A 73, C 119; S[ardini]a B 95; Sardin. A 50; Sard. A 182, A 370, A 372, A 378, B 20, B 30, B 88, B 90, B 94, C 84, C 118, C 122; Sar[d.] B 84; [S]ard. A 238; S[ard.] A 221; Sa[rd.] A 40, B 183; S. B 186
Sicositanus E 1
Sorabensis (*nemus*) A 221
Sulci A 371
Sulci vel Sulci[tani] A 5

[Sulc]itani A 1
Sulcitanus C 80

Tarrenses C 114
[Tar]rhens[es] (?) B 57 add.
Tar[ros ?] B 57
Tarrhos C 103
T(h)arr[os] A 228
Telesia A 246
Tubus(uctu) B 100g
T(urobrigensis) C 1
Turris A 378, C 103; Tu. A 383
Turr[itana] (*ripa*) A 245
[T?]usculana (pl.) A 6

Utice[nsi]s C 76a

Veronensis C 103

Ypsit[---] A 194

b) Luoghi di rinvenimento delle iscrizioni (limitatamente ai comuni)

Abbasanta B 98e
Aggius B 82
Ales A 177
Alghero C 15
Anela C 80
Arbus B 102m
Ardara A 236, B 157, B 158
Assemini A 162, A 163, B 102m
Austis A 218 – A 220, B 52, C 12

Barisardo A 183
Benetutti A 223
Berchidda B 186
Bitia v. Chia (Domusdemaria)
Bitti A 222
Bonnannaro C 118
Bonorva A 381, A 382, B 88 – B 94
Borore A 214
Bortigali A 216, B 156
Bosa A 234 e add., B 67, B 68, B 155, E 17, E 18
Buggerru B 15, B 105, B 106, C 113
Busachi A 210

Cabras B 59; v. anche *Tharros*
Cagliari A 49 – A 155, A 332, A 335, A 340, A 341, A 345, A 360, A 364, A 365, A 368, B 34 – B 43, B 99f – B 99h, B 100d, B 100g, B 104l, B 110 – B 124, C 1 – C 13, C 21, C 25 – C 32, C 35 – C 38, C 42 – C 45, C 48 – C 52, C 54 – C 56, C 61, C 63, C 68, C 70, C 72, C 115, C 120, E3 – E 6, E 41
Carales v. Cagliari
Carbonia A 372, A 373
Castelsardo A 307, C 105
Chia (Domusdemaria) B 16
Cornus (comune di Cuglieri) B 60 – B 66, B 99d, B 100b, B 104o, B 137 – B 153, C 82 – C 96, C 124, C 126
Cuglieri A 233, B 154, C 97 – C 102, C 117; v. anche *Cornus*

Decimomannu A 164 – A 166, B 108 a, C 126
Domusdemaria v. Chia
Donori A 169, C 116
Dorgali B 102l, B 104m, C 79

Elmas A 161, C 17
Esterzili C 77

Fluminimaggiore A 36 – A 38, (Antas) B 13, B 14, B 104i
Fonni A 221
Fordongianus A 186 – A 206, A 377, B 102o, B 130, B 131, C 78, E 11
Forum Traiani v. Fordongianus

Gergei A 172
Ghilarza A 211, A 378 – A 380
Giave, A 235
Guspini A 39, B 102f, B 102i, B 102m

Iglesias A 371
Isili A 173

Laconi A 180

Macomer A 215, C 126
Magomadas E 18
Maracalagonis A 158 – A 160, E 7
Marrubiu C 126
Martis B 161
Meana Sardo A 183
Monti B 83, B 102b
Mores A 385, B 177, B 178, B 179

Neoneli B 104f
Nora v. Pula
Nurachi B 136a, B 136b
Nuragus A 174 – A 176, C 16
Nurallao A 178, A 179
Nuraminis A 170

Olbia A 309 – A 329, A 387, A 388, B 84 – B 86, B 98l, B 100d, B 102c, B 102g, B 162,

B 163, B 184, B 185, C 18, C 19, C 111, C 120, C 121, C 122, C 123
Olmedo B 99l
Oristano B 98g, B 100b, C 14, C 22, C 80a, C 126
Orosei B 126, B 127
Ortueri A 217
Orune C 126
Oschiri B 102e, B 160, E 37, E 38
Ossi A 237
Ostia C 114
Ozieri A 224

Pirri (Ca) B 125, B 126
Portotorres A 239 – A 306, A 342, B 69 – B 81, B 81 a, B 99l, B 100b, B 100f, B 102n, B 104c, B 159, B 164 (?), C 20, C 103, C 104, C 106 – C 109, E 22 – E 36
Pula A 42 – A 48, B 17 – B 33, B 101b, B 107, B 108, C 23, C 24

Quartu Sant'Elena A 156, A 157, B 44 – B 46

Samugheo A 207 – A 209, E 12
San Gavino A 40, A 41
San Giovanni Suergiu A 35
San Sperate A 167
Santadi A 34
Sant'Antioco A 1 – A 33, B 1 – B 12, B 98d, B 98e, E 1, E 2
Santa Teresa di Gallura A 308
Sarrok A 42
Sassari A 238, A 238 bis, (Portoferro) E 21, B 104e, C 126
Sedilo A 212, A 213, E 11
Selegas C 126
Senorbì C 126
Serdiana E 9
Serri A 384, B 101b
Sestu A 375, B 47, E 8
Seulo A 181, A 182
Soleminis B 48
Sorgono B 51
Sorso (?) B 99l
Sulci v. Sant'Antioco

Telti A 322, A 386, C 119, E 39
Tertenia B 101e, B 127
Tharros (comune di Cabras) A 225 – A 231, B 53 – B 58, B 99c, B 99e, B 99l, B 100b, B 100d, B 100e, B 101b, B 102d, B 103d, B 104b, B 104h, B 104m, B 104n, B 132 – B 136, C 81, C 126, E 14 – E 17
Torralba A 383, B 95 – B 97, B 182, B 183
Tortolì B 50, B 101c, B 101d
Tramatza A 232
Turris Libisonis v. Portotorres

Ulassai C 126
Uras B 87
Usellus C 76a
Ussana E 10
Ussassai A 185
Uta C 76

Vallermosa A 338
Villagreca A 171
Villamassargia A 374
Villanova Truschedu A 376
Villaputzu B 99m
Villasimius B 49
Villasor A 168
Villaspeciosa B 109

5. Notabilia

adlec[tus] ab splendidissimo ordin(e) [Ka]ral. C 84
aedilis
    aedil(is) A 242
    aed(ilis) A 243
aere c[ollato] C 85; *[aere c]o[lla]to* C 82; *ex [a]ere collato* C 104
aghi crinali B 104o, C 126
ala
    [al]a Gallorum [... ci]vium R(omanorum) miliaria B 34
    [pr]aef. al[ae] B 56
alfabeto greco B 59
alumna A 98, A 261
    [alu]mna infelicissima A 261
    urbis alumna C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)

alumnus A 66, A 132, A 252, E 16, E 22
  alumn[ ] A 346, B 115
amicus optimus A 313
amphorae B 100 e add., C 126
ancill(a) (?) A 315
  ancil[la] B 132
anello digitale B 104i
annic[ula] A 10
ἀπελεύθερος C 20
ara gentis Iuliae C 80
[arcar]ius praedi[orum] (?) B 141
ascia A 123, A 176, A 198 (?), B 123, C 6, D 11
a solo A 51
Augustales
  mag(istri) Augusta(les) A 49
  ministe[r] mag(istrorum) Augusta(lium) (?) A 49
arc(hi)diac(onus) B 104d
archiepresbiter s(an)c(ta)e ec(c)les(iae) Ka(ra)litan(a)e B 37
augur C 104
a(vu)nculus A 234

[b]asilica B 32
be[atus?] C 63
bolli
  – su *amphorae* B 100 e add., C 126
  – su *dolia* B 101 e add., C 126
  – su *lucernae* A 349 – A 510, B 98 e add., C 13, C 126, C 127
  – su *tegulae* B 102 e add., C 126
  – su *vascula* B 99 e add., C 126

caelibes C 79, C 80
calendarium
  [proc(urator) ?] cal(endarii) Olbiae A 314
  [curator ka]lend(arii) r[ei publica]e Tar[rhensium] (?) B 57 add.
Caralis Panegyricus di Hunno Baeza C 21
carmina epigraphica A 119, A 229, B 9, B 15, B 80 (?), C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7565, 7566, 7569, 7570, 7574 – 7576), E 2
carmina epigraphica graeca C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7567, 7568, 7571, 7572, 7577, 7578
[ca]stitas B 143
(*centuria*) E 37
cineres C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566); *ciner[es]* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7575)
civis C 84
civitas C 80; *ci[v]i[t]as* C 84
  civitas Nea[poli]tanorum A 4
  p[atronus] civitat(is) A 3
civitates
  [civ]itates Barb[ariae] A 188
clarissimus vir
  vir clarissimus C 77; *v. c.* A 300, B 95, C 14, C 21
classis
  classis praetor[ia Misenensis] A 311
  [m(iles) ?] cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Misen(ensis) A 332

- *prae[f. classis Misenen]sis* B 56
- *sub[praef. classis]* B 56

clementia Chr(ist)i C 81

clericus A 95, A 96

cloa[cae] A 50

codex
- *ex codice ansato* C 77

cohors
- *c(o)hors Aquitanorum* A 222
- *mis(s)icius ex c(o)hor(te) Aq(uitanorum) III* E 38
- *[trib. coh.] II Breucorum peditata* B 34
- *trib. [coh. --- H]ispanorum tironum* B 34
- *[trib. coh. L]atobicorum equitatae* B 34
- *dec. coh. Ligurum* A 313
- *cohors II gemina Ligurum et Cursorum* C 79
- *[coh.] Sardorum* C 113
- *(centurio) coh(ortis) I Sard.* B 115
- *[m(iles) ? c]oh. I Sar[d.]* B 47
- *cohors I Gemina Sardorum et Cursorum* C 79
- *praef. c[oh.]* A 181
- *[pr]aef. c(o)h.* vel *c. H[---]* B 20

collare di schiavo B 104d

colle[gium] C 84

Col(lina tribus) A 56, C 104, C 109

colliberta
- *conli[b]erta sua* C 26

col[onia] B 164

colonus B 106

[co]lon[i] C 82

coniux
- *mul.*: A 162, A 268, B 34, B 67, C 9, C 31, C 33, E 18, E 36; *coniunx* A 41, A 175, A 335; *con.* A 70, A 250, A 265, B 8; *c.* E 4b; *coiux* A 64, A 198, A 259, C 32; *coiuxs* E 26
  - *coniux car(issima)* B 5; *coniux karissima* C 103, C 108
  - *coniux domina* A 11
  - *coiux dulcissima* E 35
  - *[c]oiux pientissima* E 20
  - *coniux rarissima* E 27 e add.
  - *coniux sua* A 34, A 343
  - *virginia coiux* B 77
- *vir*: A 12, A 63, A 77, A 196, A 214, A 256, A 260, B 116, B 155, C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570, 7575), C 81 (?); *coiux* A 9, A 106, A 273, E 4a, E 34
  - *coniux infelix* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7565)
  - *coniux suus* A 267, A 276 bis
  - *coniux virgin(i)us dulcissimus* A 108
- *inc.*: *[con]iux* E 33; *[co]niux* C 87

connatus A 270

conpar B 65

conservus B 2

consul
- *M. Servilio Noniano C. Cestio cos.* (a. 35 d. C.) B 69
- *Mario et Afinio cos.* (a. 62 d. C.) A 177
- *C. Bellico Natale P. Cornelio Scipione Asiatico cos.* (a. 68 d. C.) C 80

    M.[C]alpurn[io ---]eco Ti. Catio [Fron]tone cos. (a. 96 d. C) C 79
    Serviano III Varo cos. (a. 134 d. C.) B 102h
    Severo et Ponpeiano cos. (a. 173 d. C.) A 182
    Honorio X Theodosio VI (a. 425 d. C.) A 299
    [cos.] des. A 40
cur[ator rei pub(licae) ?] B 32
curiae XXIII C 104

debitum
    debitum domino reddere B 77
decurial(is) C 105
decretum C 77
decurio
    dec(urio) coh. Ligurum A 313
decuriones
    dec(urio) A 3
    dec(urionum) decret(o) A 45; *d. d.* A 241, B 164
    dec(urionum) suf(fragio) A 45
defensor s(an)c(ta)e ec(c)lesi(a)e Kar(a)litan(a)e B 36
deflere
    defleta C 38
deponere
    dep. C 76
    deposita A 96, A 115, B 108 a, E 41
    depositus A 96, C 43; *depos.* C 76; *dep.* A 25, A 124
deprecare B 80
devotus
    b(ir) d(evotus) B 38
devotus numini maiestatique
    d. n. m. q. eius B 88, B 94
    dev. nm. eo(rum) A 241
    devo[ti numini maiestatique?] B 27
diplomi militari A 182, A 311, A 312, C 79, C 80
disp(ensator) B 102h, C 3
dolia B 101 e add., C 126
domina (coniux) A 11; *+d(o)m(ina)* B 75
dominus B 77, C 3
    d(ominus) D(e)us n(ost)er Ih(es)us XP(is)tus A 93
    dom(inus) pater merentissi(mus) B 76
domus
    domo Roma A 57
    domus divina B 161; *[domus] divina* B 19
dracconarius B 38
duoviri
    IIvir A 242, A 243, A 244
    iter(um) IIvir(i) q(uin)q(uennales) A 241

ecclesia
    defensor s(an)c(ta)e ec(c)lesi(a)e Kar(a)litan(a)e B 36
    ecclesiae sanctae minister C 110
    notar(ius) subregionarius s(an)c(t)ae Rom(anae) eccl(esiae) A 114
    p(res)b(iter) huius aec(c)l(esiae) A 160
edictum C 77

- *egregius vir*
  - *v. e.* A 377, A 387, B 89, B 92 e add., B 96, C 18, C 119, C 121
  - *e. v.* A 238, A 376, A 383, B 97 e add., B 177, B 179, B 182, C 112, C 118, C 120
- *episc(opus)* A 94
  - *ep(iscop)us* (quattro volte) B 159
- *eques* A 236, B 157
  - *eq(ues) R(omanus)* C 82
- *equites* C 79
  - *princeps equitum* A 313
- *equitata*
  - *[trib. coh. L]atobicorum equitatae* B 34
- *equo [publico?]* C 84
- *exitum*
  - *exitum fecit* C 26
- *expeditiones*
  - *expeditionib. interfui Daciae Armeniae Parthiae Iudaeae* A 57

- *Fab(ia tribus)* E 38
- *fabrica* B 145
- *Fal(erna tribus)* A 247
- *familia*
  - *ipsi familiae posteris libertis libertabusque eius* A 313
- *familia Caesaris* D 42
- *famula dei* B 86
- *fatum*
  - *fat[um]* E 2
- *fata* B 9
  - *fata sua (fatis cessit s[ui]s)* C 4
- *femina* B 75
  - *[femi]na casta* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570)
  - *femina honesta* B 104o
  - *incomparabilis sanctissima femina* C 103
- *fidelis* A 299, C 69; *fid[el]is* A 305; *fidel[is]* C 35
- *figlin(a)* B 102c e add., B 102f
- *fig(linae)* B 102h
  - *fig(linae) Ma(   ) (?)* B 102h
  - *figlin(ae) Tonneian(ae)* B 102i
- *filia* A 59, A 91, A 164, A 170, A 174, A 226, B 35, B 44, C 33, C 59; *f(ilia ?)* E 10; *fil.* A 235; *fl.* A 264; *(f)ilia* A 276
  - *filia [carissi]ma* A 60
  - *filia dulcissima* B 132
  - *fil. dulcissima et pientissim(a)* B 6
  - *filia incomparavit* (sic) *infelicissima* A 8
  - *f. piissima* A 337
  - *fil. pi(i)ssim(a)* A 67
  - *filia piissima* C 7a
  - *filia sua* C 88
- *filiae* B 52
- *filius* A 13, A 69, A 80, A 112, A 159, A 165, A 175, A 178, A 224, A 266, A 292, A 336, B 64; *fil.* A 338, E 19; *f(ilius)* B 105, B 106; *fi.* A 335; *[f]ilius* A 231; *fil(ius)* B 136a
  - *filius karissim[us]* B 142
  - *filius dulcissimus* A 102, B 16

  - *filius dulciss.* A 274; *[fi]l. dulciss.* E 31
  - *fi[lius dul]cissimus* B 135
  - *filius inco(m)parabilis* A 257, A 277; *incomparrbii* (sic) *filius* B 162
  - *filius [pi]entissimus* C 6; *fil[iu]s pientissim[u]s* A 258
  - *filius piissimus* A 249, B 10, C 7b, C 24; *filius [pi]issimus* B 35; *[fi]lius piiss[imus]* E 9; *filius piissim.* A 243; *fil. piissim.* C 6; *f. piissimus* E 5
- *filii* A 207, B 77, B 81; *fili* A 341
- *fines*
  - *fines Patulcensium* C 77
  - *fines Patulcensium Campanorum* C 77
- *flamen* C 83
  - *flamen divor(um) Aug(ustorum) ex consensu provinc(iae)* C 25
  - *flam(en) Aug. prim(us)* A 45
  - *flam(en) Aug. [pe]rpet(uus) prim(us) et apsen(s)* A 45
  - *flam(en) Augusto[rum]* A 3
  - *[flam(en) A]ugustor(um)* A 242
- *fons* B 60
- *forum* C 85
- *frater* A 14, A 220, A 262, E 32
  - *fra(t)er karissimus* B 163
  - *frater optimus* A 345
- *[f]ratres* A 78, E 7b
- *fundus* A 168

- *heres*
  - *[he]r[es]* A 161
- *heredes* A 176, A 196, B 127; *haeredes* A 209; *eredes* A 334
- *homo bonus* A 107, A 108
  - *bonus homo* C 64
- *horrea*
  - *hor[rea]* A 51
  - *horrea* vel *horrea[rius]* A 6

- *imp(ensis) suis* A 177
- *indictio*
  - *ind. prima* A 111, A 114, B 38
  - *ind. secund(a)* A 120
  - *ind. ter[tia]* A 130
  - ἰ(ν)δ. δʹ B 176
  - *ind. q(uarta)* vel *q(uinta)* A 113, C 47
  - *ind. quin[ta]* C 48; *[in]d. quint[a]* C 68; *ind. V* A 25, A 302
  - *per ind. octaba* B 158
  - *ind. nona et undecima* C 49
  - *ind. decima* A 112, B 36; *ind. X* C 43
  - *ind. XI* C 54
  - *indictione duod(ecima)* B 40
  - *ind. duodec[ima]* A 300
  - *ind. XIII* B 61
  - *ind. XIIII* A 103
  - *inditio[ne]* A 97, *indicti.* B 81, *ind.* A 160, *in[d.]* A 122
- *infantula* B 73
- *inguen*
  - *de ing(ui)ne* B 74

- *instrumentum domesticum* A 349 – A 510, B 98 – B 104, C 13, C 14, C 15, C 124, C 125, C 126
- iscrizioni
  - giudaiche A 30, A 31, B 73 e add., B 74 e add.
  - in mosaico A 58, B 175, B 176, B 159, E 22
  - in lingua greca B 15, B 43, B 85, B 175, B 176, C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7567, 7568, 7571, 7572, 7577, 7578)
- *itinera municipii C[aralit(anorum)]* A 50

- *lector* C 24; *lect[or]* A 84; *lec[tor]* B 66
- *legati* C 82
- *legio*
  - *legio I Adiutrix* C 80
  - *[leg. I ?] Itali(ca)* A 52
  - *trib. mil. le[g.]* A 52
- *„lex portus"* C 116
- *liberta*
  - *lib.* A 61, A 240, A 276 bis, C 80a
  - *l.* A 220, B 52
  - *Aug. lib.* A 309
  - *lib. piissima* C 80a
  - *conli[b]erta sua* C 26
- *libertae* A 313, B 44
- *libertus*
  - *l.* A 39, B 52, B 102g, C 80a, C 109; *lib.* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
  - *libertlus* A 68
  - *Actes l.* A 313
  - *Aug. libe[rtus]* A 314
  - *[Augus?]ti lib.* A 319
  - *Aug. lib.* B 35, C 103; *Aug. l.* B 101b
  - *Aug. lib. proc. ripae* E 23 e add.
  - ἀπελεύθερος C 20
- *liberti* A 313, B 44
  - *ipsi familiae posteris libertis libertabusque eius* A 313
  - *sibi et ... filiae et libertis libertabus sueis posterisque sueis* B 44
  - *lib(ertis) libertabus pos(te)risq(ue) eorum* C 105
- lingotti di piombo B 104e, B 104l – B 104n
- *lucernae* A 349 – A 510, B 98 e add., C 13, C 126, C 127

- *macellum* C 114
- *mag(istri) Augusta(les)* A 49
- *mamm[a o]ptima* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
- *mam[ma pie]nt[issim(a)]* B 11
- *maritus* A 99, A 334, C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7565, 7566, 7570), C 28; *m[ari]tus* B 67; *[ma]ritus eius* E 25 e add.; *mar.* A 172, A 263, E 26, E 27 e add.; *ma.* A 175
  - *maritus incomparabilis* A 107
  - *maritus indulgentissimu(s)* A 259
  - *maritus rarissimus* A 234
- *martur[– – –]* B 80
- *mater* A 8, A 69, A 76, A 81, A 116, A 153, A 159, A 170, A 255, A 308, A 336, A 353, B 7, B 105, B 109, B 170, C 6, C 7; *ma[ter]* B 12; *mat.* A 67; *ma.* A 332; *m.* A 225
  - *[m]ater dulcissim(a)* A 315
  - *mater karissima* A 11

  - *mater inconparabilis* A 235
  - *mater pia* C 30
  - *mater piissima* A 253; *mater pi[is]sima* A 269
- matrici B 104b, B 104c
- *miliaria*
  - *[al]a Gallorum [... ci]vium R(omanorum) miliaria* B 34
- miliarii A 370 – A 389, B 87 – B 97, B 177 – B 186, C 18, C 19, C 112, C 118 – C 123, E 17
- *militare*
  - *militaverunt* C 80
  - *mil(itavit)* E 37
- *minister*
  - *ministe[r] mag(istrorum) Augusta(lium) (?)* A 49
  - *ministr[i] Larum Aug(ustorum)* C 104
  - *ecclesiae sanctae minister* C 110
- *missicius*
  - *mis(s)icius ex c(o)hor(te) Aq(uitanorum) III* E 38 e add.
  - *[mis]sicius (?)* E 10
- *moeni[a]* B 60 b
- *mo[n]umentum* A 284
- *municipium C[aralit(anorum)]* A 50
- *munificen[tia] colle[gii]* C 84

- *nata*
  - *dulcis nata* B 86
- *nati* A 10
- *natio*
  - *natione Sicositanus* E 1
- [ν]αύκληρ(ο)ς B 85
- *[n]emus Sorabensis* A 221
- *nepos* A 55
  - *nepus* B 74
- *nepotes* B 77
- *notar[ius] subregionarius s(an)c(t)ae Rom(anae) eccl(esiae)* A 114

- *off(icina)* B 102m
- *optio* B 38
- *opus dol.* B 102h; *op(us) dol.* B 102m; *op(us) dolia(re)* B 102m
- *oraculum Clari Apollinis* A 42
- *ordo*
  - *splendidissimus ordo [Ka]ral(itanorum)* C 84
  - *splendidissimus ordo Cornensium* C 82
  - *ordo et populus Cornensium* C 82
  - *ordo [Norensiu]m* B 27
  - *splendidiss(imus) [ordo]* A 3
- *ornatissimus (vir)* C 77

- *Pal(atina tribus)* A 313
- *parens* E 2, *par(ens)* B 8
- *parentes* A 264, A 268, A 274, A 277, A 337, B 86
  - *[pa]rentes* B 37; *paren(tes)* A 172; *p.* A 217, B 16; *[pare]ntes* E 30
  - *pii parentes* B 86

- *[pa]rentes sancti* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
- *dolor parentum* A 116
- *pater* A 10, A 107, A 152, A 155, A 164, A 176, A 178, A 249, A 257, A 266, A 333, A 336, A 341, A 343, B 9, B 68, B 74, B 105, B 106, B 135, C 27, C 33; *pa[ter]* A 275, E 8; *pate[r]* A 332; *p.* A 225
  - *pater carissimus* A 108
  - *[p]at[er] carus* A 80
  - *pater dul[ci]ssimus pius* A 258
  - *dom(inus) pater merentissi(mus)* B 76
  - *p(ater) p(ius)* C 33
  - *pater tuus* B 38
- *patrona* A 61, A 62; *[patr]ona* B 12
  - *patrona inconparabilis* A 46
- *patronae* A 100
- *patronus* A 72, A 252, A 261
- *patron(us) civitatis* C 82
  - *optimus civ(itatis) pat(ronus)* C 82
  - *p[atronus] civitat(is)* A 3
- *patronus col[oniae]* B 164
- *pauperes* C 81
- *pecunia*
  - *[pe]cunia publi[ca]* A 52
  - *p. p. et privata* A 50
  - *p. p.* A 241, B 32, B 164; *p. s(ua)* A 245
- *pedites* C 79
- *peditata*
  - *[trib. coh.] II Breucorum peditatae* B 34
- *perfectissimus vir*
  - *v. p.* A 241, A 372, B 88, B 183, B 184, B 186; *[v.] p.* A 388
- pesi B 104f, B 104g
- *pietas* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7574)
- *piscina* A 194
- *pisc[i]nensis* A 305
- *plateae* A 50
- *[pon]dera* C 114
- *pontifex*
  - *pontif(ex) s(acrorum) p(ublicorum faciendorum)* A 3
  - *pontif(ex) sa[cror(um)]* C 25
  - *[pont]if(ex)* C 84
- *posteri*
  - *sibi posterisque sui[s]* B 4
  - *sibi posteri[s]que suis* B 8
  - *si[bi posteris]que suis* A 104
  - *liberis posterisque eorum* C 79, C 80
  - *[si]bi posterisq.* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
  - *[sibi] posteris[que suis]* A 65
  - *p. s. pq. s.* C 30
  - *s. p. s.* B 9; *s. pq.* B 5, B 12; *[s.] p. q. s.* E 10
  - *sibi et posteris suis* A 343
  - *lib(ertis) libertabus pos(te)risq(ue) eorum* C 105
  - *ipsi familiae posteris libertis libertabusque eius* A 313
  - *sibi ẹt ... filiae et libertis libertabus sueis posterisque sueis* B 44
- *pr(a)edium* B 100d

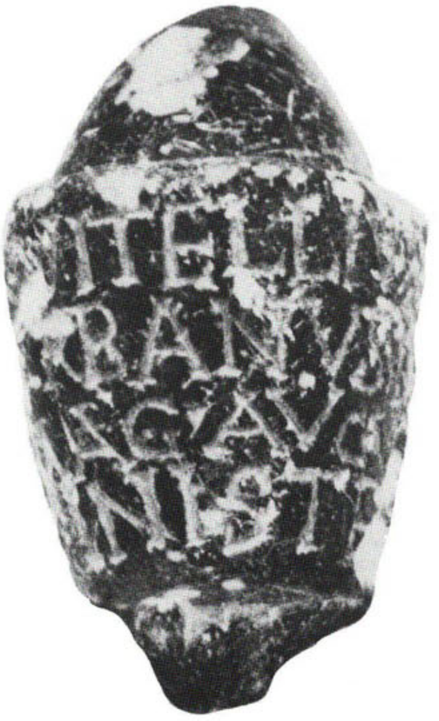
praedia
  pr(aedia) Dom(itiae) Luc(illae) B 102m
  praedia Patulcensium C 77
  praedia Staton(iensia) B 102h
  praedia L. Veri Aug(usti) B 102m
  [arcar]ius praedi[orum] (?) B 141
praefectus
  [pr]aef. al[ae] B 56
  prae[f. classis Misenen]sis B 56
  praef. c[oh.] A 181
  [pr]aef. c(o)h. vel *c. H[---]* B 20
pr(a)ef(ectus) (del pretorio) C 15
praefectus provinciae
  proc. Aug. praef. prov. S[ard.] A 221
  pro[c.] Aug. praef. provinci[ae] Sardin(iae) A 50
  [proc.] Auggg. [praef. prov.] Sard. B 20
  [proc. A]uggg. pra[ef. prov. Sard.] B 19
  pr(a)ef. prov. Sard. proc. suus B 92 e add.
  [pr]a[e]f. prov. Sard. proc. B 90
  praef. [prov.] Sard. A 378
  praef. [prov. S]ard. A 238
  praef. [prov. Sard.] A 51
  [prae]f. provincia[e Sard.] A 188
  praef. prov. B 83
[praef. vigi]l(um) B 56
praeses
  praeses prov. Sardiniae A 241
  pr(a)eses prov. Sardini(a)e B 96
  pr(a)eses pro[v.] Sard. C 122
  pr(a)eses prov. Sar. A 372
  [praes.] p[r]ov. Sa[rd.] B 183
  pr. prov. Sard. A 370; *p. p. Sard.* B 88, B 94
  pr. S. B 186; *p. p. Sardiniae* B 184
  pr. p. A 388; *p. Sardin[iae]* C 119
praestator bonus C 81
praetor A 52
preces C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570)
p(res)b(iter) huius aecl(esiae) A 160
princeps equitum A 313
proconsul
  procos. A 2, C 77; *[pro]cos.* A 40
  procos. Sa[rd.] A 40
  procons. C 77
procurator
  proc. Aug. praef. prov. S[ard.] A 221
  pro[c.] Aug. praef. provinci[ae] Sardin(iae) A 50
  [proc.] Auggg. [praef. prov.] Sard. B 20
  [proc. A]uggg. pra[ef. prov. Sard.] B 19
  [pr]a[e]f. prov. Sard. proc. B 90
  proc. Aug. C 77
  proc. Auggg. B 3
  pr(a)ef. prov. Sard. proc. suus B 92 e add.

  - *procurator suus* B 89; *proc. suus* A 377, A 383, B 97 e add., B 177, B 179, C 112, C 119, C 121
  - *[p]roc. suus* A 389; *[pr]oc. suus* B 178; *[proc.] suus* A 376, B 181; *proc.* B 182, C 18
  - *proc. pr[ov. --- Su]perior(is)* B 20
  - *proc. [prov.] Sard.* C 118; *proc. [---]* B 20
- *proc(urator monetarum)* C 14
- *proc. ripae (Aug. lib.)* B 23 e add.
- *provincia* A 119
  - *provi[nc(ia)] Iuda[ea]* B 113
  - *proc. Aug. praef. prov. S[ard.]* A 221
  - *pro[c.] Aug. praef. provinci[ae] Sardin(iae)* A 50
  - *[proc.] Auggg. [praef. prov.] Sard.* B 20
  - *[proc. A]uggg. pra[ef. prov. Sard.]* B 19
  - *proc. [prov.] Sard.* C 118
  - *[pr]a[e]f. prov. Sard. proc.* B 90
  - *praef. [prov.] Sard.* A 378
  - *praef. [prov. S]ard.* A 238
  - *praef. [prov. Sard.]* A 51
  - *[prae]f. provincia[e Sard.]* A 188
  - *praef. prov.* B 83
  - *praeses prov. Sardiniae* A 241
  - *pr(a)ses pro[v.] Sard.* C 122
  - *pr(a)eses prov. Sardini(a)e* B 96
  - *praes. p[r]ov. Sa[rd.]* B 183
  - *pr(a)eses prov. Sar.* A 372
  - *p(raeses) p. Sardiniae* B 184
  - *pr. prov. Sard.* A 370; *p.p. Sard.* B 88, B 94
  - *pr. p.* A 388
  - *proc. pr[ov. --- Su]perior(is)* B 20
  - *provincia Sardinia* B 92
  - *prov. S[ardini]a* B 95
  - *sac[er]d(os) prov. Sard.* C 84
  - *ex consensu provinc(iae)* C 25
  - *ex consensu prov(inciae) Sar[d(iniae)]* B 84
  - *provincia* C 77; *[pro]vincia* C 85
- *puer* A 209
  - *puer innocens* A 102

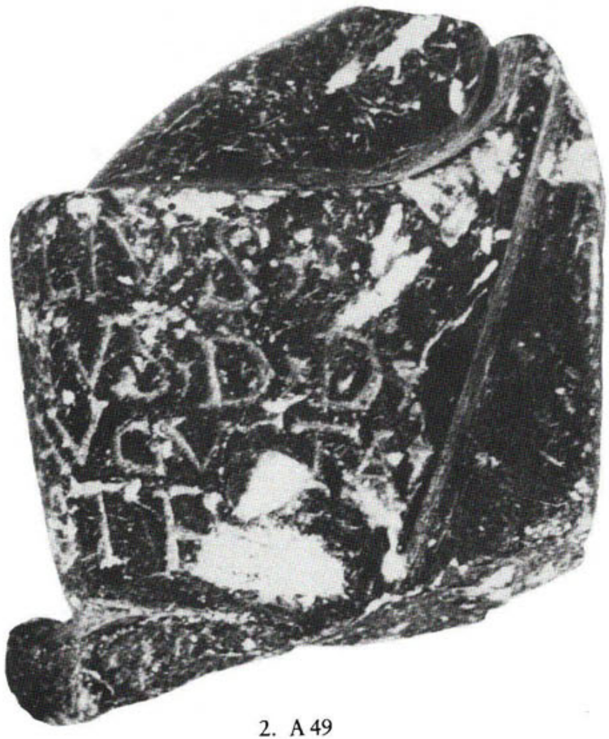
- *quadrieris*
  - *[qua]driere Ope* A 311
  - *[IIII] Minerva* A 332
- *quaestor* A 52
  - *q(uaestor) a(limentorum)* vel *q(uaestor) a(erarii)* A 242
- *quattuorviri*
  - *IIIIvir iur(e) dic(undo)* C 25
  - *IIIIvir II iu[re dic(undo)]* A 3
  - *IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) tert(ium)* A 45
- *quies* C 108
  - quies aeterna C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7569)
  - *placida quies* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570)
- *quiescere*
  - *quievit in pace* A 113b, A 118b, A 119, A 169, B 81, C 45, C 46, C 76
  - *quiev[it] in pace* A 118a

  - *qui[evit in] pace* C 58
  - *[quie]vit in pace* A 101
  - *[quie]vit in pa[ce]* C 75
  - *[qui]evit in pace* C 37
  - *[qui]evit i[n pace]* C 34
  - *quiev[it in] pace* A 122a
  - *quievit in [pace]* B 72
  - *q. in pac.* C 78; *qu[ievit]* C 76
  - *quiebit in [p]ace* A 113c, A 118c, B 158
  - *quieb(it) in pace* A 113a
  - *quiebit in pa[ce]* C 47; *[qui]ebit in [pace]* C 74
  - *quiaebit in pace* A 117
  - *[qui]ebit in pa[ce]* C 68
  - *[qu]iebit in pace* C 42
  - *quiebit in pace* C 54
  - *quiebe[t in] pace* C 66
  - *qu(i)escet in pace* B 63, B 81, C 23
  - *quiescit in pace* B 108 a
  - *cesquet in pace* A 96
- *quindecemvir*
  - *XVvir [s(acris) f(aciundis)]* A 55
- *quinq(uennalis) perpetuus* C 25
- *Quir(ina tribus)* A 3, A 35, A 52, C 25, C 82

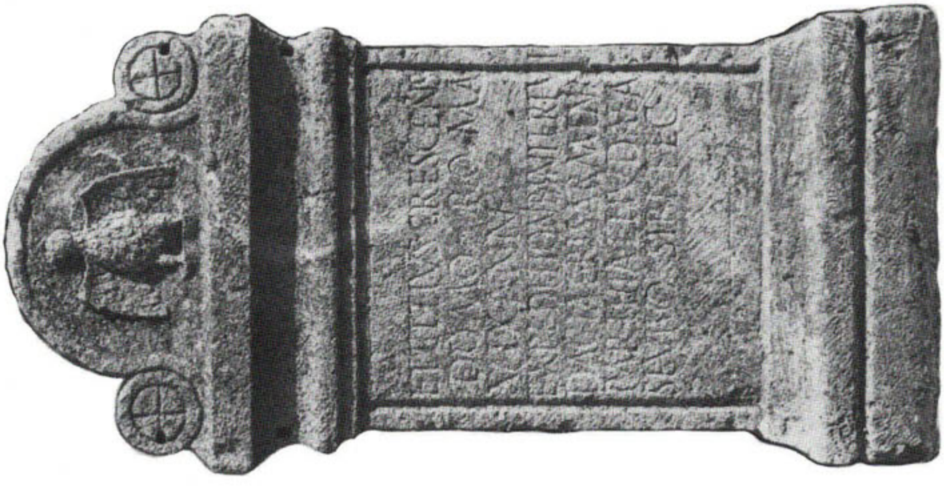
- *recedere*
  - *rec(essit)* B 108
  - *in pace recessit* C 69
  - *recessit ... in pace* C 55
  - *r(ecessit?) in pace* C 81
- *rector* A 114
- *refrigerare*
  - *deos refrigeret in pacae* B 117
  - *refrigeres in nomen XPI(sti) in pace* B 75
- *regionarius* B 14
  - *sub regionarius* A 114
- *reliquiae* C 63
- *requiescere*
  - *requievit in pace* A 95, A 114, A 160, A 304, B 40, C 56, C 53, C 51
  - *requievit in p(a)c(e)* C 62
  - *requievivit in pace* C 56
  - *requ[ievit in pa]ce* A 25
  - *r. in pace* C 81; *rq.* C 39
  - *requi[evit]* A 362, B 170, C 41; *requiev[it]* B 167
  - *requiebit in pace* A 103, A 111, A 116, A 120, A 122b, A 300, C 43, C 51, C 54, C 60
  - *requiebit in pacem* B 73
  - *requiebit in p.* C 40
  - *requiebit i[n pace]* C 48
  - *requiebit in [pace]* A 129, A 303
  - *requiebit [in pace]* B 39
  - *requiebit in pac[e]* A 97
  - *requieb[it]* C 65
  - *requiebit* A 360
  - *requiescit in paci* C 61



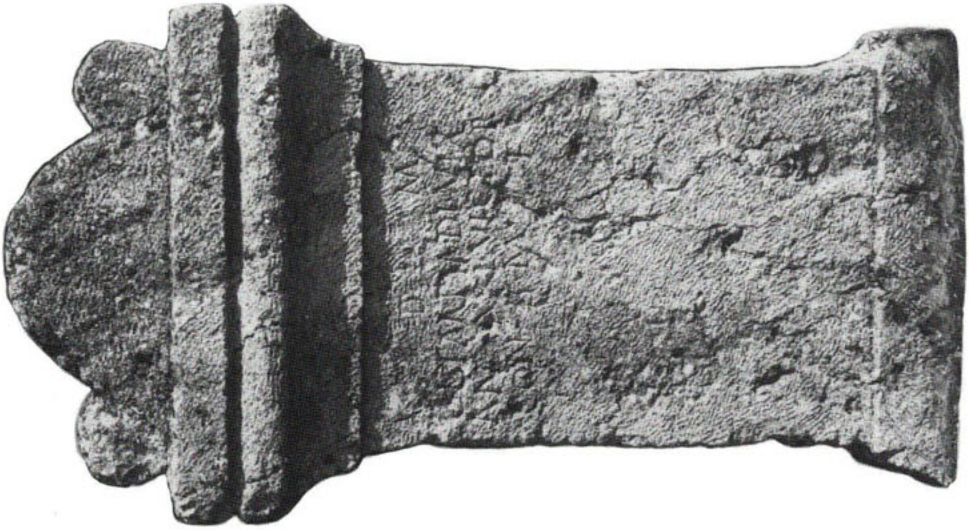
1. A 49



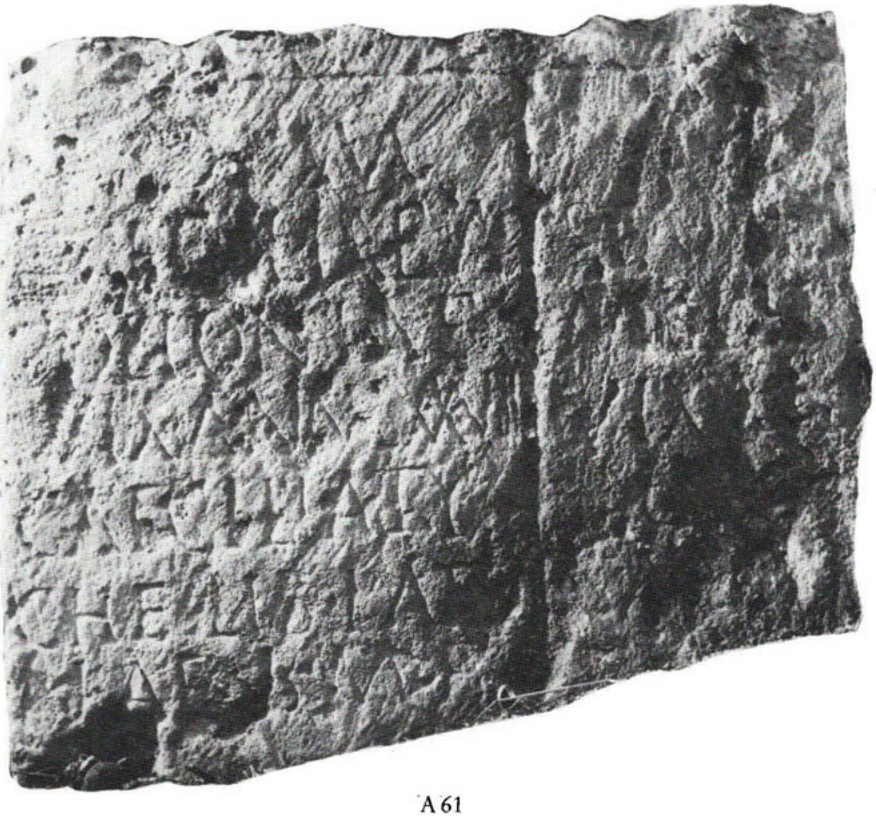
2. A 49



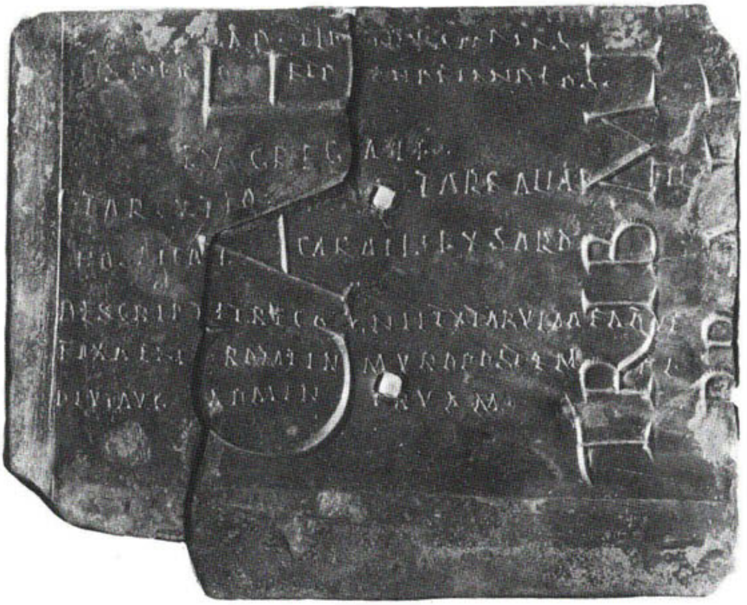
1. A 57



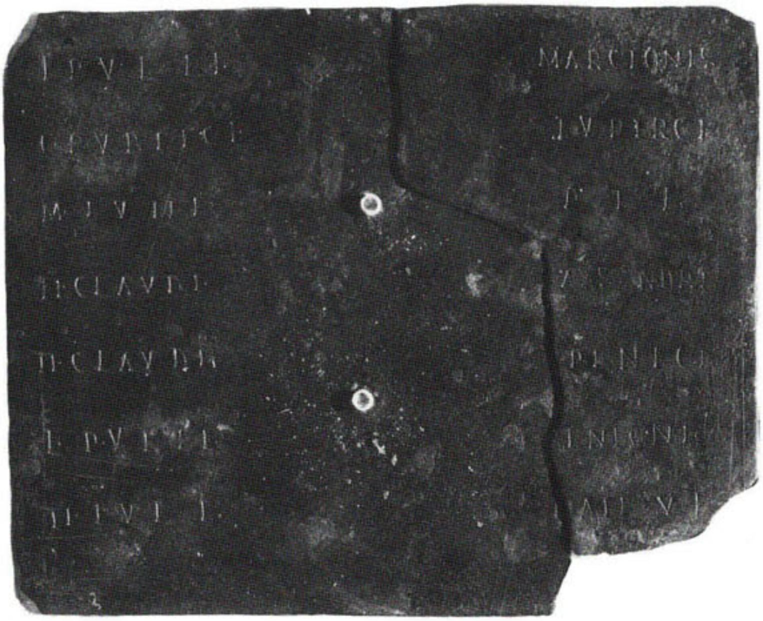
2. A 70



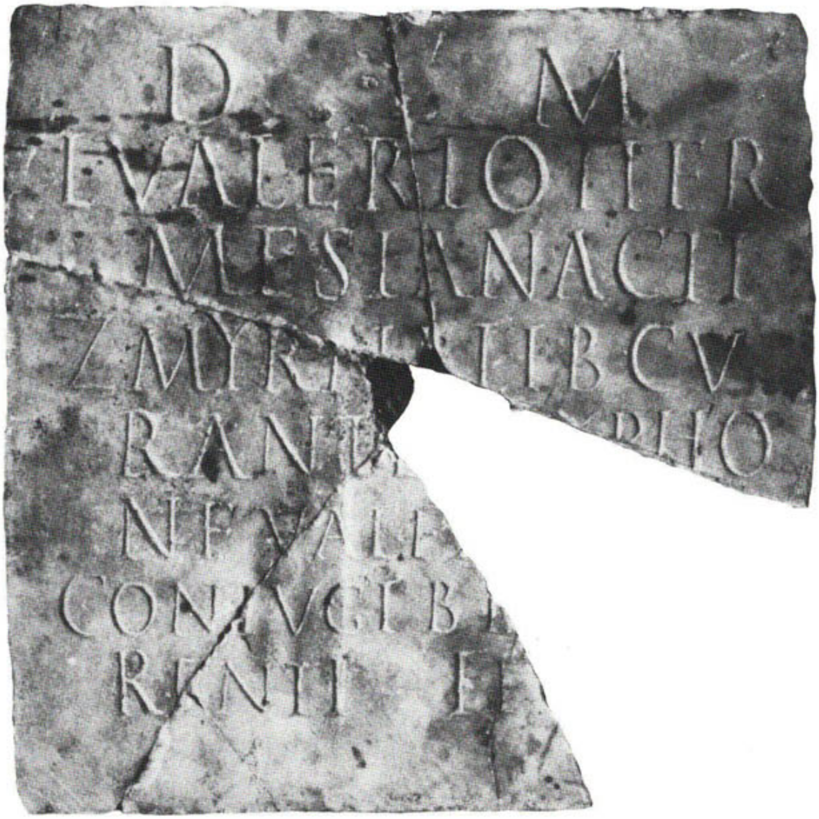
A 61



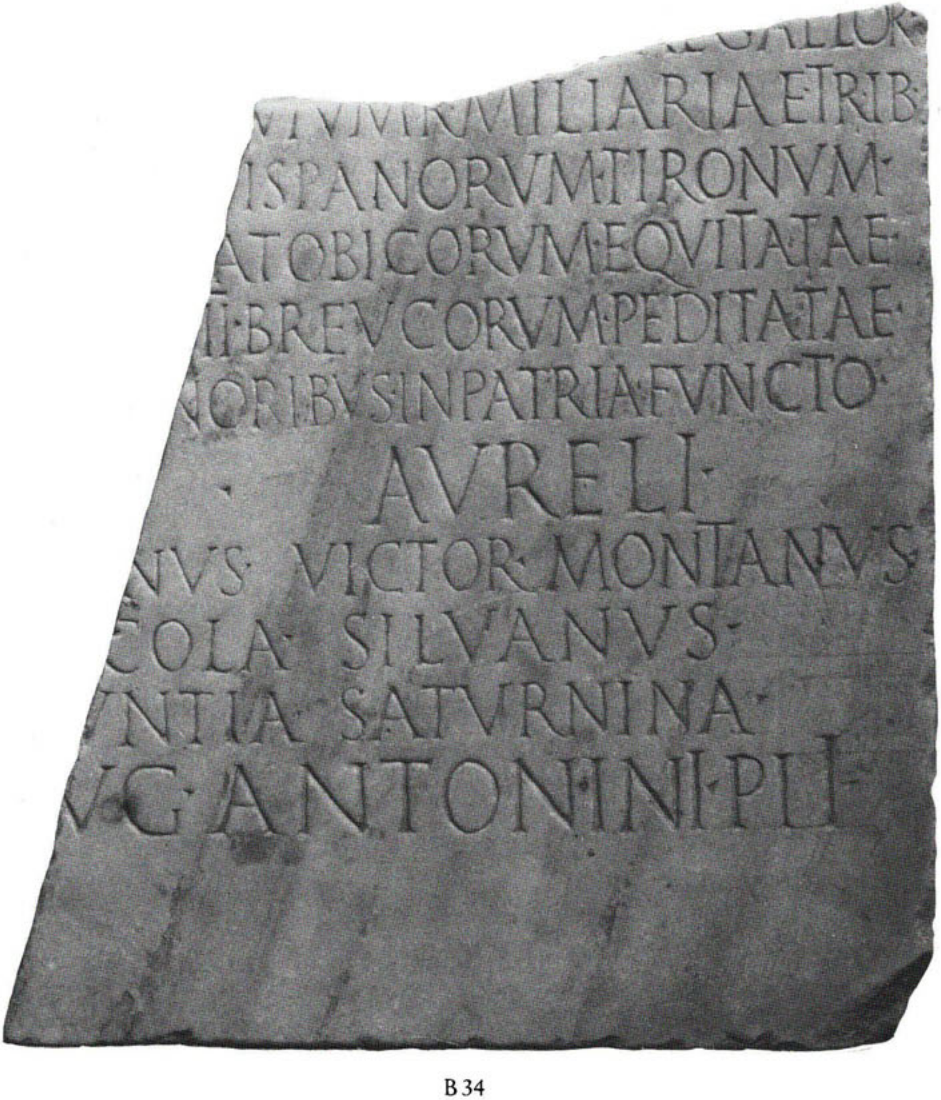
1. A 181



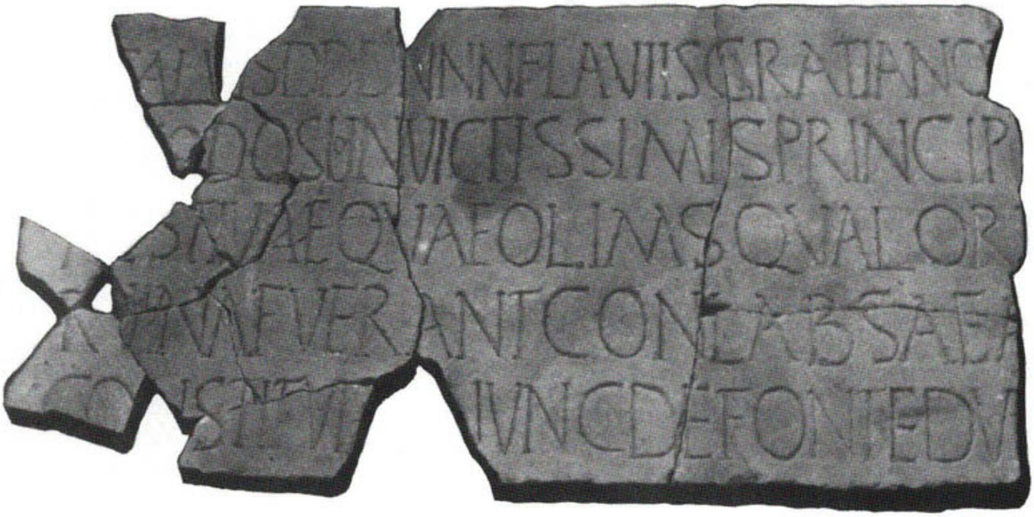
2. A 182


D M
L VALERIO TER
MESIANACII
ZMYR LIB CV
RAN PHO
NE VAL
CONIVGI B
RENTI H

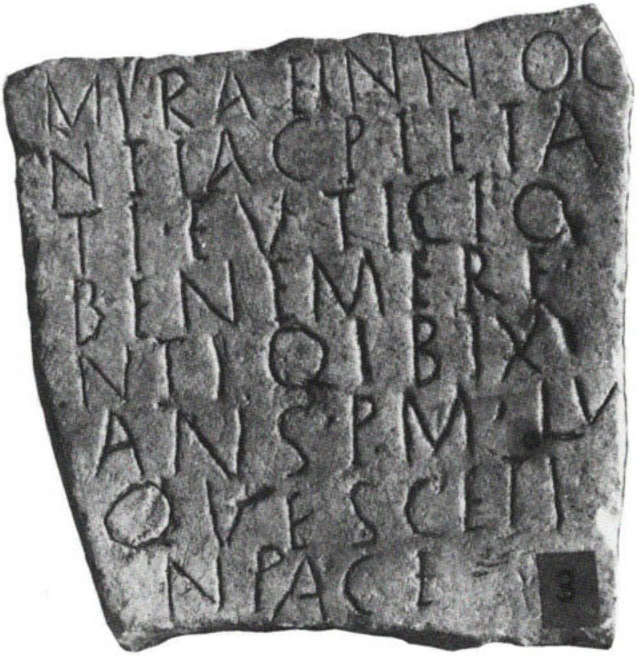
A 276 bis.


E·GALLOR
MILIARIA·ET·TRIB
ISPANORVM·TIRONVM·
ATOBICORVM·EQVITATAE·
II·BREVCORVM·PEDITATAE·
NORIBVS·IN·PATRIA·FVNCTO·
AVRELI·
NVS· VICTOR· MONTANVS
OLA· SILVANVS·
NTIA· SATVRNINA·
VG·ANTONINI·PII·

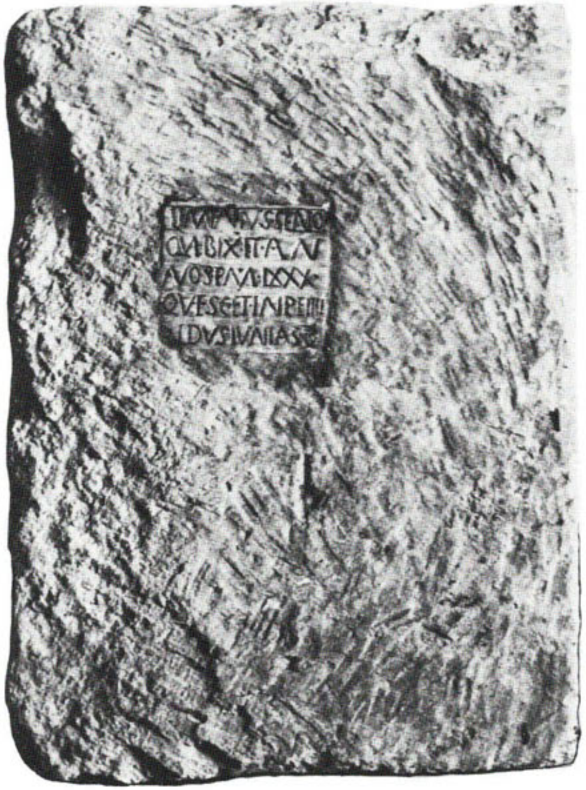
B 34



1. B 60 a

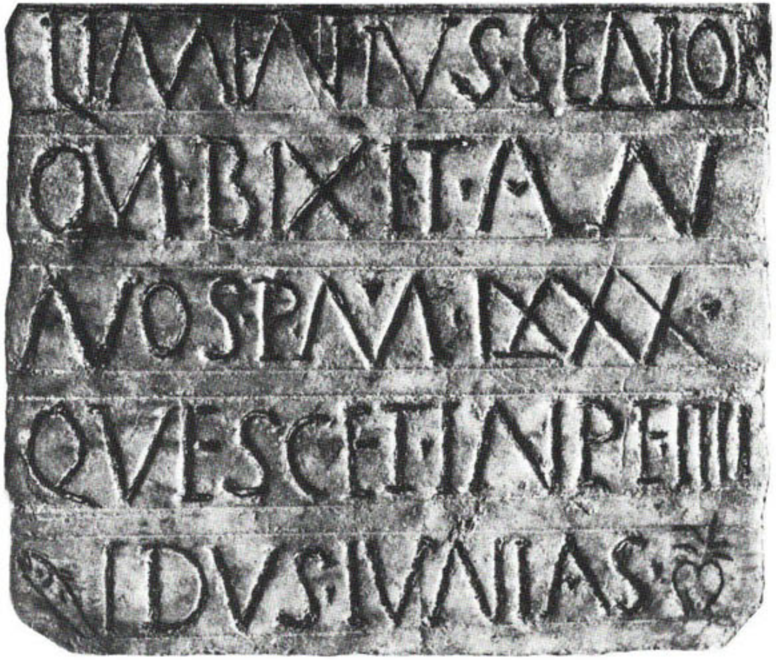


2. B 62



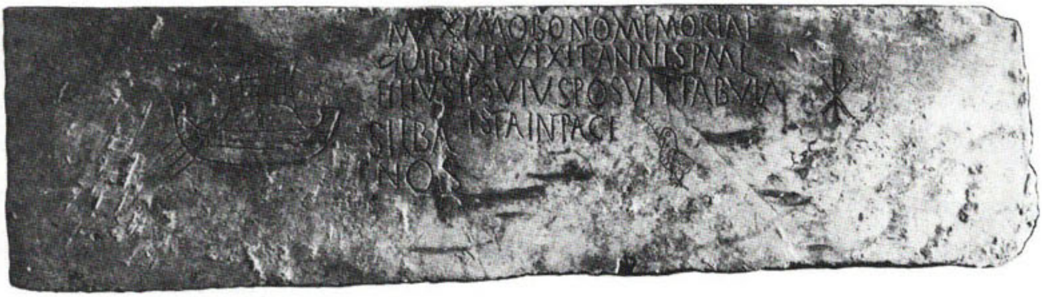
IANVARIVS SENIOR
QVI BIXIT A N
NOS P M LXXX
QVESCET IN PE IIII
IDVS IVNIAS

1. B63

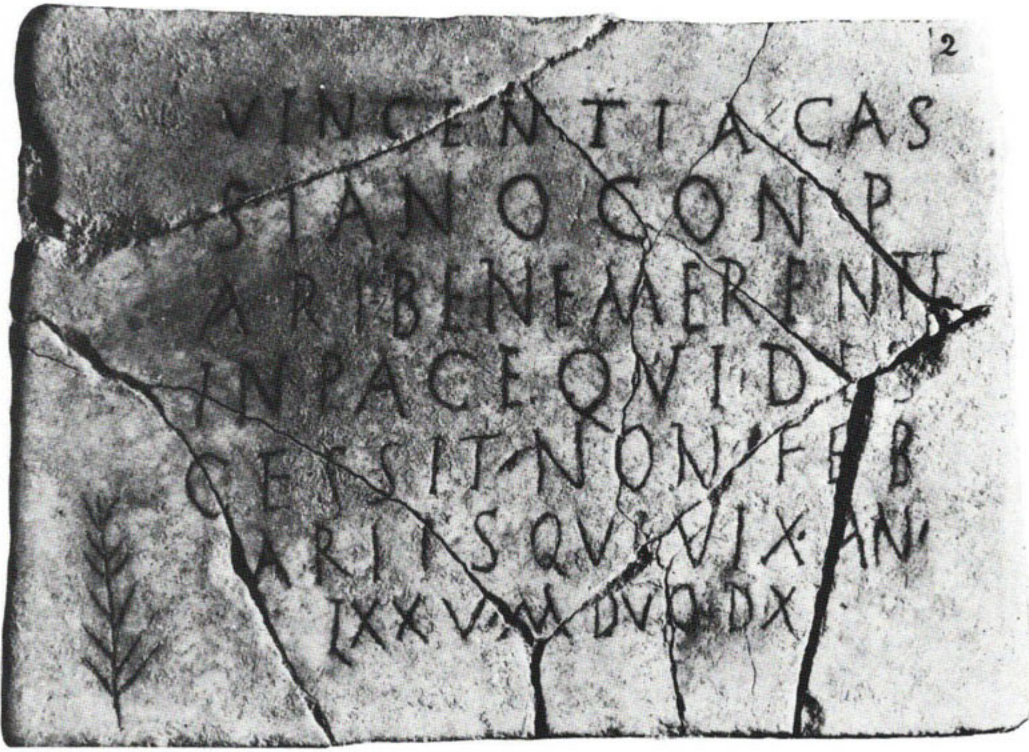


IANVARIVS SENIOR
QVI BIXIT A N
NOS P M LXXX
QVESCET IN PE IIII
IDVS IVNIAS

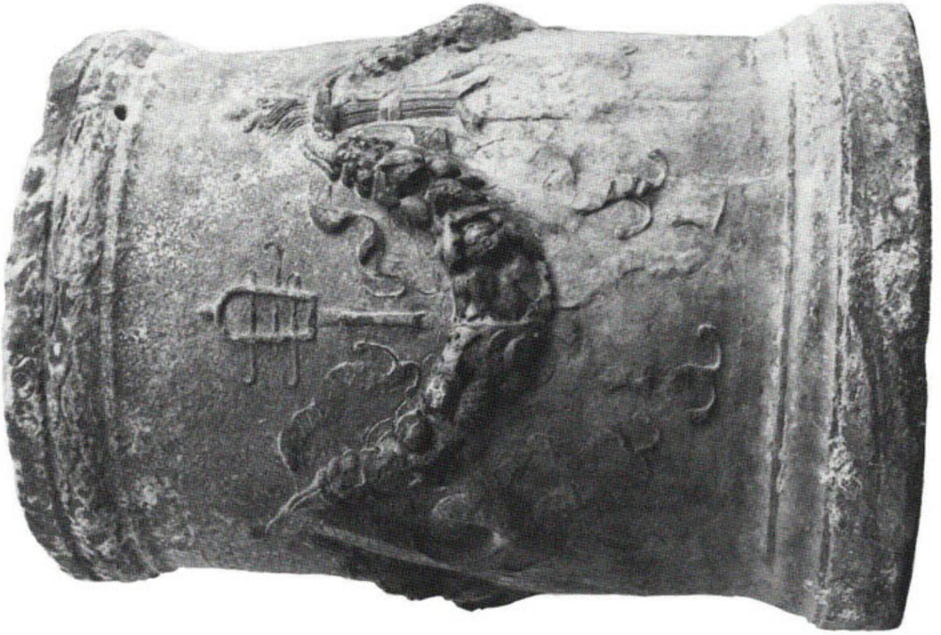
2. B63


MAXIMOBONOMEMORIAE
QUIBENEVIXITANNISPML
FILIVSPOVIVSPOSVITTABVLA
SIBA ISTAINPACE
NO

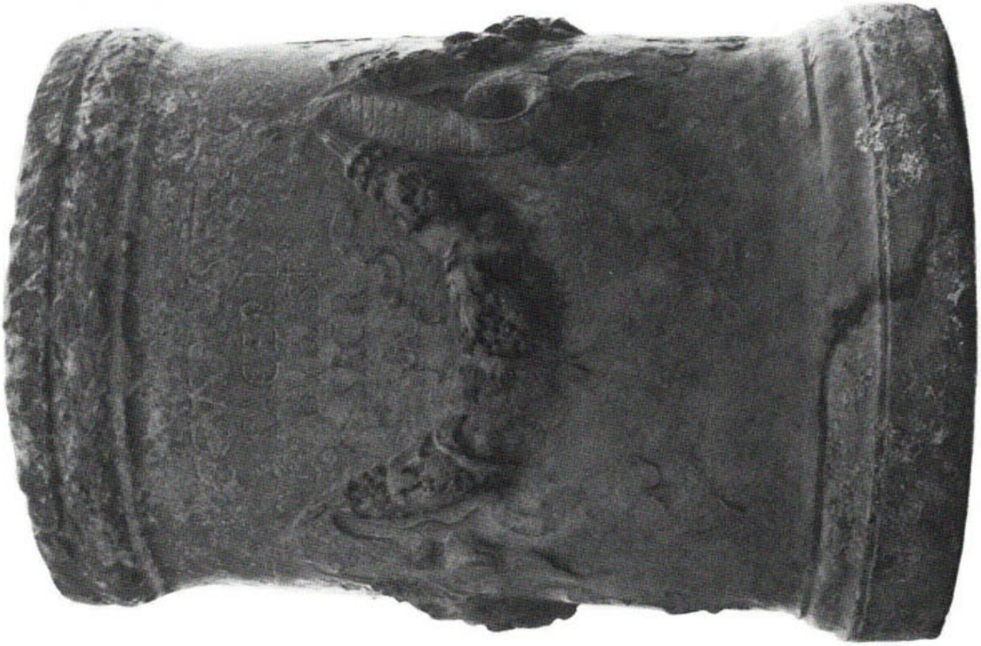
1. B 64


2
VINCENTIA CAS
SIANO CON P
ARI BENEMERENTI
IN PACE QVI DE
CESSIT NON FEB
ARIIS QVI VIX AN
LXXV M DVO DX

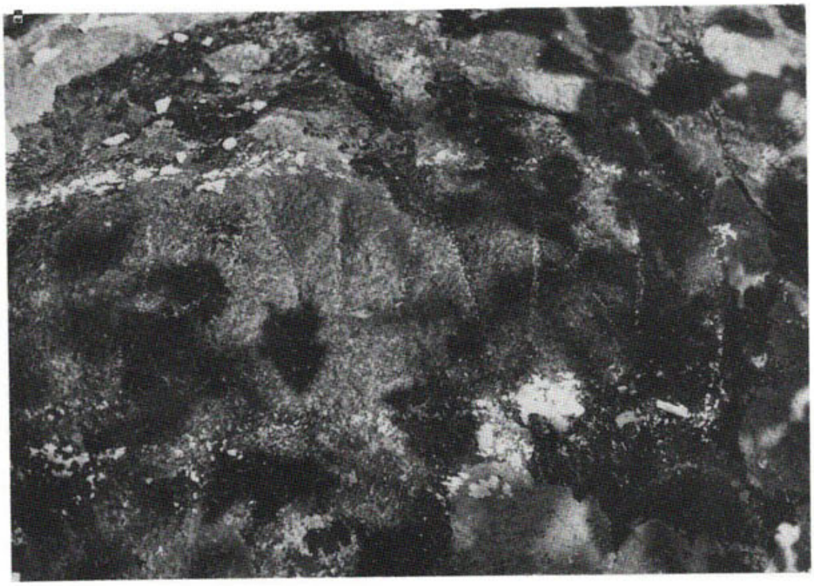
2. B 65



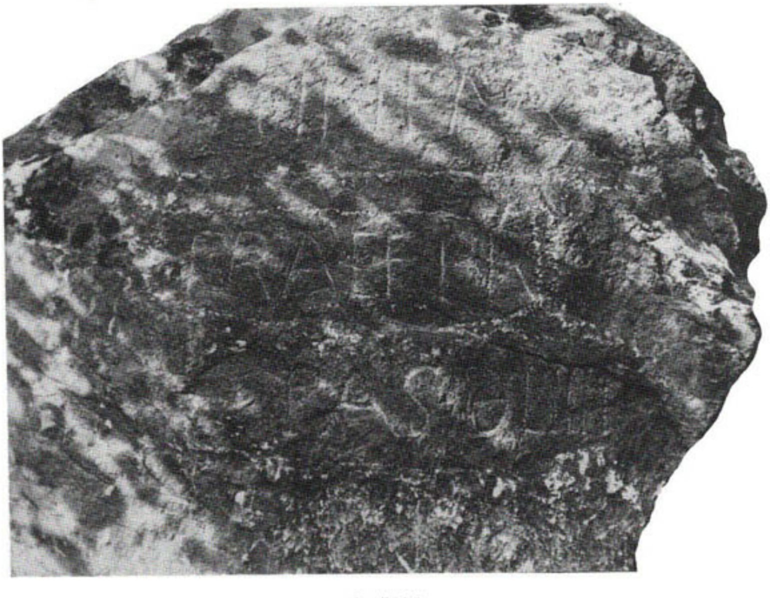
2. B69



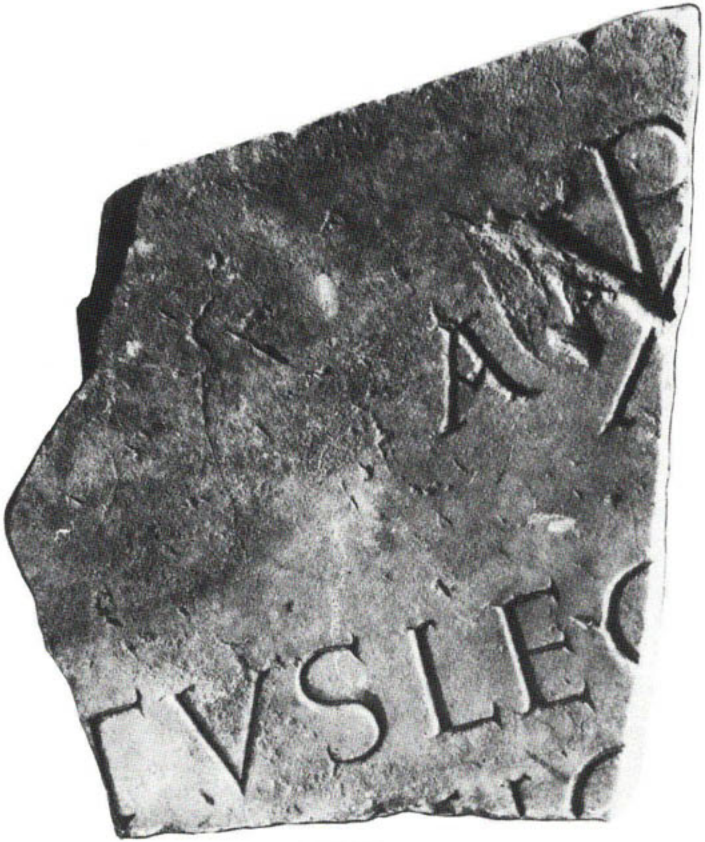
1. B69



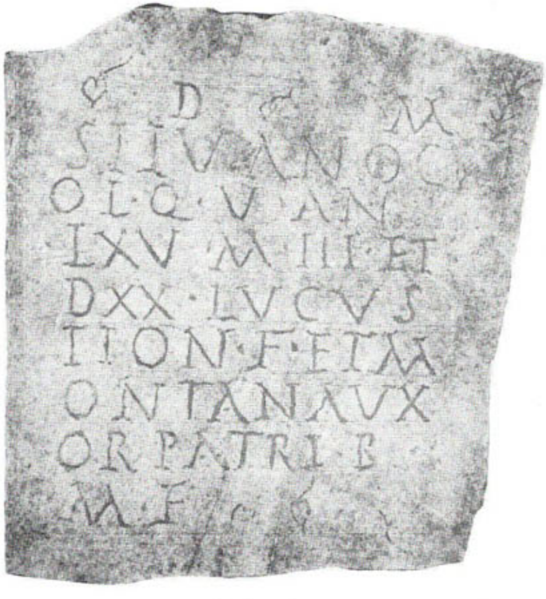
1. B 83



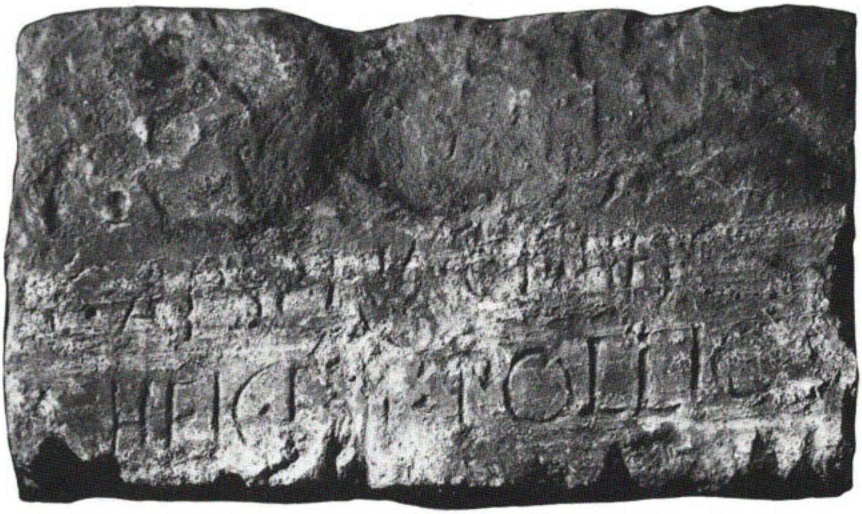
2. B 83



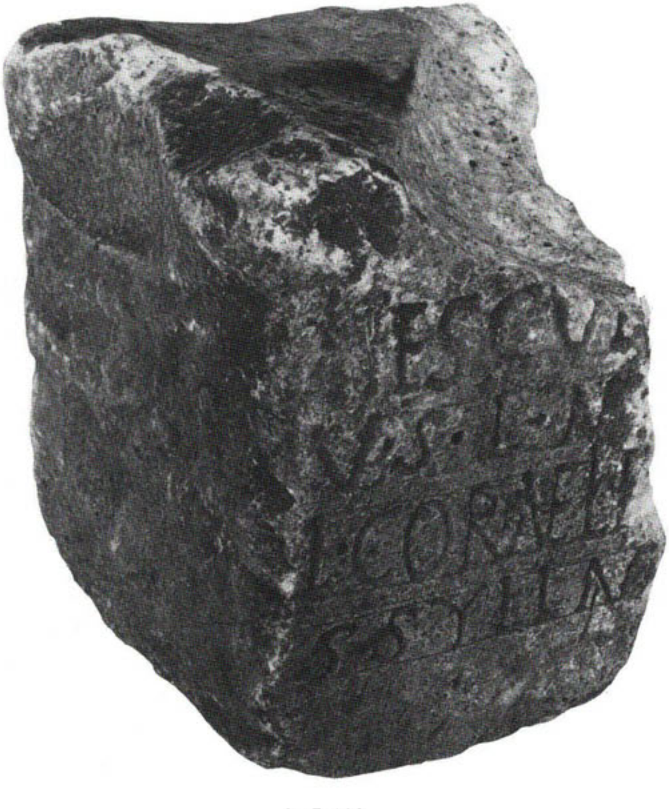
1. B 66



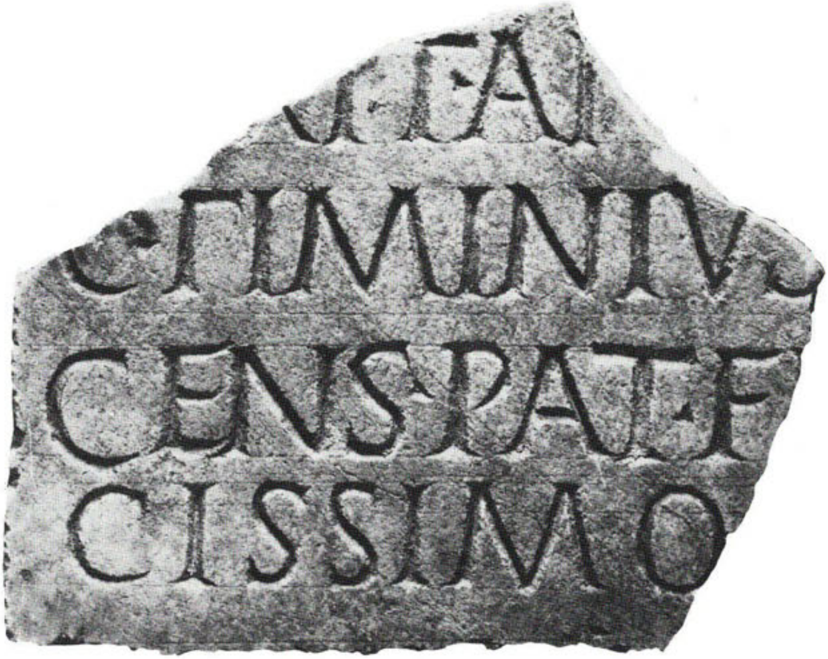
2. B 106



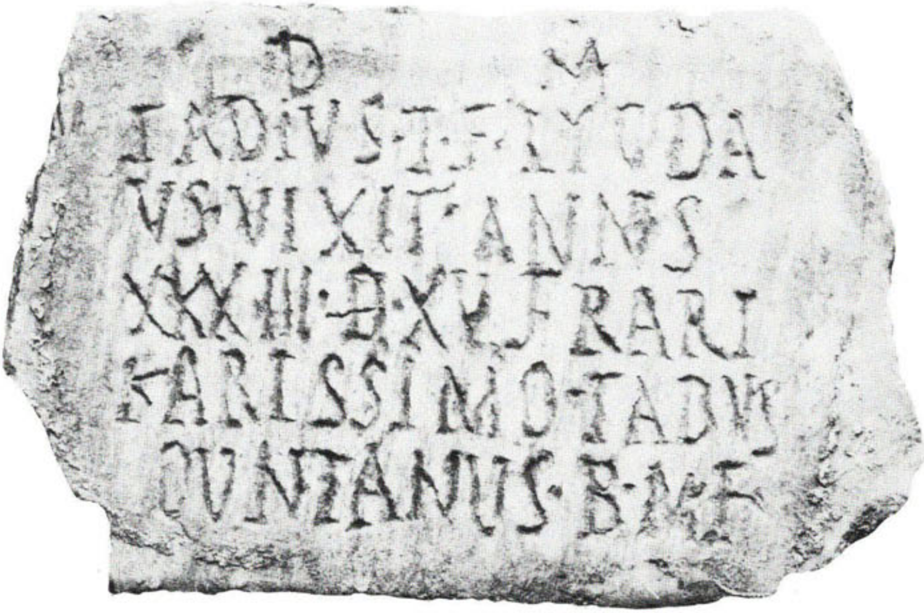
1. B 111



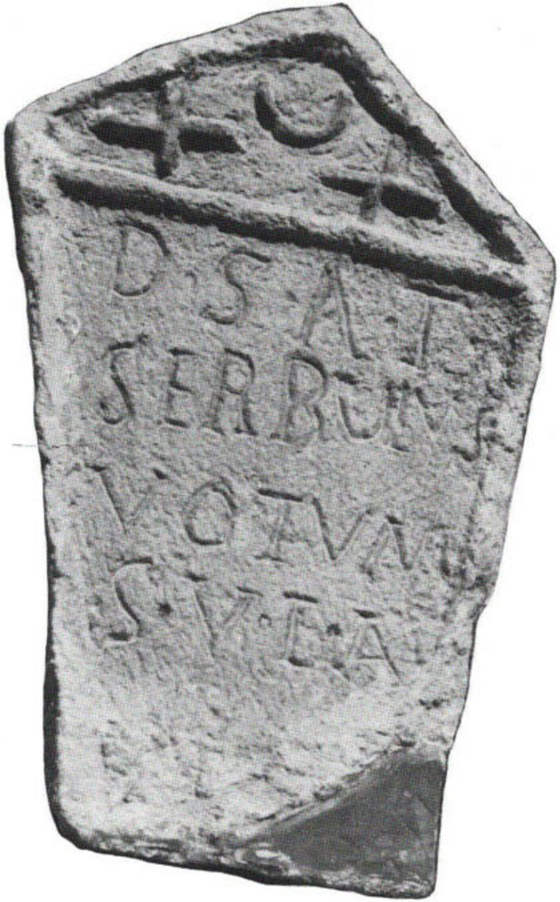
2. B 130



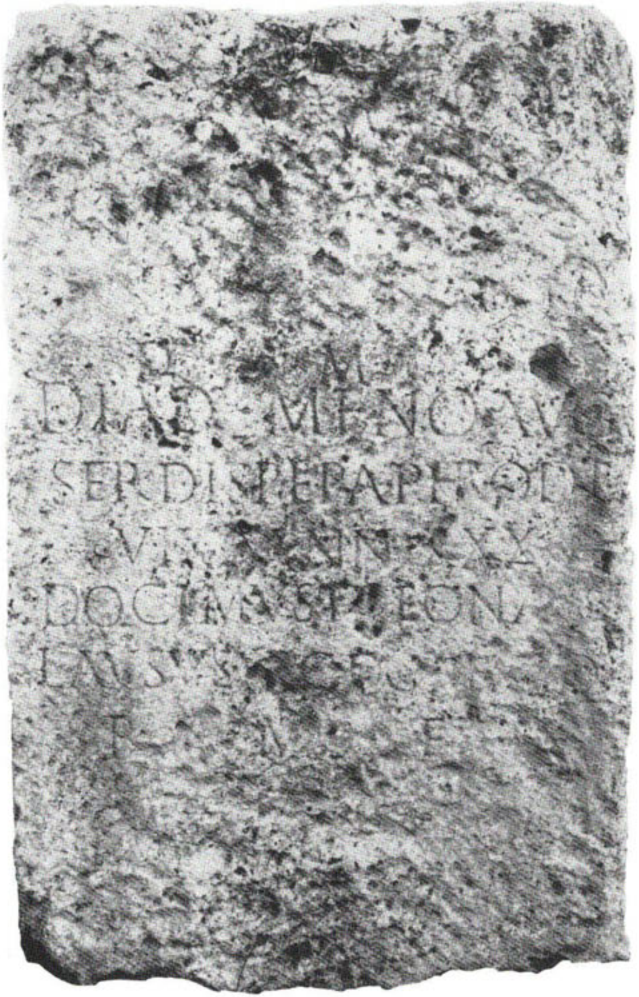
1. B 135



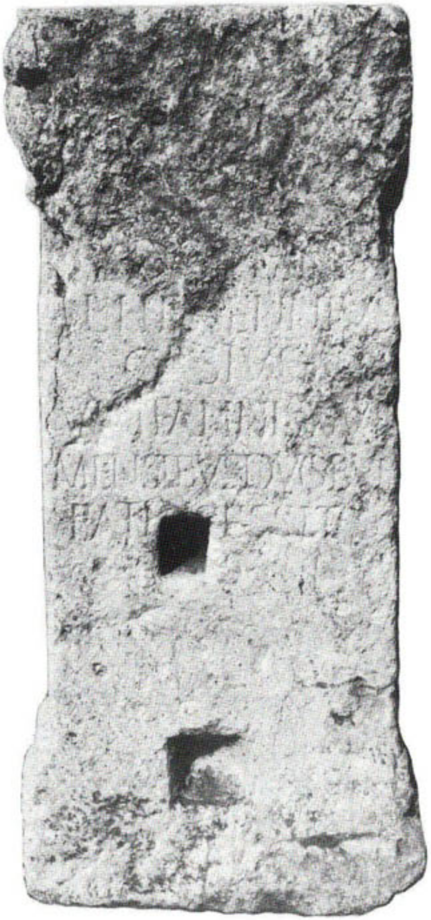
2. B 163



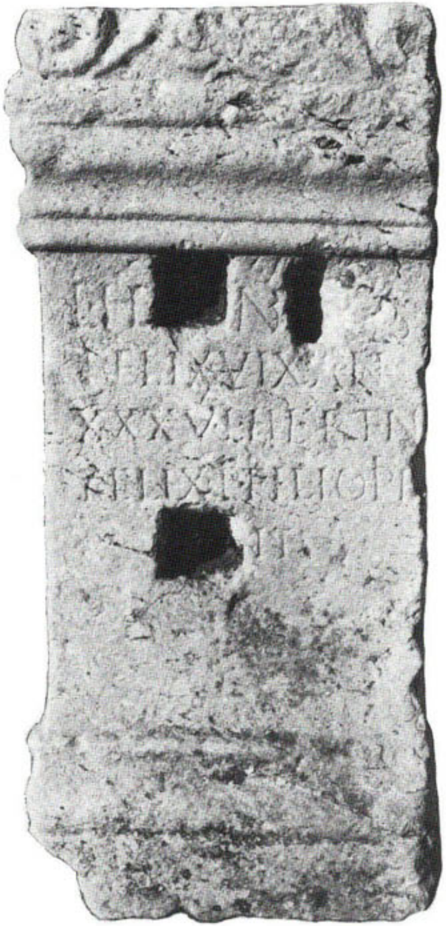
1. C1



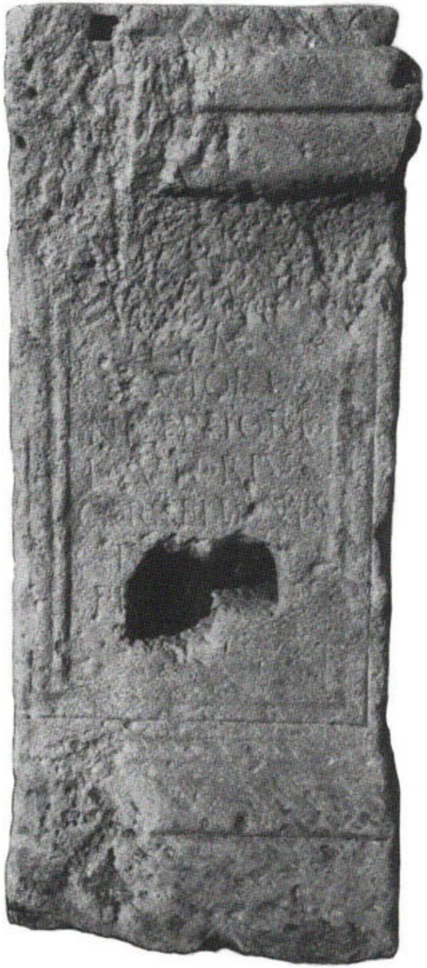
2. C3



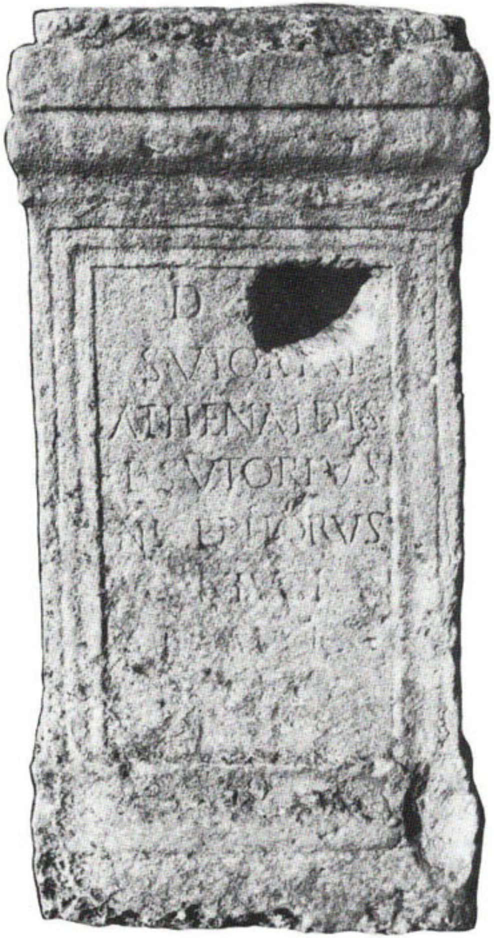
1. C4



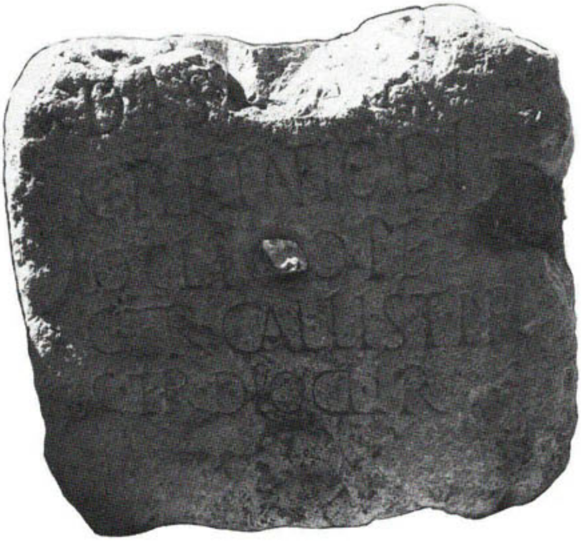
2. C5



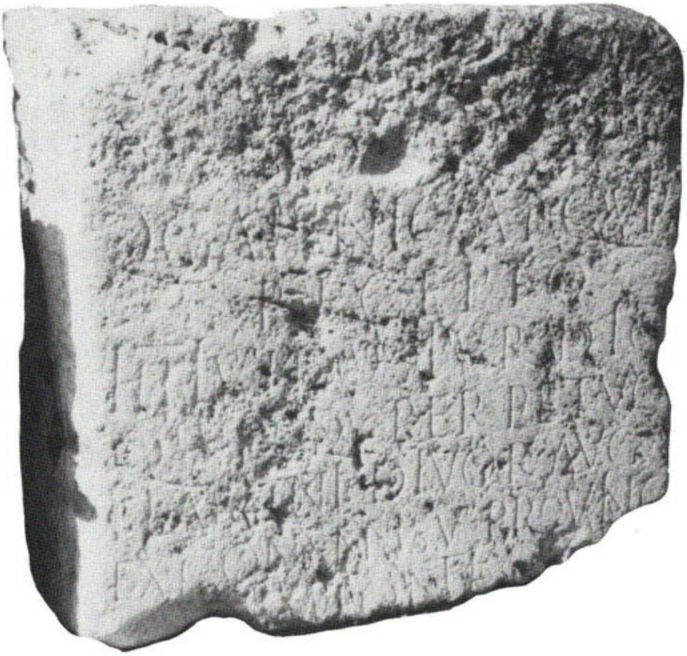
1. C8



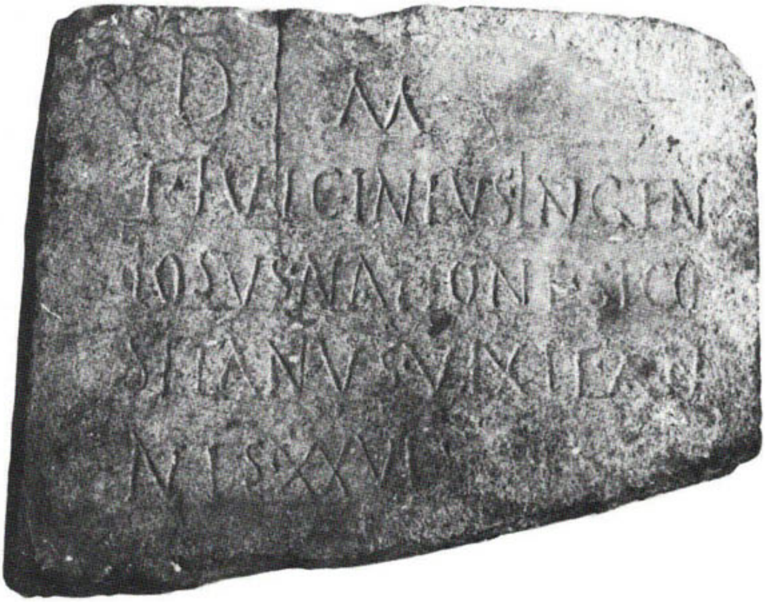
2. C9



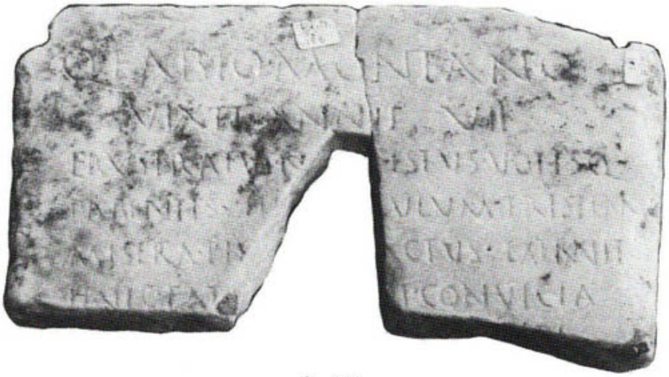
1. C 10



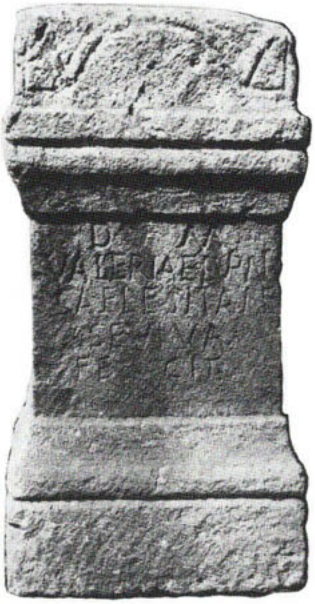
2. C 25

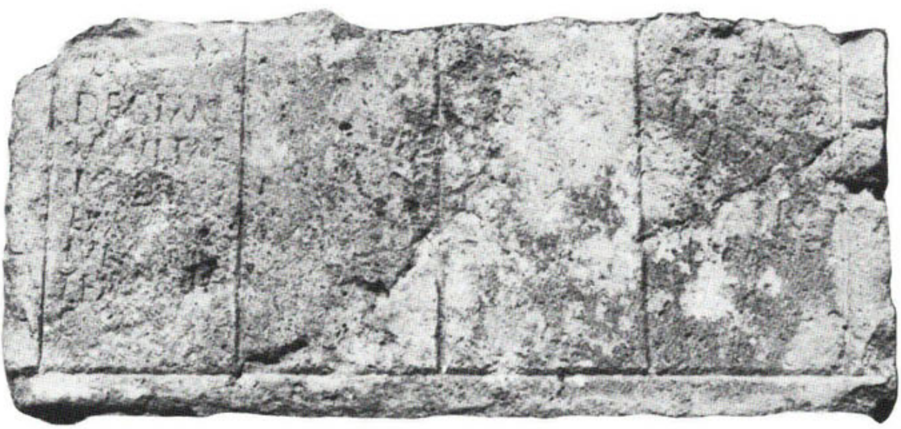


1. E1

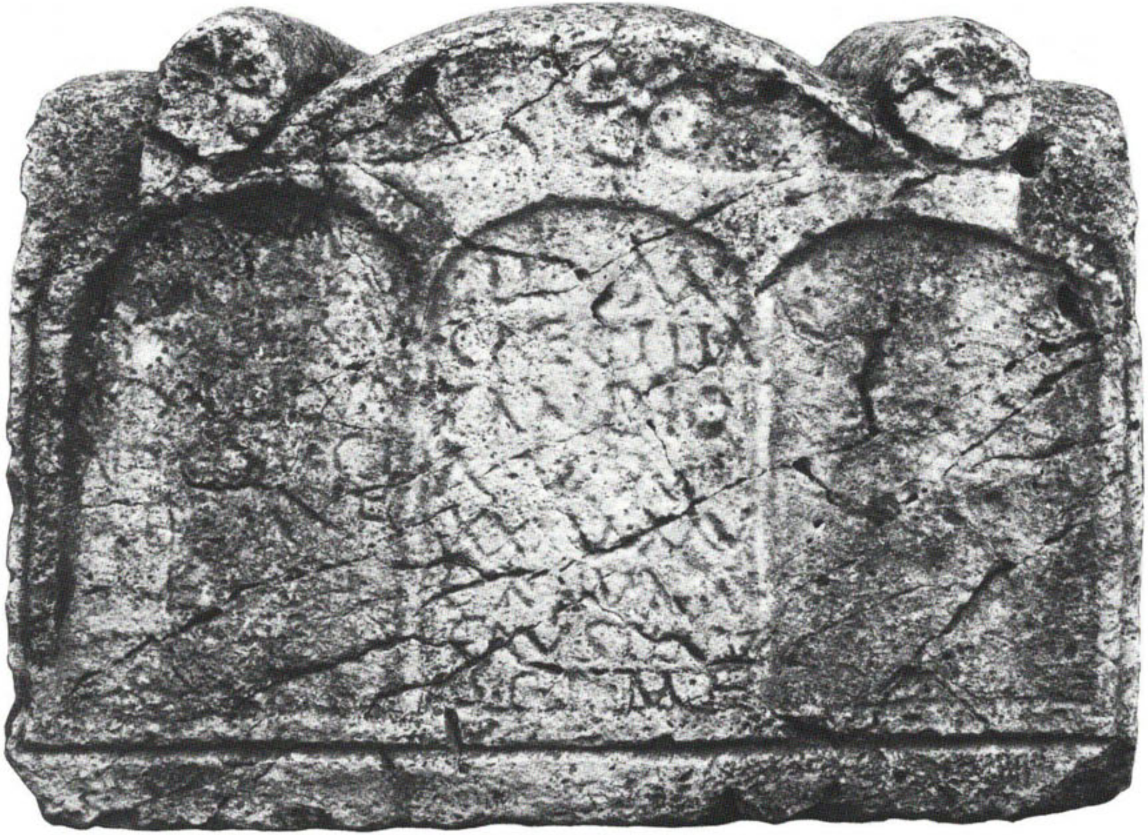


2. E2



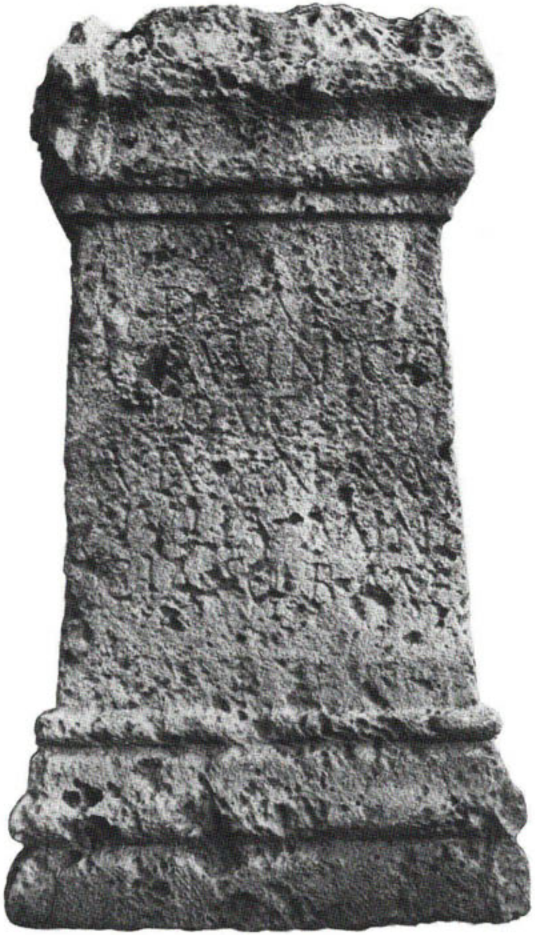


2. E7

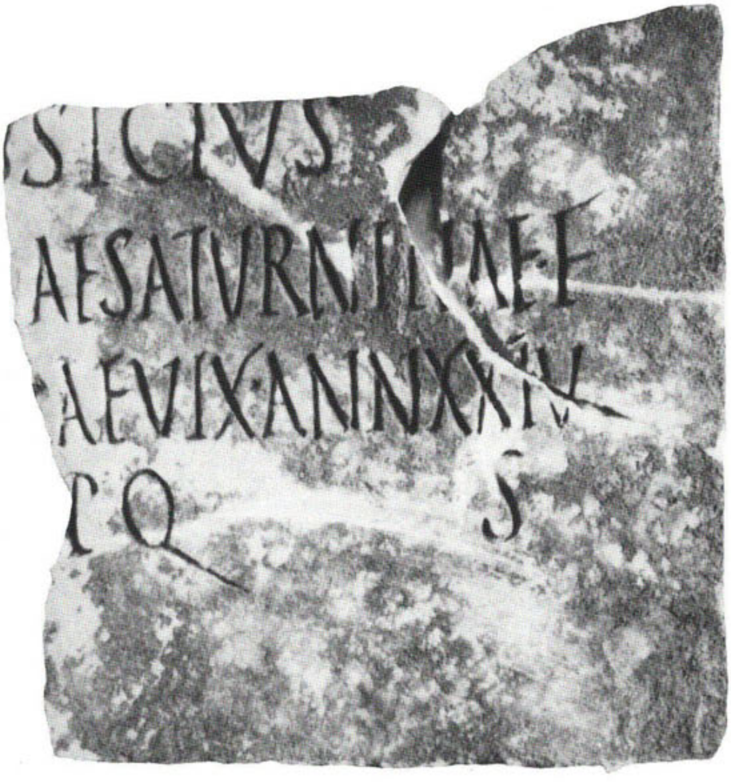


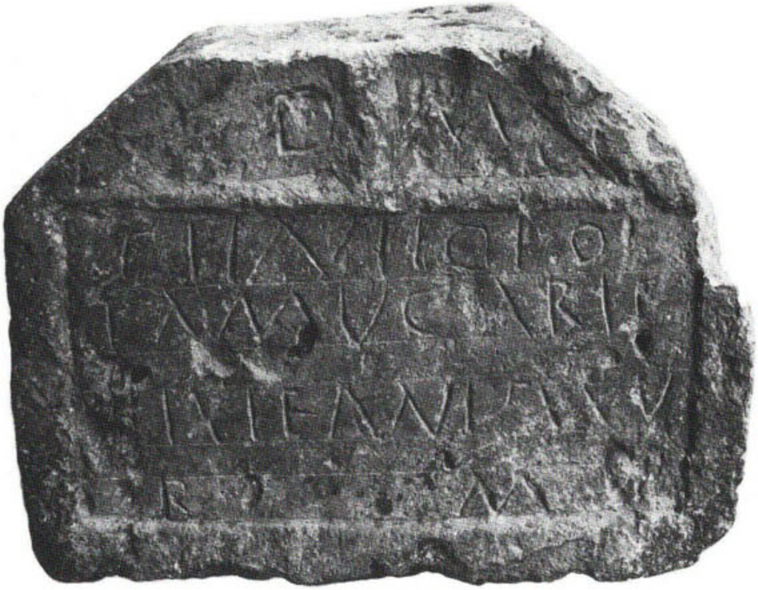
E 4

1. E5

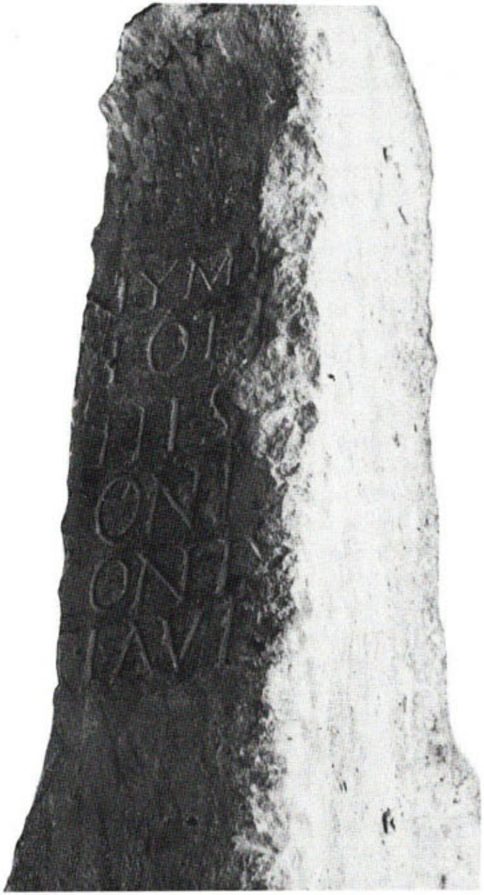


2. E6

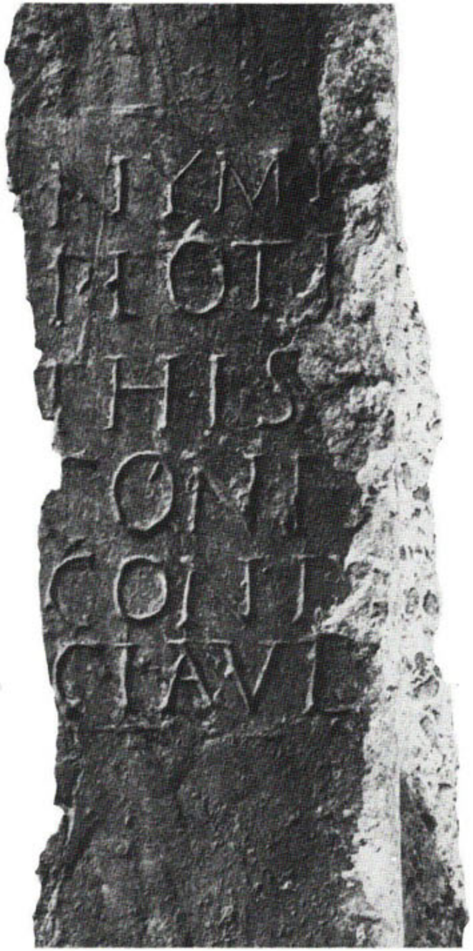




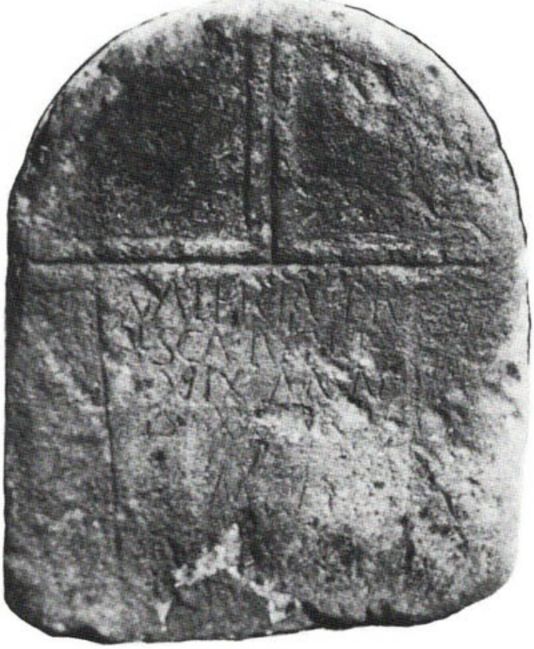
2. E 12



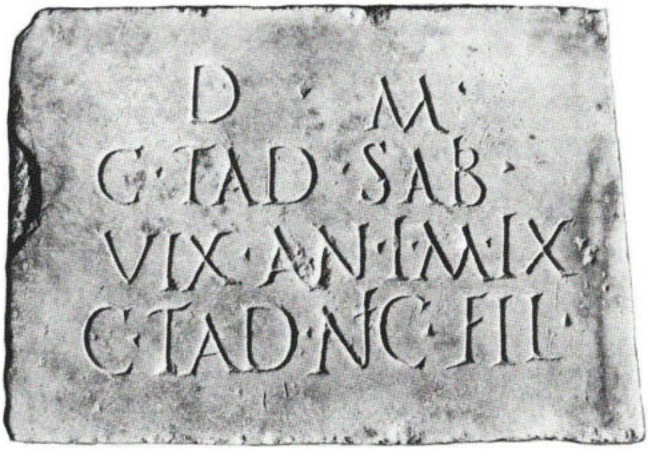
1. E11



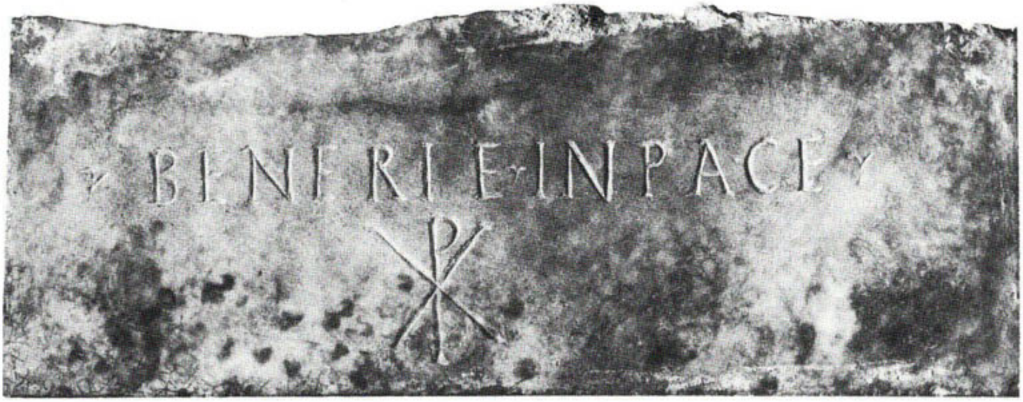
2. E11



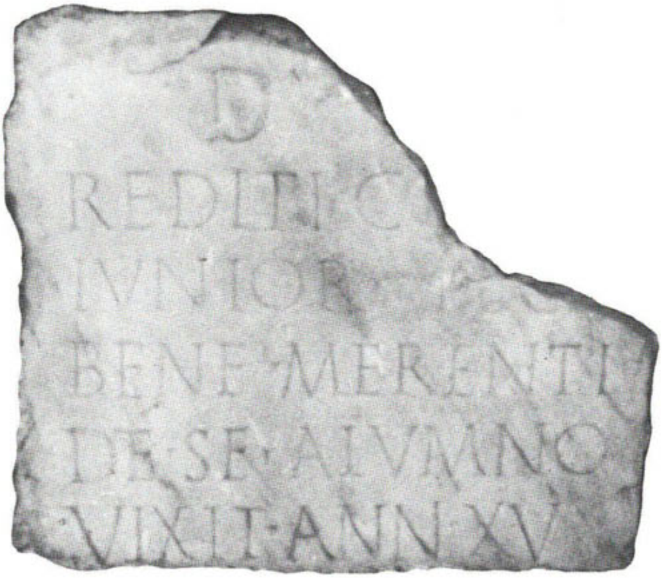
1. E 13


D · M·
G·TAD·SAB·
VIX·AN·I·M·IX·
C·TAD·NC·FIL·

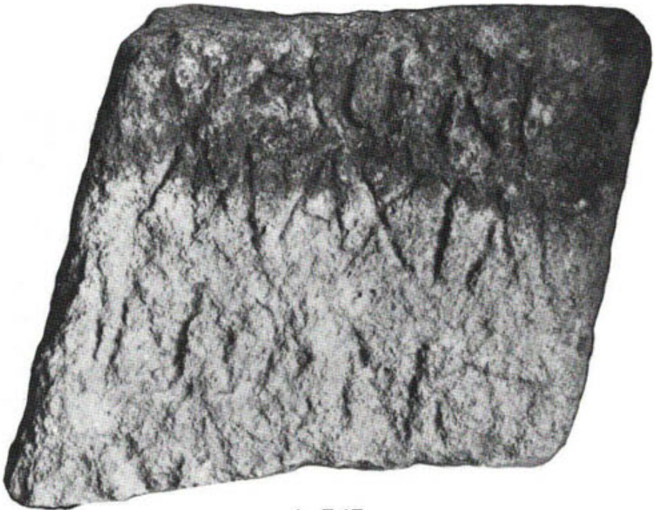
2. E 14



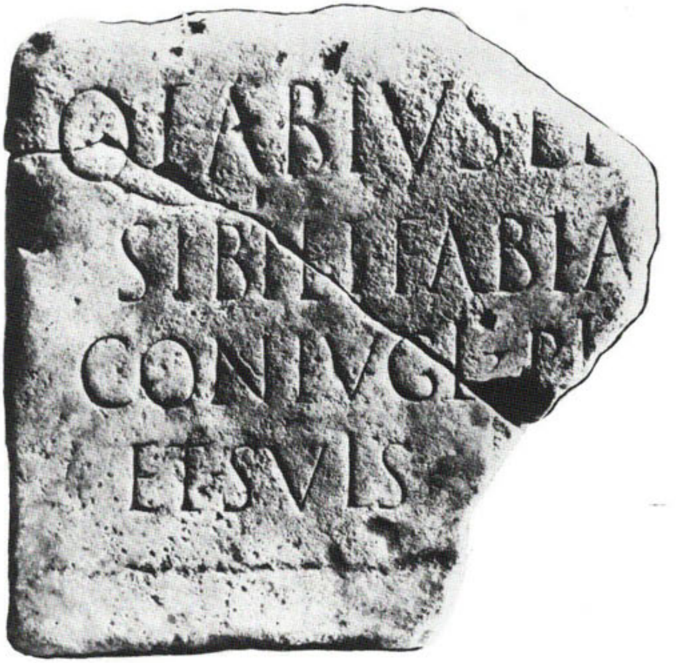
1. E 15



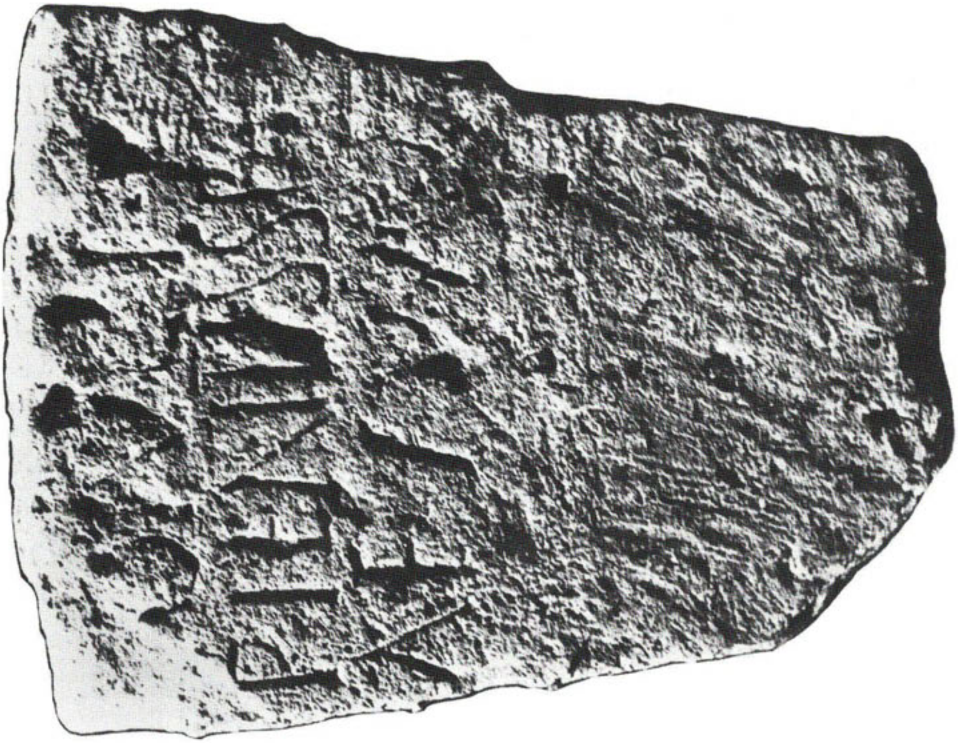
2. E 16



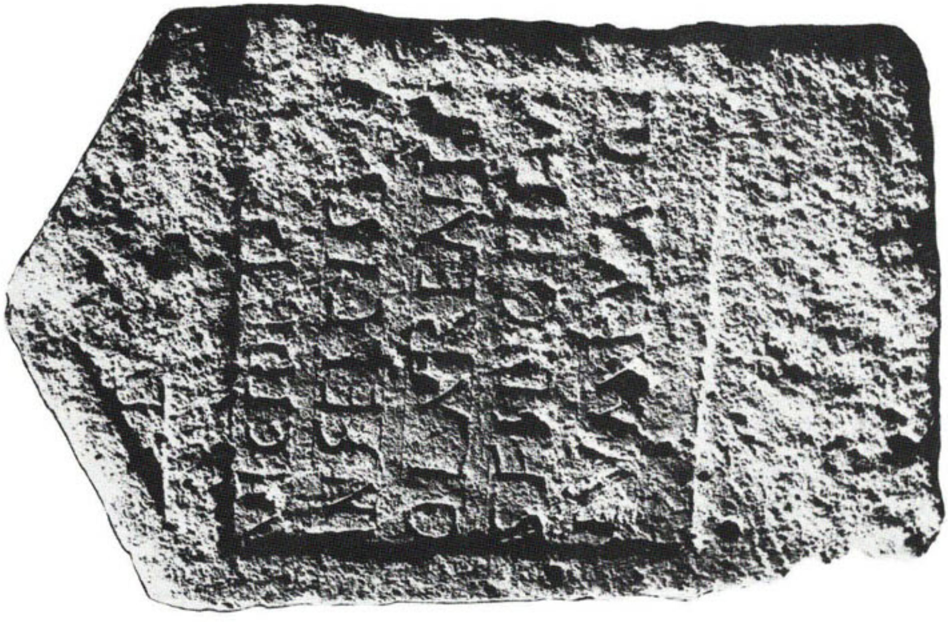
1. E 17



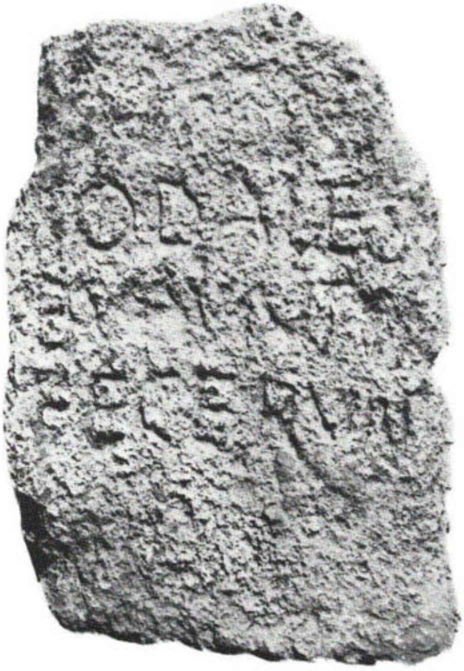
2. E 18



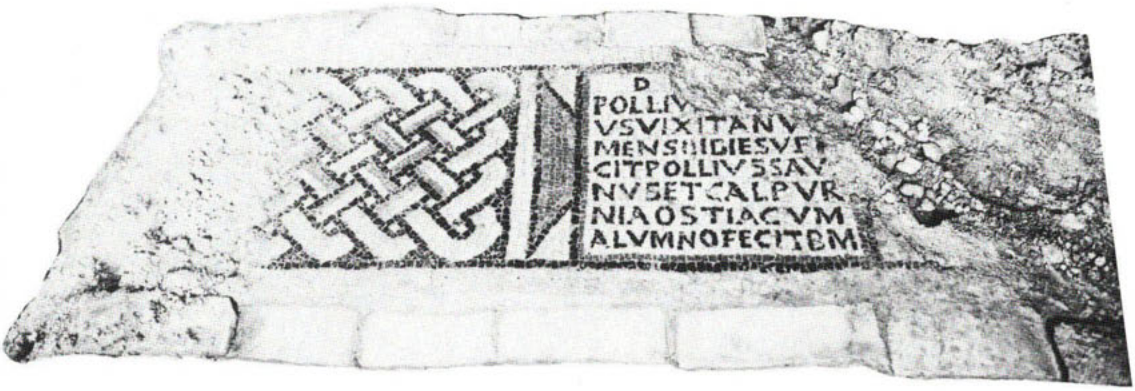
2. E 20



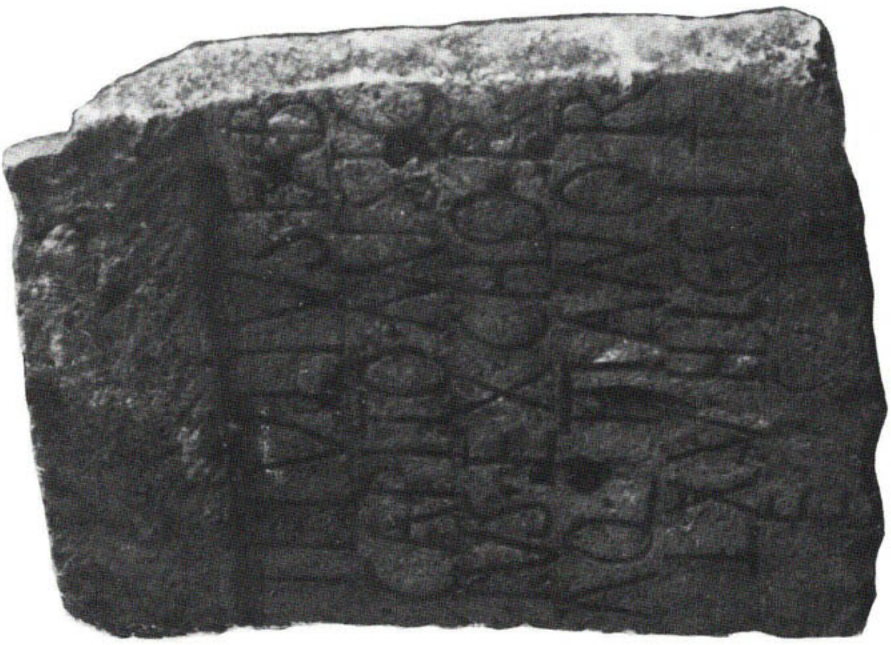
1. E 19



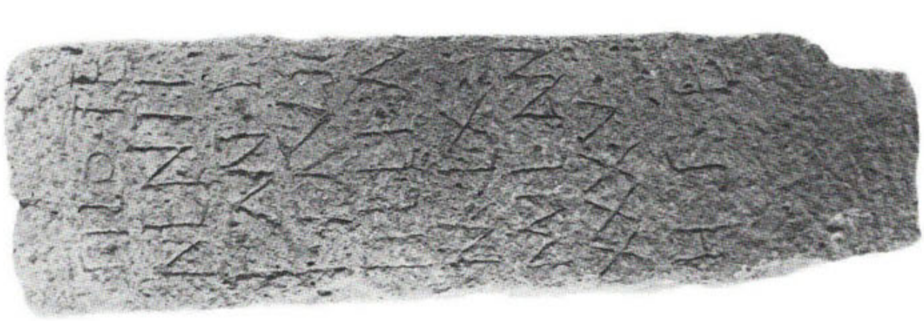
1. E 21


D
POLLIV
VSVIXITANV
MENSIIIDIESVF
CITPOLLIVSSAV
NVSETCALPVR
NIAOSTIACVM
ALVMNOFECITBM

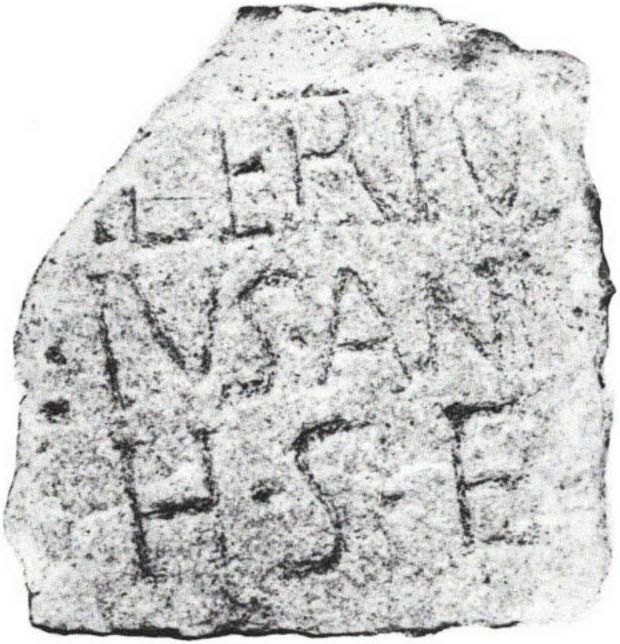
2. E 22



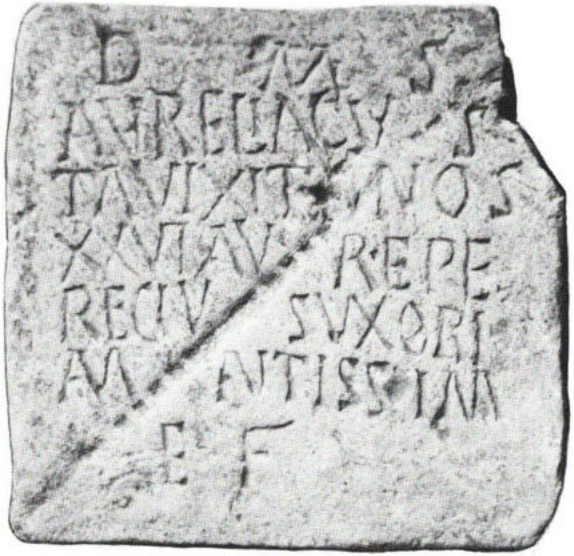
2. E38



1. E37



1. E 39



2. E 40

[requi]escet B 144
    requiescunt in pace C 49
    requiescens C 81
    req. in pace A 366; *req. in p.* B 41; *requi. in pce* B 61
ripa E 23 e add.
    ripa Turr[itana] A 245

sacerdos Bubastis vel *Bubasti(um)* B 69 e add.
    sac[er]d(os) prov. Sard. C 84
salinae A 93 e add.
salmo 50 di Davide B 38
scriba quaestorius C 77
sedes infernae [I]unonis C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7576)
senectus A 365
senior B 63
sepultura A 303
serva
    Caesarum n. ser. B 5
    Ti. Germanici (serva) B 2
servus
    s. B 101b, B 102i
    ser. A 17, A 69
    C(aesaris) n. ser. A 267
    Caesarum n. ser. B 5
    Aug. ser. disp(ensator) C 3
    Aug. ser. regionarius B 14
    d(e)i s(e)rb(us) C 39
seviri
    VIvir A[ug(ustalis)] A 243
se vivo fecit A 34
    se vivo sibi fec. A 57
    se viva fecit E 3
sibi posterisque suis
    sibi posterisque sui[s] B 4
    sibi posteri[s]que suis B 8
    si[bi posteris]que suis A 104
    [sibi] posteris[que suis] A 65
    p. s. pq. s. C 30
    s. p. s. B 9; *s. p. q.* B 5, B 12; *[s.] p. q. s.* E 10
    sibi et posteris suis A 343
    sibi et ... coniugi suae et suis A 34
    sibi et ... filiae et libertis libertabus sueis posterisque sueis B 44
    sibi [---] A 284
signacula B 103 e add., C 126
signatores C 77
signum
    Sidon(ius) A 3
sodales Buduntes E 21 e add.
soror A 56, E 32; *so.* E 6
spiritus
    spiritus sanctus B 78
    bonus et inocens ispiritus C 24
stupendia A 222

sub[praef(ectus) classis] B 56
subules A 229
sufficiens (sibi) A 46
supellex reliqua B 104 e add.

tabellae defixionis B 128, B 129
tabularium principis C 77
tabular[ius] pertic[aru]m Turris et Tharros (?) C 103
tata C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7564)
tegulae B 85; B 102 e add., C 126, E 40
tellus: *Sarda tellus* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566)
templum C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566)
  temp[l(um) d]ei [Sa]rdi Patris Bab[..] B 13
  templ(um) divi Aug. ad Minervam A 182
  templum di[vi Aug. ad M]inervam C 79
  Cas(toris templum) B 104 g
templa C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570)
terminus
  [termin]us [pri]mus (?) C 98
  [ter]minus [se]cundus C 99
  term[inus] qua[rtus] B 154
  terminus quintus A 233
tessere di riconoscimento (?) B 104h, C 14, C 15
tessera teatrale B 104a
testamentum
  ex testamento A 313
thermae
  thermae Rufianae A 158
  [thermae] aestivae B 60
tirones
  trib. [coh. H]ispanorum tironum B 34
tomba di Atilia Pomptilla C 2, C 21, D 2, D 24
tribunus
  trib. mil(itum) A 181
  trib. mil. le[g.] A 52
  [trib. coh.] II Breucorum peditatae B 34
  trib. [coh. H]ispanorum tironum B 34
  [trib. coh. L]atobicorum equitatae B 34
  ex tribunu A 112
tribus
  Col(lina) A 56, C 104, C 109
  Fab(ia) E 38
  Fal(erna) A 246
  Pal(atina) A 313
  Quir(ina) A 3, A 35, A 52, C 25, C 82
  Tro(mentina) B 100b
  univer[sae] tribus A 4
Tro(mentina tribus) B 100b
tumulus A 229, E 2, E 25 e add.

uxor A 59, A 108, B 4, B 106
  uxor am(a)ntissima E 40
  uxor carissima A 65
  uxor sua dulc[iss]ima C 28

  - *[u]xor optima* A 246
- *uxores (habere)* C 79, C 80

- *vascula* B 99 e add., C 126
- *berpae* A 183
- *veteranus leg. I Adiutricis* C 80
- *veterani* C 80
- *via*
  - *qu(a)e a Karalibus Olbiae ducit* C 121
  - *qu(a)e ducit a Karalibus Olbiae* C 122
  - *qu(a)e duc. a Kar. Olb.* B 179
  - *qu(a)e du[cit] a Karalis Olviae* B 177
  - *quae ducit a Karalibus [Olbiae]* A 389
  - *q[uae ducit a Karalibus] Olvi(a)e* B 182
  - *[qu(a)e du]cit Karalis Ul[bi(a)e]* A 385
  - *quae duc[it a Karalibus] Olb[iae]* B 178
  - *quae adduc[it Kara]libus Olbi(a)e* A 386
  - *qu(a)e duc[it a Kara]li. Olvi(a)e* B 92 e add.
  - *[quae] ducit Olb[iae]* A 387
  - *[qu(a)]e [ducit] a Kar. Olvi(a)e* B 97
  - *[qu(a)e] duc(it) a Karal. Olbi.* A 388
  - *qu(a)e ducit Karalibus Olvie* B 92
  - *qu(a)e ducit a Karalib. Olbiae* B 90
  - *[quae] a Karalibus [Olbiae] ducit* B 96
  - *qu(a)e adducet a Karalibus Olvi(a)e* C 19
  - *quae ducit [a T]harros C[ornus]* C 112
  - *q. d. a Tu(rre) K.* A 383
  - *q. [d(ucit)]* C 118
- *viator* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566)
- *vic(arii) (servi)* C 3
- *vidua*
  - *vid[ua]* vel *vid[uavit]* A 97
  - *vidua s[tetit]* vel *viduas[ti]* C 11
- *viduare*
  - *viduavit* A 46
  - *vid[ua]* vel *vid[uavit]* A 97
  - *vidua s[tetit]* vel *viduas[ti]* C 11
- *vigiles*
  - *[praef. vigi]l(um)* B 56
- *villa* A 240
- *vir* C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7566, 7570, 7574, 7575)
  - *cui bir clausit oclos* C 45
- *vir clarissimus* C 77; *v. c.* A 300, B 94, C 14, C 21
- *v(ir) e(gregius)* A 377, A 387, B 89, B 96, C 18, C 119, C 121; *e. v.* A 238, A 376, A 383, B 92 e add., B 97 e add., B 177, B 179, B 182, C 112, C 118, C 120
- *v(ir) i(nlustris)*? add. A 105
- *vir ornatissimus* C 77
- *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)* A 241, A 372, B 88, B 183, B 184, B 186; *[v.] p.* A 388
- *virginia coiux* B 77
- *virgin(i)us (coniux)* A 108
- *virgo*
  - *c(asta) v(irgo)* (?) A 362 add.
  - *c(asta) v(irgo) s(acra)* vel *s(acrata)* (?) C 62

vixit in XP(isto) A 108
votum
    botum B 151
    votum s. v. l. a. C 1
    contra votum A 102, A 107
    con(tra) votum su(u)m A 108
    v. s. l. m. B 130; *v. s.* A 239
vota dei C 2 (C.I.L., X, 7570)

χοροκιθαρεύς C 20

⳨ A 299, B 64, B 85, B 104d, B 104h
☧ A 105 (duo), B 64, E 15
⳩ B 75, B 76

6. Tavole di conguaglio con le principali raccolte di iscrizioni

	C.I.L.	
I,2²	2227	= C 97
VI	210	v. C 21
	218	v. B 34
X	1457*	= B 159
	7515	cfr. A 35
	7539	= B 13
	7550	= C 23
	7551	= C 24
	7557	= C 1
	7563 – 7578	= C 2 e add.
	7587	v. C 21
	7588	= C 3
	7599	= C 25
	7603	v. C 21
	7604	v. C 21
	7618	= C 26
	7619	= C 27
	7632	= C 28
	7638	= C 29
	7646	v. C 21
	7658	= C 4
	7660	= C 5
	7662 – 7663	= C 6
	7665	= C 30
	7678	= C 7
	7686	v. C 21
	7688	v. C 21
	7690	= C 31
	7698	= C 32
	7703	= C 33
	7705	= C 8
	7706	= C 9
	7708	= C 10
	7729	= C 34
	7738	= C 35
	7740	= C 36
	7744	= C 37
	7745	= C 38
	7747	= C 39
	7748	= C 40
	7749	= C 41
	7751	= C 42
	7752	= C 43
	7753	v. C 21
	7754	= C 44
	7756	= C 45
	7757	= C 46
	7758	= C 47
	7759	= C 48
	7760	= C 49
	7761	= C 50
	7762 – 7763	= C 51
	7764	= C 52
	7765	= C 53
	7766	= C 54
	7768	= C 55
	7769	= C 56
	7770	= C 54
	7771	= C 57
	7772	= C 58
	7774	= C 59
	7775	= C 60
	7776	= C 61
	7778	= C 62
	7781	= C 63
	7783	= C 64
	7785	= C 65
	7786	= C 43

7787 = C 11
7790 = C 66
7791 = C 67
7792 = C 65
7796 = C 68
7797 = C 50
7798 = C 69
7799 = C 70
7800 = C 71
7801 = C 72
7803 = C 73
7805 = C 74
7806 = C 75
7829 = C 17
7836 = C 76
7846 = C 76a
7852 = C 77
7866 = C 78
7886 = C 12
7890 = C 79
7891 = C 80
7902 = C 80a
7914 = C 81
7915 = C 82
7916 = C 83
7917 = C 84
7918 = C 85
7919 = C 86
7920 = C 87
7821 = C 88
7922 = C 89
7923 = C 90
7924 = C 91
7925 = C 92
7926 = C 93
7927 = C 94
7928 = C 95
7929 = C 96
7930 = C 97
7931 = C 98
7932 = C 99
7933 = C 100
7934 = C 101
7935 = C 102
7951 = C 103
7953 = C 104
7955 = C 105
7956 = C 106
7959 = C 107
7962 = C 108
7967 = C 109
7972 = C 110
7976 = C 111
8009 = C 112
8030 v. B 183
8046, 11, 15, 26, 30, 39 = C 126
8051, 34 = C 126
8053, 14a, 24a, 276 = C 13
8053, 205 = C 126
8053, 299 = C 127
8056, 72, 215, 311 = C 126
8059, 496 = C 126
8072, 6 = C 14
8072, 7 = C 15
8072, 18 = C 126
8321 = C 113
8323 = C 16
XI 1414 = A 309
XIV 346 = C 105
423 = C 114
2954 v. A 188
XVI 9 = C 80
40 = C 79
60 = A 311
86 = A 312
127 = A 182

E.E.

VIII 709 = C 115
721 = C 116
722 = C 17
732 = C 117
745 = C 118
751 = C 119
763 = C 120
773 = C 121
785 = C 18
787 = C 122
797 = C 123
798 = C 19

I.L.S.

2103 v. C 21
2107 v. B 34
2595 = A 313
5350 = A 50
5983 = C 97
5983a = A 233
5983 adn. = C 117
6151 = C 105
6766 = C 104

C.L.E.

646 = A 229
1551A – G = C 2
1599 = A 100

I.G.

XIV 607a – q = C 2
611 = C 20

DIEHL

691 = A 305
753 = A 100
1358 = A 299
1455 = C 39
2101 adn. = C 63
2348 adn. = A 28 – A 29
2376 adn. = C 59
2450 = A 93
2790a e b = A 30 – A 32
2812 = C 61
2841A = C 55
3061 = C 54
3061A = C 43
3061B = A 120
3061C = A 103
3061D = A 122
3062 = C 40
3062A = C 51
3062B = C 53
3062C = C 60
3062D = C 51
3063 = C 62
3063 adn. = A 304
3063B = C 43
3103 adn. = C 37
3103A = C 46
3103C = C 54
3103C adn. = C 37
3137A = C 56
3399 = C 24
3400 = C 81
3445 = C 110
3869A = A 303
3913 adn. = A 258
3913 adn. = A 301
4003 adn. = A 271
4376 = C 76
4564 = A 118
4641 adn. = A 105

A.E.

1892, 137 = A 313
1893, 47 = A 378
1894, 153 = A 233
1897, 133 = A 50
1898, 78 = A 181, A 182
1904, 53 = A 174
211 = A 243
212 = A 245
213 = A 240
1907, 119 = A 117
1910, 33 = A 51
1920, 96 = A 222
1921, 86 = A 188
1924, 122 = A 93
1928, 117 = A 158, A 160
1929, 156 = A 42
157 = B 81 a
167 = A 57
1932, 63 = A 239
1939, 140 = A 383
1945, 45 = B 81 a
1948, 178 = A 241
1951, 203 = A 52
204 = A 55
252 = A 241
1958, 191 = D 11
258 = C 1
1959, 178 = D 1
243 = B 98a, B 99a, B 100a, B 101a, B 102a, B 103a, B 104a ed f
244 = A 370
245 = D 20
1960, 161 = D 21
366 = B 102d
380 = A 375
1962, 82 = D 23
1964, 99 = A 43
102 = A 300
103 = A 332
1966, 169 = A 372
170 = A 253
171 = A 270
172 = A 276 bis
173 = B 71
174 = B 73
175 = B 74
1971, 118 = D 25
119 = B 13
120 = B 14
121 = B 17
122 = B 19
123 = B 20
124 = B 21
125a = B 27

125b = B 32
126 = B 53
127 = B 56
128 = B 58
129 = B 2
130 = B 1
131 = B 44
132 = B 45
133 = B 47
134 = B 36
135 = B 37
136 = B 39
137 = B 40
138 = B 41
139 = B 42
1972, 225 = B 83
226 = B 84
228 = B 98b, B 99 b, B 100b, B 101b, B 102b, B 103b, B 104 b
1973, 275 = A 376
276 = B 90
1974, 353 = B 3
354 = B 4
355 = B 5
356 = B 6
357 = B 7
358 = B 8
359 = B 20
1975, 460 = D 15
461 = B 9
462 = B 10
463 = B 11
464 = B 12
465 = B 104d
466 = C 19
467 = A 385
1976, 782 v. A 42
1977, 343 = B 16 e add.
344 = B 91 e add.
345 = B 92 e add.
346 = B 90 e add.
347 = B 94 e add.
1978, 375 = B 35 e add.
376 = B 53 e add.
1979, 299 = C 3 e add.
300 = B 68 e add.
301 = B 155
302 = B 182
303 = B 183
304 = B 154
305 = B 137
306 = B 139
307 = B 141
308 = B 62 e add.
309 = B 64 e add.
310 = B 65 e add.
311 = B 63 e add.
312 = B 61 e add.
313 = B 142
314 = B 143
315 = B 144
316 = B 148
317 = B 149
318 – 322 = B 151
323 = B 60 e add.
324 = B 145
1980, 532 = E 38 e add.
533 = E 37 e add.
534 = B 67 e add.
535 = B 88 e add.
1981, 469 = C 2 e add.
470 = B 164
471 = B 117
472 = B 103c
473 = B 98h
474 = B 102g
475 = B 100h
476 = E 23 e add.
477 = E 24 e add.
478 = E 25 e add.
479 = E 26 e add.
480 = E 27 e add.
481 = E 28 e add.
482 = E 34 e add.
483 = E 35 e add.
484 = E 36 e add.
485 = E 22 e add.
486 = B 101b e add.
1982, 422 = B 102i
423 = B 164
424 = B 112
425 = B 113
426 = C 115
427 = A 93 e add.
428 = A 3 e add.
429 = A 229 e add.
430 = C 81
431 = B 68 e add.
432 = B 155
433 = C 103
434 = B 77 e add.
435 = B 78 e add.
436 = B 73 e add.
437 = B 74 e add.
438 = E 38 e add.

439 = E 37 e add.
440 = C 111
1983, 447 = C 77
448 = E 23 e add.
449 = C 79
450 = B 104m
451 = C 80

1984, 443 = B 108 a
444 = B 177
445 = B 178
446 = B 179
447 = B 97 e add.
448 = B 182
449 = B 183

L. VIDMAN, Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae, Berolini, 1969

519 = A 49
521 = A 239

A. MASTINO, Cornus nella storia degli studi, Cagliari, 1979

1 = C 82
2 = C 83
3 = C 84
4 = C 85
5 = C 86
6 = C 87
7 = C 88
8 = C 89
9 = C 90
10 = C 91
11 = C 92
12 = C 93
13 = C 94
14 = C 95
15 = C 96
16 = C 100
17 = C 101
18 = C 102
19 = C 112
20 = C 97
21 = C 98
22 = C 99
23 = C 117
24 = A 233 e add.
25 = B 154
26 – 61 = C 124
63 – 64 = B 137

65 = B 138
66 = B 139
67 = B 141
68 = B 62 e add.
69 = B 64 e add.
70 = B 65 e add.
71 = B 63 e add.
72 = B 61 e add.
73 = B 142
74 = B 143
75 = B 66 e add.
76 = B 144
77 = B 146
78 = B 147
79 = B 148
80 = B 149
81 – 87 = B 150
88 – 89 = B 153
90b – 93 = B 151
94 = B 151
95 – 96 = B 151
97 = B 152
99 = B 140
100 = B 60 e add.
101 = B 145
102 – 110 = B 99 add. d

L. PANI ERMINI – M. MARINONE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cagliari. Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Roma, 1981

1 = C 37
2 = C 38
3 = C 40
5 = C 41
6 = C 42
7 = C 69
8 = A 75 add.
9 = C 81
10 = C 38
11 = A 360 e add.

12 = C 45
13 = C 46
14 = C 47
15 = A 105 e add.
16 = C 48
17 = C 78
18 = C 49
19 = A 362 e add.
20 = A 160 e add.
21 = C 76

22 = A 368 e add.
23 = A 113 e add.
24 = A 364 e add.
25 = C 23
26 = C 50
27 = A 363 e add.
28 = C 51
29 = C 52
30 = C 65
31 = A 115 e add.
32 = A 107 – A 108 e add.
33 = C 53
34 = C 35
35 = C 55
36 = A 169 e add.
37 = C 56
38 = C 54
39 = C 57
40 = C 24
41 = A 117 e add.
42 = C 58
43 = C 59
44 = A 118 e add.
45 = C 60
46 = C 61
48 = C 43
49 = C 62
50 = A 119 e add.
51 = C 63
52 = A 25 e add.
53 = A 93 e add.
54 = C 64
55 = C 70
56 = B 167
57 = C 68
59 = C 44
60 = C 75
61 = B 168
62 = B 169
63 = C 66
64 = C 34
65 = C 74
66 = C 73
67 = B 170
68 = C 67
69 = B 171
70 = B 172
71 = C 72
72 = B 173
73 = C 36
74 = B 174
75 = A 146 e add.
76 = C 71
80 = B 176
81 = B 175
94 = C 11 e add.

7. Elenco delle iscrizioni per le quali è dato un additamentum

A 3, A 25, A 58, A 67, A 75, A 93, A 105, A 107 – A 108, A 113, A 115, A 117, A 118, A 119, A 123, A 146, A 160, A 169, A 220, A 221, A 222, A 228, A 229, A 233, A 234, A 237, A 239, A 246, A 253, A 259, A 262, A 270, A 272, A 280, A 309, A 342, A 360, A 362, A 363, A 364, A 367, A 368, A 370, A 385, A 389

B 9, B 15, B 16, B 20, B 35, B 43, B 50, B 52, B 57, B 59, B 60, B 61, B 62, B 63, B 64, B 65, B 66, B 67, B 68, B 69, B 73, B 74, B 75, B 76, B 77, B 78, B 82, B 84, B 88, B 90, B 92, B 93, B 94, B 97, B 98, B 99, B 100, B 101, B 102, B 103, B 104

C 2, C 3, C 6, C 11, C 21

E 2, E 21, E 22 – E 36, E 37, E 38, E 39, E 41

Indice delle illustrazioni

I. Tavole:

I 1. A 49. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. A 49. – Foto: S. Paretta.

II 1. A 57. – Foto: M. Pes, Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.
2. A 70. – Foto: M. Pes, Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.
III A 61. – Foto: O. Savio.
IV 1. A 181. – Foto: O. Savio.
2. A 182. – Foto: O. Savio.
V A 276 bis. – Foto: G. Sotgiu.
VI B 34. – Foto: S. Paretta.
VII 1. B 60 a. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. B 62. – Foto: S. Paretta.
VIII 1. B 63. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. B 63. – Foto: S. Paretta.
IX 1. B 64. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. B 65. – Foto: S. Paretta.
X 1. B 69. – Foto: S. Demurtas.
2. B 69. – Foto: S. Demurtas.
XI 1. B 83. – FOTO: G. Pinducciu.
2. B 83. – Foto: G. Pinducciu.
XII 1. B 66. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. B 106. – Foto: F. Pili.
XIII 1. B 111. – Foto: Cabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Ser. F, No. 33576.
2. B 130. – Foto: S. Paretta.
XIV 1. B 135. – Foto: R. Zucca.
2. B 163. – Foto: R. Zucca.
XV 1. C 1. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. C 3. – Foto: O. Savio.
XVI 1. C 4. – Foto: M. Pes, Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.
2. C 5. – Foto: M. Pes, Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.
XVII 1. C 8. – Foto: M. Pes, Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.
2. C 9. – Foto: M. Pes, Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.
XVIII 1. C 10. – Foto: G. Sotgiu.
2. C 25. – Foto: G. Sotgiu.
XIX 1. E 1. – Foto: G. Tore.
2. E 2. – Foto: G. Tore.
XX 1. E 3. – Foto: O. Savio.
2. E 7. – Foto: G. Sotgiu.
XXI E 4. – Foto: O. Savio.
XXII 1. E 5. – Foto: O. Savio.
2. E 6. – Foto: O. Savio.
XXIII 1. E 10. – Foto: E. Atzeni.
2. E 12. – Foto: A. Mastino.
XXIV 1. E 11. – Foto: G. Bacco.
2. E 11. – Foto: S. Paretta.
XXV 1. E 13. – Foto: L. A. Puxeddu.
2. E 14. – Foto: S. Paretta.
XXVI 1. E 15. – Foto: M. Agus.
2. E 16. – Foto: G. Tore.
XXVII 1. E 17. – Foto: G. Tore.
2. E 18. – Foto: S. Paretta.
XXVIII 1. E 19. – Foto: S. Paretta.
2. E 20. – Foto: S. Paretta.
XIX 1. E 21. – Foto: O. Savio.
2. E 22. – Foto: Soprint. Archeologica, Cagliari.

XXX 1. E 37. – Foto: Soprint. Archeologica, Sassari.
2. E 38. – Foto: Soprint. Archeologica, Sassari.
XXXI 1. E 39. – Foto: G. PINDUCCIU.
2. E 40. – Foto: S. NAITZA.

II. Figure:

1 (dopo p. 554): Sardegna
2 (p. 556): A 22
3 (p. 591): B 59
4 (p. 592): B 60 b
5 (p. 595): B 64
6 (p. 619): E 8
7 (p. 621): E 12
8 (p. 628): E 41
9 (p. 639): B 130
10 (p. 659): C 25

Tutti i disegni sono di G. SOTGIU.

The Archaeology of Roman Sardinia: a Selected Typological Inventory

by ROBERT J. ROWLAND JR., College Park, Md.

Contents

Introduction . . . 740
Abbreviations . . . 741
I. Baths . . . 742
II. Mosaics . . . 758
III. Nuraghi . . . 767
IV. Statues and Statuettes . . . 785
V. *Timiateria* . . . 793
VI. Gold and Silver Objects . . . 795
VII. Bronze and Other Jewelry . . . 803
VIII. Glass . . . 817
IX. Burials . . . 824
  1. Domus de janas . . . 824
  2. Giants' Tombs . . . 825
  3. Tombs *'a tafoni'* . . . 826
  4. Burials *ad enkytrismos* . . . 826
  5. Crude stele . . . 830
  6. Sarcophagi . . . 833
X. Mines . . . 835
XI. Rural Settlements . . . 837
Addenda . . . 850
Distribution Maps . . . 855
List of Illustrations . . . 874

Introduction

In archaeological terms, Roman Sardinia has been a neglected stepchild, neglected in favor both of nuragic and other prehistoric cultures and, in recent years, of the Punic period. Most of the material presented here is known to us largely because of the labors of a very few individuals: the indefatigable Spano; Taramelli, long the Superintendant for antiquities at Cagliari; Lilliu, mostly in his earlier years; Maetzke and Contu, his successor as Superintendant at Sassari. Others, especially Pesce at Cagliari, have made noteworthy contributions; but the fact is that a synthesis of the archaeological record for Roman Sardinia remains premature. For this reason, I have chosen to present here some of the material I have collected in the form of a typological inventory in the hopes that scholars working on other parts of the empire might find material otherwise easily overlooked and that it will lay the groundwork for some parts of my own history of ancient Sardinia, a research project supported by grants from the American Philosophical Society, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Research Council of the University of Missouri, the University of Maryland and the National Endowment for the Humanities. I should like to express my gratitude for various forms of assistance to Professors Miriam Balmuth, Ferruccio Barreca, Ercole Contu, Piero Meloni, Leo Neppi Modona, and Giovanna Sotgiu. With the exception of Plate VI.10 (supplied by the museum authorities in Turin) and Plate IX.16 (supplied by Prof. Balmuth), all photographs are by the author.

Abbreviations

In addition to standard abbreviations (e.g., CIL), the following abbreviations and short titles are used here:

ASS = Archivio Storico Sardo

Barreca, Monte Sirai = F. Barreca/G. Garbini, Monte Sirai I–IV, Roma, 1964–1967
BArte = Bollettino d'Arte
BAS = Bollettino Archeologico Sardo
BPI = Bollettino di Paletnologia Italiana

Cabras, Materiale = A. Cabras, Materiale archeologico del ripostiglio di Baradili ..., Cagliari, 1950
Cannas, Tertenia = V. M. Cannas, Tertenia e dintorni, Cagliari, 1964
Cart. Arch. = Edizione archeologica della Carta d'Italia
Casalis = G. Casalis (ed.), Dizionario geografico, storico, statistico ..., Turin, 1833–1854

Cat. racc. Spano = Catalogo della raccolta archeologica sarda del Canon. G. Spano, Cagliari, 1860, 1865

Elenco = Elenco degli edifici monumentali, LXVIII, Provincia di Cagliari, Rome, 1922; LXIX, Provincia di Sassari, Rome 1923

FA = Fasti archeologici

Guida = Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano, vol. 23, Sardegna, Milan, 1967 (with archeological material by G. Pesce and G. Maetzke)

Lilliu, 1961 = G. Lilliu, I nuraghi, torri preistoriche della Sardegna, Cagliari, 1961

Meloni = P. Meloni, La Sardegna romana, Sassari, 1975
Mon. Ant. = Monumenti Antichi
NSc. = Notizie degli Scavi
Panedda = D. Panedda, Olbia nel periodo punico e romano, Rome, 1953
Panedda, agro = D. Panedda, L'agro di Olbia nel periodo preistorico, punico e romano, Rome, 1954
Pesce, Nora = G. Pesce, Nora, Guida agli scavi, second ed., Cagliari, 1972
Pesce, Sarc. = G. Pesce, Sarcofagi romani di Sardegna, Rome, 1957
Pesce, Tharros = G. Pesce, Tharros, Cagliari, 1966
Ritrovamenti = S. M. Cecchini, I ritrovamenti fenici e punici in Sardegna, Rome, 1969
RSP = Rivista di Scienze preistoriche
Scop. = Scoperte archeologiche, edited by G. Spano
Sotgiu = G. Sotgiu, Iscrizioni latine della Sardegna, vol. 1, Padova, 1961
Spano, Emend. ed agg. = G. Spano, Emendamenti ed aggiunte all'itinerario dell'Isola di Sardegna del Conte Alberto della Marmora, Cagliari, 1874
SS = Studi Sardi
Stud. sem. = Studi semitici
Zedda = F. Zedda, Forum Traiani, Cagliari, 1906

I. Baths

(distribution map, fig. 16)

Only thirty-four of the baths here accounted for are definite; thirteen other structures may have been baths, and another nineteen are only possibilities. Ten baths were at natural springs, only three developing into something substantial. Fifteen of the baths seem clearly to have been associated with *villae rusticae.*

ALGHERO. On the beach at Las Tronas, just to the south of the city, there exists a mass of stones in *opus reticulatum*; from the traces of the rooms and, especially, from the remains of a drainage system, it has been conjectured that the structure was a bath (M. Pittau, Tracce di bagni romani nella spiaggia di Alghero, Nuov. Boll. Bibl. Sard. 37/38, 1962, 9). In the immediate vicinity of the modern city are only a few traces of the Romans: some tombs in the locality Taulera to the northeast (SS 7, 1947, 2650) and, to the east of Taulera, the *statio ad Carbiam* (Casalis, I. 222 f.). However, some 15 km. to the west, at the head of Porto Conte, in the localities La Presonetta and Santimbenia, there are numerous indications of a prosperous settlement in late Punic and Roman times (Scop. 1867, 31 f.; Casalis, 1. 222; SS 7, 1947, 260 f.; 8, 1948, 318 – 27; 12/13, 1952/4, 470 – 74; 17, 1959/61, 656 f.), probably the Portus Nympharum recorded by Ptolemy (3.3.2). The area is an important source of red coral (A. Mori, Sardegna, Turin, 1966, 98), which was exported by the Romans to India (Plin. HN, 32. 21 – 4; I. I. Miller, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 29 B.C. to A.D. 641, Oxford, 1969, 209 f.).

ANELA. Among the baths recorded by Ptolemy (3.3.7) are the Aquae Lesitanae, probably identical with the Terme di S. Saturnino, east of the town. In the plain between these baths and the modern village, in a site called Carchinarzu, there were visible in the 19th century various traces of Roman houses (BAS 5, 1859, 104; Scop. 1873, 25; Atti della Accad ... di Torino, 1874, 7, n. 1); it was here that a military diploma dated 22 December 68 was discovered, granting *honesta missio* and citizenship to *Ursaris Tornalis f(ilius) Sardus* (CIL 10. 7891). Just a few km. NE of the baths, in the territory of the modern towns of Benetutti and Nule, there were also only a few remains of the Roman period: some coins, tombs, traces of habitations, and one fragment of an inscription (Scop. 1871, 15; BPI 76, 1967, 116: Benetutti; Scop. 1871, 15; SPANO, Emend. ed agg. 151; NSc. 1937, 84, n. 1: Nule).

ARZANA. Of the Roman baths nothing is known except the fact (or conjecture) that there were such in the locality Is Bangius; no other Roman remains are known from Arzana, but only a few km. to the south are Ilbono (whence came two diplomas: CIL 10. 7853 – 54) and Lanusei, where there are some few Roman remains, including traces of a road (CASALIS, 9.190 f.; BAS 5, 1859, 30 f., 6, 1860, 185 f.; A. USAI, Il villaggio nuragico di Seleni [Lanusei], Cagliari, 1966, 22).

ASSEMINI. In the region Ischiois, on the right bank of the Riu Mannu just a short distance from the Stagno di Cagliari, there was discovered part of a bath, perhaps a *caldarium*. At the time of discovery, all that remained were three sides and traces of the apse for the pool; in the near vicinity were *tegulae hamatae* and pieces of marble. There was also another little room which may have served for the furnace of the baths, which probably belonged to a *villa rustica* (ASS 1, 1905, 421; NSc. 1906, 200 – 202). Other remains in the territory attest to a flourishing life from Punic to Byzantine times (BAS 9, 1863, 29; NSc. 1919, 160 – 68; SS 9, 1949, 422).

BANARI. The only indications of Roman utilization of the mineral waters here are a few ceramic objects found in proximity to the waters (SS 7, 1947, 261). There are no known traces of buildings or dwellings in the territory.

BARADILI. North of the village, near the Riu Cilixia, in the early part of the last century were visible remains of a building with twenty-five parts, each part 1.0 × 2.5 m; these may have been remains of ancient baths (CASALIS, 2.65). In the territory of Baradili, as throughout the adjacent *'campidano,'* various traces of Roman life, particularly rustic life, although few, have been found (A. CABRAS, Materiale archeologico del ripostiglio di Baradii ..., Cagliari, 1950, 3 – 6).

BARUMINI. There is a brief report of a *furnus* with seven *suspensurae* in *opus latericium* in the region Bau Perdu di Sotto, clearly part of a *villa rustica*; among the objects recovered from the site were fragments of arretine ware (NSc. 1939, 377 – 80). There are many other traces of the Roman period around Barumini and in the adjacent, fertile districts (e.g., Lasplassas); particularly noteworthy at this point are the remains of a villa of some opulence in the locality called Bangius (Scop. 1872, 31 f.; SS 4, 1938, 25 – 30).

BAULADU. Angius saw two springs, one of which (named Zinnuri) was covered with a brick construction (Casalis, 2. 178). It is not clear from Angius' brief description that these springs were thermal, and they are not included in C. Dessi, Nuraghi e terme, Sassari, 1920.

BIORA. At the site of this *statio* on the Roman road from Cagliari to Olbia (Meloni, 277 f.), in an area thoroughly studied by Lilliu (SS 7, 1947, 27 – 104), were described in the first issue of BAS (1855, 133) the remains then visible; these included baths and pools with steps leading down into them. There was also a coin of Caligula which, along with fragments of arretine ware, give an approximate date to these constructions. Lilliu (p. 84) discovered a number of fragments of *tegulae hamatae* which either belonged to the same construction or which indicate the existence of at least one other bath.

BOSA. Among the remains of the Punico-Roman city of Bosa, at Calameda, southeast of modern Bosa and of the Temo river, were baths and other buildings (Scop. 1872, 23; 1875, 23). Many coins, ceramic wares, and inscriptions have been found at the site (e.g., Scop. 1865, 41; CIL 10. 7939 – 45; Sotgiu, 234).

CAGLIARI. Although the capital city of imperial Sardinia was relatively prosperous and well-appointed (Meloni, 215 f.), few traces of baths have survived the ravages of time and continuous occupation. West of the Piazza del Carmine, near the church of S. Pietro, G. Spano discovered in 1857 a piece of a *tegula hamata*, a marble pavement, a pool, and numerous objects of luxury (BAS 3, 1857, 59 f.). A few years later was published the first notice of baths in connection with the buildings which came to be known as the Casa di Tigellio: a room with a mosaic floor, a nearby *caldarium* with connecting pipes, and, next to the *caldarium*, a room containing a semicircular bathing pool with three steps (Scop. 1868, 13 f.). In 1871, again near the church of S. Pietro, were discovered the foundations of a large building; Spano observed some little canals, presumably to conduct water into the building, which led him to the conclusion that it was *„uno cospicuo stabilimento balneare"* (Scop. 1871, 3 f.). Returning to the Casa di Tigellio, Spano reported, inter alia, a *'piscina'* (NSc. 1876, 60). In the early part of this century, in the eastern part of the city, not far from the church of S. Saturno, in the region Bonaria (from Balnearia?), were discovered the remains of a fairly large bathing establishment (fig. 1); these remains consisted of a large rectangular construction with mosaic pavements; a room 8 × 8 m.; a semicircular pool forming an apse, 3.5 m. in diameter; and a rectangular pool, 4.75 × 3.75 m. Along the western wall of these baths was a series of small rooms, probably *apodyteria*. The style and technique of the mosaics date from the second

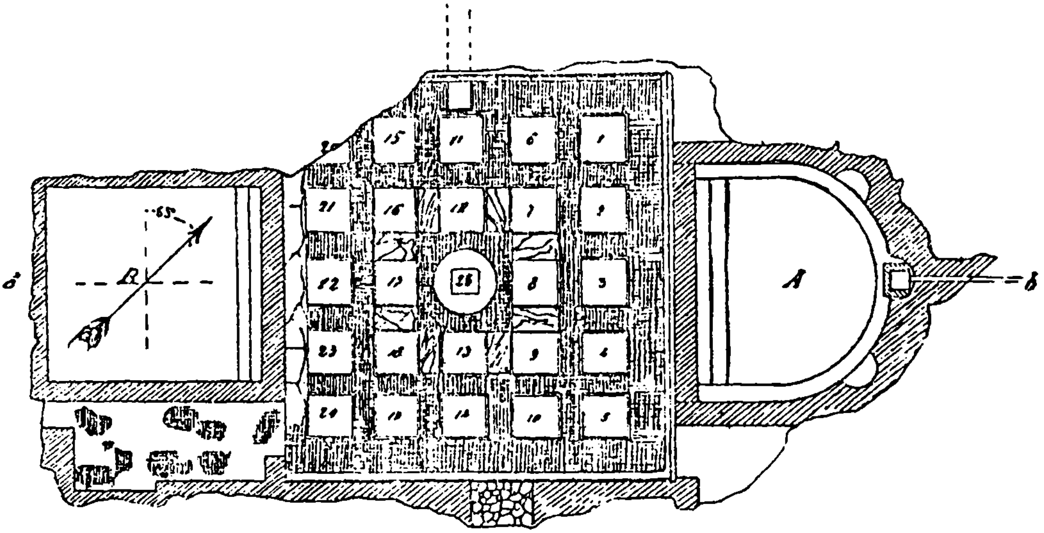


Fig. 1. Baths at Bonaria, CAGLIARI

century A.D. (NSc. 1909, 135–47). More recently, on the Largo Carlo Felice (not far from the Casa di Tigellio) were discovered traces of a large bath, probably also from the second century; among these remains were the *exedra* of a *caldarium* with a well preserved hypocaust and a *praefurnium* (SS 16, 1958/9, 742). Finally, in 1963, G. PESCE returned to SPANO's excavation of 1876 and expanded the area studied. One of PESCE's discoveries was of part of a bath: a *caldarium* with the bottom-most bricks of the *suspensurae* (SS 19, 366) – SPANO had also unearthed another room which probably served as a bath (NSc. 1876, 151). A marble slab which was reused as a Christian tombstone in the fourth or fifth century and found in Maracalagonis (about 13 km. from Cagliari) has the inscription

Termae Rufianae vetustate corruptae,

which TARAMELLI thought referred to baths in Cagliari rather than „*nel pago suburbano e remoto*“ (NSc. 1927, 257–61), a possible, but unnecessary, hypothesis.

CAPOTERRA. In 1950 were discovered some ruins in the locality Su Loi, SE of the town, along the beach; these ruins were excavated later that same year and found to have been the baths of a *villa rustica*. There was one relatively large room, perhaps the *frigidarium*, with a mosaic floor; there were other, little rooms with *suspensurae* around a large rectangular area which contained the *tepidarium* and *caldarium* (FA 5, 1950, 4193). The area of Capoterra was fairly extensively settled by the Romans, both for the fertility of the soil and for the exploitation of the iron at the nearby mines of S. Leone

(Scop. 1873, 8 f.; NSc. 1928, 126–9). There was also a (small) glass factory in the vicinity (BAS 8, 1862, 110).

CASTELSARDO. Several km. west of the town, about 500 m. from the beach, are the as yet unexcavated remains of a small bath called Case di lu Bagnu: a vaulted reservoir and some pillars for an acqueduct are still visible (Elenco, LXIX, 86; Guida, 355). There are not many traces of the Romans in the region, but those known include a villa to the west of lu Bagnu and a dedication to Isis (CIL 10. 7948) and other inscription (SOTGIU, 307), a villa near the cantoniera Perdas de Fogu (Elenco, LXIX, 87), and remains of an '*antica villa*' in the locality Lu Rumasinu (NSc. 1961, 419–27).

CHEREMULE. There were once visible remains of what was called a Roman villa, including traces of a '*sala termale*', but no detailed description was ever given (Cart. arch. 193, I SE, 33 a). Other evidence of Roman occupation in the area is poor and meager (Scop. 1867, 43; 1870, 32; NSc. 1880, 110–2, 410; Cart. arch., cit., 63, 35 a; SS 9, 1949, 551; BPI 74, 1965, 118).

CORNUS. No traces of baths have survived at the site of the city of Cornus; but, given the fact that Cornus' tombs are among the richest in the Roman world (NSc. 1918, 295) and that the city was equipped with an acqueduct (Ibid., 306 f.; Cart. arch. 206, III SO, 36), it is difficult to believe that there was not at least one bathing establishment. Indeed, in the region Sisiddu, slightly to the north, across the Rio sa Canna, are remains of a building called Is Bangius ('*i bagni*') which has not yet been excavated: it may have been a *villa rustica* with a bath (NSc. 1918, 308–12). Further to the north, in Tanca desu Anzu (west of modern Cuglieri), were once visible remains which TARAMELLI thought were very probably of an '*edificio balneario o termale*' with a floor in '*cocciopisto*' (Cart. arch. 206, IV SO, 30). There was probably a number of villas in the entire region around Cornus, both near the sea (NSc. 1918, 288) and in the fields (Ibid., 293).

COROS. Among the traces of the Romans were '*vasche, canali e acquidotti*' (CASALIS, 5.441), which seem to indicate the existence of a bath.

DECIMO. In the region Binghias Beccias, between Decimo and Villaspeciosa, were once visible remains of a large wall in *opus latericium*, which may have been part of a villa; a sculpted sarcophagus, jewelry, and high-quality glass found in the vicinity (BAS 7, 1861, 93 f.; 8, 1862, 79) indicate a certain measure of opulence, allowing one to hypothesize the existence of a bath.

DONIGALA. Near the town, in a site called Gennedda, was discovered a copper vase dedicated by C. Stertinius Felix to Aesculapius (BAS 2, 1856, 126 with figure on p. 129; CIL 10. 7857); at this site numerous blocks of worked stone and fragments of ceramic ware had been observed, leading SPANO to suppose that it was a shrine to the god, which may have included baths (BAS 4, 1858, 92–4). The only other trace of the Romans in the region is a large, inscribed terracotta amphora handle (BAS 10, 1864, 157; CIL 10. 8051, 44.34).

DORGALI. Near the ruins of the thermal springs of S. Giovanni, about 4 km. NE of the town, was discovered the military diploma of Tunila Caresio (CIL 10. 7890). Another thermal spring in the area, at Su Madulu, may also have been frequented in antiquity: on the wall inside the grotto was a Greek inscription (ZEDDA, 31 f., quoting P. B. FLORIS). The area around Dorgali served as one of the last refuges of the native population against the Romans (NSc. 1933, 347 – 80) and exhibits many areas where the indigenous population continued well into Roman times; there are also many traces of Roman settlement, especially tombs, but also '*casette*' (BArte, 1928, 475) and other constructions (NSc. 1933, 365, 378, 367 – 9).

FONNI. Included in the guard-house complex at Sorabile was evidently a bathing establishment: the excavators found a quantity of *tegulae ansatae*, lead pipes, a mosaic floor, and a semi-circular pool (NSc. 1879, 352).

FORDONGIANUS. There still exist extensive remains of the Roman baths (Pl. I.1) on the left bank of the Tirso river. The town is the ancient Forum Traiani (MELONI, 253 – 5), and the baths are probably the Aquae Hypsitanae of Ptolemey (3.3.7). Covering an area of some 45 × 30 m., the baths were thoroughly examined by TARAMELLI (NSc. 1903, 469 – 92). From the location of the town and from the remains of Roman civilization in the area (bridges, roads, an acqueduct, a wall, inscriptions, possibly an amphitheater: ZEDDA, 15 – 61), we can be certain that Forum Traiani played an important role in teaching the natives the ways of the Romans. That the civilizing influence of the town had taken effect even before Trajan's time can be seen from the dedication, perhaps to Tiberius, made by the *civitates Barbariae* (SOTGIU, 188).

GUSPINI. In the fertile region of Urradili have been found '*granarie asinarie, manumole,*' bricks, fragments of arretine ware, an inscription (SOTGIU, 39), remains of a large villa and of an acqueduct (F. CHERCHI PABA, Villacidro e Guspini, Cagliari, 1969, 48); one may hypothesize the existence of a bath.

LACONI. There are few traces of the Romans in this area. Some tombs which SPANO (Scop. 1871, 8 f.) thought might have been Punic were considered Roman by LILLIU (Studi Etruschi 18, 1944, 348). Some ruins yielded an incised gem representing a running horse (Scop. 1867, 35 f.), which might indicate a military connection; elsewhere was found a quantity of terracotta missiles together with a republican coin of the family Tullia (BAS 6, 1860, 95: presumably of the late second century). There is also one inscription (SOTGIU 180; cf. EAD., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., above in this same volume [ANRW II 11,1], p. 567 A 180) which, if correctly reported, indicates only a slight degree of romanization:

Semerhai
etelites
aeternaive
i. cialectu
. . . nivonvpta
iacetminimum.

There may also have been a bath in the area; at any rate, ANGIUS (CASALIS, 9.49) reported large *'vasche'* in a site called Bangiu, near S. Daniele.

MARACALAGONIS. The thermae Rufianae referred to in the inscription SOTGIU, 158, may have been located here rather than in Cagliari (see above p. 745).

MARRUBIU. Outside a building with mosaic floors were remains of an acqueduct in *opus latericium* and of a furnace similarly constructed (BAS 9, 1863, 58), undoubtedly evidence for baths.

MORES. An area important for commercial and for strategic reasons, this zone exhibits numerous tombs, villas, houses, and other traces of a long and fairly dense settlement. Among these remains are those of a bath in the region S. Maria where a furnace and *caldarium* were visible in the early part of this century. Near these remains were many large jars for storing grain (Cart. arch. 193, I NE, 13), a clear indication that the baths were part of a *villa rustica.*

NARBOLIA. Among the sparse Roman remains in this district are two possible baths: one at the foot of Monte Entu, west of the town, the other in the fields near the abandoned church of S. Andrea, south of the town. In the first example, there were once visible remains of a Roman building, a rectangular edifice with a beaten pavement, some absidal rooms, and traces of terracotta canals running through the walls. Internally, the building was constructed of *opus incertum* covered with bricks (Cart. arch. 206, III SO, 12). The remains at S. Andrea were called *'forse termale'* by TARAMELLI (Ibid., 18).

NEAPOLIS. The site of this city, mentioned by Pliny (HN 3.7.85), is deduced from the name of the church of S. Maria de Nabui (south of Capo della Frasca in an area rich in Roman remains) (BAS 5, 1859, 129–37). It is only recently that the area has produced baths. In 1951 two baths were excavated, one a small one built of bricks with *caldarium* on the south; there were five rooms, one of which was semicircular and supported by *suspensurae* of squared bricks. An *apodyterium* was on the north, and there was a *frigidarium* constructed of two semicircular pools, the external wall of one of which was absidal. The second baths were discovered in the region S'Anzarza, near the sea. These baths were 'of noteworthy proportions.' There was a portico leading to a recreation or dressing room with a mosaic pavement and with other rooms around. The pools of the *caldarium* were fed from *'una* *bocca di aerazione,'* with elevated *praefurnium* supported on *suspensurae* (FA 6, 1951, 4672).

NORA (Pl. I.2 – II.4). Four baths have been excavated in this Punico-Roman city. First, just a short distance from the theater, are the Central Baths with numerous mosaic floors still in situ – a feature of all four. These baths were built over the foundations of Punic and Roman republican buildings (of which a single pavement in *opus spicatum* remains). Unfortunately, all of the baths of Nora – as, indeed, many of the buildings there – although described and photographed in some detail (G. PESCE, Nora, guida agli scavi, 2d ed., Cagliari, 1972), still lack excavation reports and published plans. The only dimension provided is for the length of the eastern *ambulacrum* of the Terme a mare (42 m.); these baths were constructed later than the central baths, perhaps in the Severan period. North of the Terme a mare are the small baths, which were perhaps private baths for the patrons of the contiguous large building which PESCE thought (p. 82 f.) might have been a sort of hotel. The fourth bath is on the easternmost edge of the city, along the road leading from Nora to Cagliari, fewer than 100 meters north of the Forum.

NUGHEDU. Near where the territory of this town meets that of Itireddu and Bonorva, in the region Su Soldanu, were *'molte pietre ben lavorate,'* foundations of houses, and some traces of an acqueduct as well as vases and a *'bellissimo cammeo'* (CASALIS, 12.627), perhaps the site of a *villa rustica* with bath.

OLBIA. Because of modern overbuilding, the main baths have not been systematically explored; the south foundation runs along the northern edge of the main street of the city, Corso Umberto (perhaps the Roman *decumanus maximus*). However, various discoveries have revealed many details: the baths were of an irregular, basically rectangular shape, covering some 1600 mq. The *caldarium*, a rectangular room of 8.4 × 9.5 m., has been fairly well preserved; it was constructed of *opus listatum*, a technique used in baths at Cagliari, Portotorres, and Fordongianus (PANEDDA, 53, n. 23) – providing a date for the construction of this part of the edifice in the late first or early second century A.D. (fig. 2). It is worth noting that the city's acqueduct was constructed in the same technique and probably at about the same time; it may, in fact, have been constructed primarily, if not exclusively, to supply water to the baths. The stamps on the *bipedales* of the hypocaust have been dated to the middle of the first century and to the early second century (PANEDDA, 53). A little more than 100 meters to the west, on the other side of the Corso, were discovered in 1911 remains of a small apse which TARAMELLI thought belonged to a bath (Cart. arch. 181 – 2, IV NO, 14); some imperial coins were discovered in these remains (PANEDDA, 112).

ORANI. The area around Orani and between Orani and Oniferi to the north (a source of steatite) was inhabited by the proto-Sardinians and shows various traces of settlement during the Roman period (Cart. arch. 207, IV SE, 3, IV NE, 35; Scop. 1873; SS, 7, 1947, 260; BAS 6, 1860, 99 f.). One of the

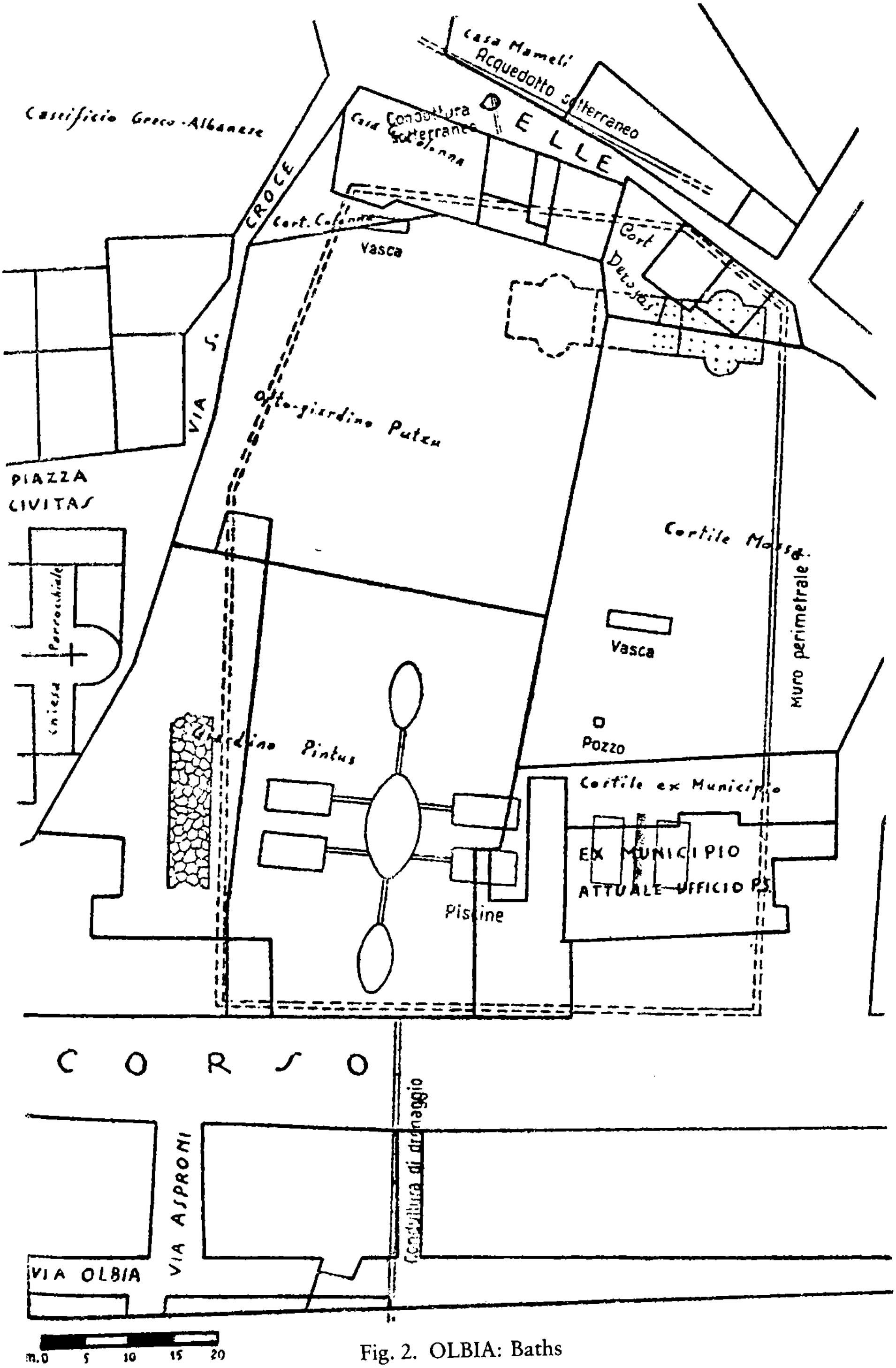

Casa Mameli
Acquedotto sotterraneo
Caseificio Greco-Albanese
Casa Colonna
Condottura sotterranea
DELLE
VIA S. CROCE
Cort. Colonna
Vasca
Cort Detosas
Orto-giardino Putzu
PIAZZA CIVITAS
Chiesa Parrocchiale
Cortile Mossa
Muro perimetrale
Vasca
Pozzo
Giardino Pintus
Cortile ex Municipio
EX MUNICIPIO
ATTUALE UFFICIO PS
Piscine
CORSO
Condottura di drenaggio
VIA ASPRONI
VIA OLBIA
m. 0 5 10 15 20

Fig. 2. OLBIA: Baths

natural features of the region is thermal waters which were used by the Romans: SPANO refers to the discovery of ancient ruins with pools and pieces of bronze, pottery, etc. (Emend. ed agg. 158).

PADRIA. In this area many traces of nuragic, Punic, and Roman civilizations have been found (CASALIS, 14. 30–32; BAS 10, 1864, 77; Scop. 1866, 10–22; 1867, 48; 1868, 20, 26; 1870, 20, 31 f.; 1876, 30; Cart. arch. 193, III SE, 48, 57, 58; NSc. 1947, 318; SS 7, 1947, 261 f.). It was evidently a prosperous community which continued until at least the middle of the third century A. D. In the 1860's SPANO saw, but did not describe in detail, a bathing establishment in the region S. Saturnino; there were remains of a building and of pools (Scop. 1866, 11, n. 2).

PORTO TORRES. The Roman port of Turris Libysonis (MELONI, 217–24) has provided a wealth of archaeological material, including many of the Roman objects in the Museo G. A. Sanna in Sassari, not the least of which are several baths. In 1820 F. LUNELLI DI CORTEMILIA (Scavi di antichità romane in Sardegna, Turin, 4–11) described a 'beautiful' bath near the Roman bridge (Pl. III. 5), with semicircular and rectangular pools covered with mosaics, as were the walls of the building. The so-called Palazzo di Re Barbaro, this is presumably the same building which ANGIUS located near the sea (CASALIS, 15. 656). LUNELLI also refers to *„moltissimi acquedotti e scolatoi sotterranei, vasche in varie forme ed una quantità di altri bagni"* (fig. 3). In 1856, SPANO (BAS 2, 141) mentioned the baths, but provided no details. Almost a century later, another bathing establishment was discovered; this one contained some interesting polychrome mosaics. The excavated portion consists of a large quadrangular room with its floor on *suspensurae*; three steps lead to a smaller, square pool. On the south side of the large hall is an entrance to another room, rectangular in form, with an apse. This room seems to have been covered by a barrel vault similar to the Terme a mare at Lepcis Magna (SS 7, 1947, 231 f.). Some twenty years later, another bath was discovered more to the west (SS 16, 1958/9, 738). In 1961, G. MAETZKE briefly analyzed the history of the baths described by LUNELLI and described what was then visible – a *caldarium* with *suspensurae* of blocks of local limestone (Architettura romana in Sardegna, Boll. del centro di studi per la storia di arch. 17, 1961, 54 f.). He dates the original construction of these baths, as well as of another, to the late first century, B. C. In the 1960's, excavations were taken up again in the area of the Palazzo di Re Barbaro, now called simply '*le grande terme*;' among the recent discoveries were some columns of granite with limestone bases and ionic capitals, part of the *tepidarium*, and some new mosaics (BArte, 1967, 205; 1968, 148).

ROMANA. Near the town, in the valley of the Temo river, in a locality named S. Giorgio, pools were discovered apparently used for collecting the therapeutic mineral waters; these pools date from the nuragic age. Much nuragic pottery was found in the area along with numerous Augustan coins and ex-voto's of the Roman period, a clear indication of continuous usage, if

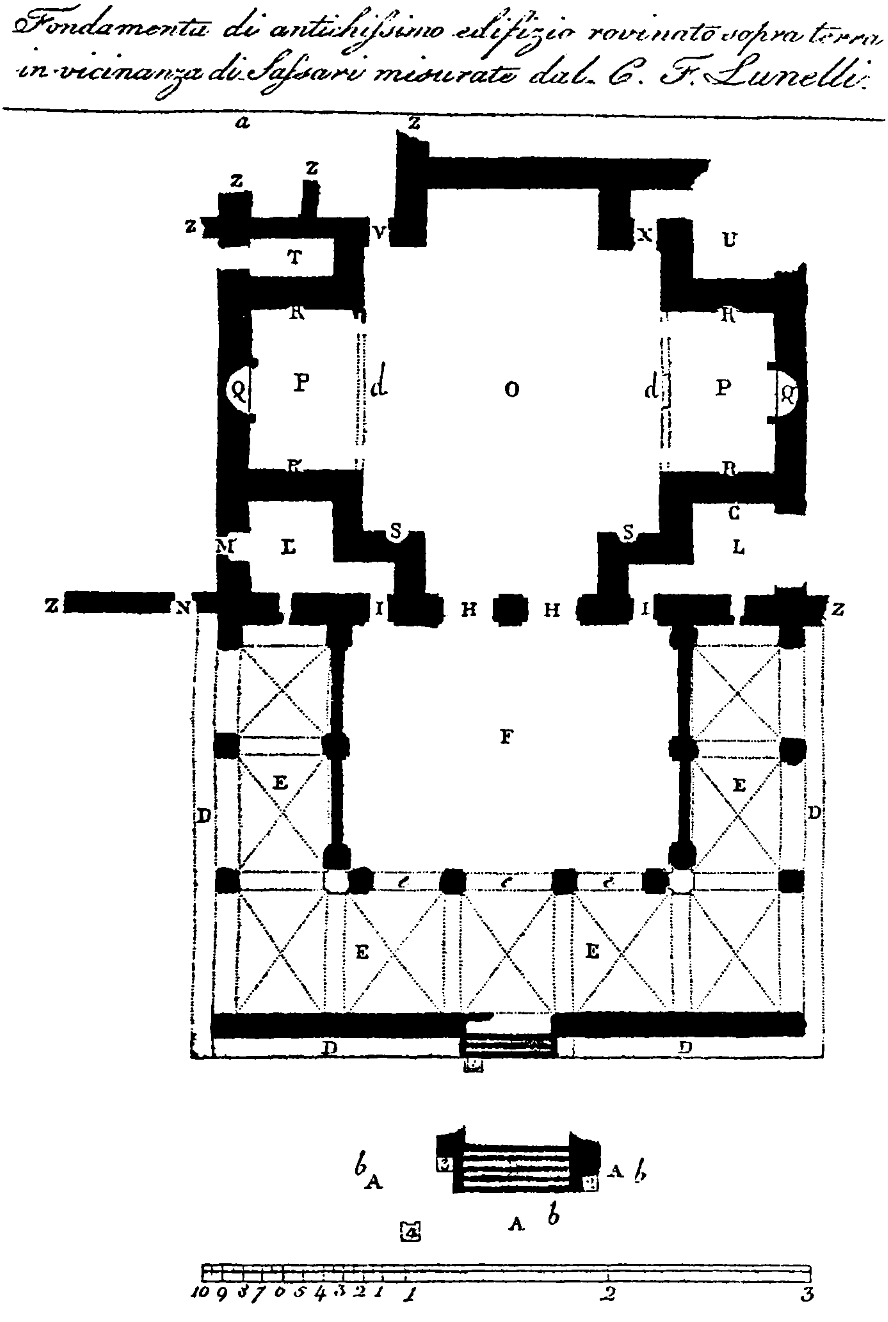

Fondamenta di antichissimo edifizio rovinato sopra terra
in vicinanza di Sassari misurate dal C. F. Lunelli:
a
Z
Z
Z
Z
V
X
U
T
R
R
P
Q
d
O
d
P
Q
R
R
C
S
S
M
L
L
Z
N
I
H
H
I
Z
F
E
E
D
D
e
e
e
E
E
D
D
b A
A b
A b
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
1
2
3

Fig. 3. PORTO TORRES: Baths as seen in 1820

not of continuity of population (FA 10, 1955, 4415). There are few other indications of the Romans in the region of Romana: some tombs, lamps, a *timiaterion,* and traces of dwellings, including some mosaics (Cart. arch. 193, IV So, 13; SS 9, 1949, 553).

S. ANDREA FRIUS. In a site called Bangius were traces of buildings „*che indicano d'esservi stata una cospicua villa*;" the remains included fragments of marble (SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 77). It probably was a *villa rustica*, which may have included baths.

S. ANTIOCO. In the 19th century, ANGIUS described an area of ruins outside the city perimeter; these ruins were of brick walls, '*pavimenti smaltati*', canals, cisterns, and other indications of a '*casa di bagni*' (CASALIS, 8. 382). S. Antioco, the ancient Sulcis, was a flourishing, prosperous Punico-Roman municipium (MELONI, 232–7) which undoubtedly had at least one public bathing establishment and probably several private ones, yet ANGIUS' note is our only indication of one.

S. BASILIO. In the cemetary of the village still exist remains of a Roman bath (Elenco, LXVIII, 158), probably the large ruins which SPANO twice mentions, once suggesting that they might have been a temple (Emend. ed agg. 76), and once noting that the building had been divided into many rooms (Scop. 1868, 28).

SANTU LUSSURGIU. In the region Banzos, in the relatively low ground southeast of the town, were once visible remains of what TARAMELLI (Cart. arch. 206, III NE, 11) called „*certemente resti di terme o di villa romana con bagni*;" the ruins included pavements in mosaic and well-constructed walls. The area of Santu Lussurgiu seems to have been within the territory delimited by the boundary marker of the Giddilitani and Euthiciani found near Cuglieri (EE 8. 732; F. CHERCHI PABA, Santulussurgiu e S. Leonardo di Settefuentes, Cagliari, 1956, 9). The only other traces of the Romans are extremely sparse (Scop. 1870, 30; 1873, 42; Cart. arch. 206, II NO, 30).

S. MARTINO. One of the better known mineral water springs in present day Sardinia is the Bagni di S. Martino, southeast of Sassari. These springs were known and apprently used in nuragic times because there is a votive well in the vicinity; they were undoubtedly also used in Roman times: pottery, bricks, worked stone, coins, and other objects have been found at the site (SPANO, Emend. ed agg. 193).

SARDARA. The most important, and best known, baths in Sardinia today are the baths of S. Maria de is Acquas, just west of the town; the modern bathing establishment is built over the Roman baths, leaving no trace of the original construction. The Roman baths were known to G. F. FARA (De Corographia Sardiniae, 97) and to ANGIUS (CASALIS, 18. 902), but were described only by SPANO (BAS 5, 1859, 20–24): a large rectangular hall, covered with a barrel vault, four other rooms, and a small apse (which was probably a later addition) (fig. 4). The actual Roman baths were undoubtedly

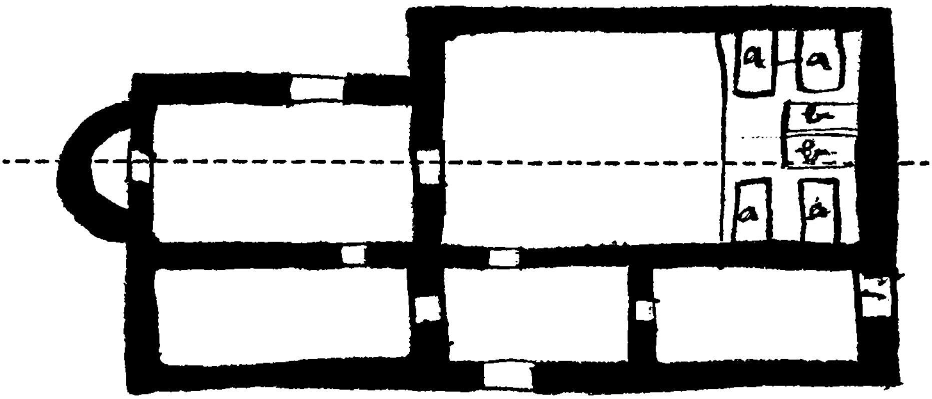


Fig. 4. SARDARA: Baths

even larger because there were other pools in the vicinity which were certainly also covered. Other finds in the area of Sardara include a variety of minor ones (Scop. 1875, 8; SS 8, 1948, 427) and an important agricultural center about 10 km. SE of the baths (NSc. 1909, 332–5).

SARROCH. Ruins of a large edifice, with masses of marble, were long known in the region S'Antigori, north of the town (CASALIS, 23. 16), but it was only in 1889 that it was discovered that this was a *villa rustica* with remains of a furnace for heating water for a bath (NSc. 1889, 170 f.).

SESTU. The constant agricultural utilization of the fields of Sestu, as elsewhere, has contributed to the destruction of ancient remains in the area; still, much has survived: tombs, inscriptions, artifacts of various sorts, some traces of buildings (SS 7, 1947, 41, n. 18). One building, in the region Foradas just west of the modern town, contained pools '*a smalto*' (ibid.), probably remains of a bath, perhaps of a *villa rustica.*

SILIGO. One of the more interesting ancient buildings to have survived in Sardinia is the Chiesa di Mesumundu di Nostra Signora, northeast of Siligo (Pl. IV. 6). It has long been recognized that this church was built over, and reused part of, a Roman bath (BAS 3, 1857, 165–7; 5, 1859, 105; Cart. arch. 193, I NO, 31), but it was only in recent years that a systematic exploration was made (NSc. 1965, 307–14) although it unfortunately did not include some of the nearby fields, some of the stone fences of which clearly include additional remains of a building (fig. 5). It is now clear that the Roman bath was already in a state of decay when the church was constructed.

SOLARUSSA. The only traces of the Roman period here were foundations of a building which may have been a bath; about two km. away were found many terracotta pipes (35 m. diam.) which perhaps brought water to this (or to some other) bath, or to a fountain (CASALIS, 24. 255). In the zone, at Simaxis and at Zerfaliu, there are some few traces of the Romans (Scop.

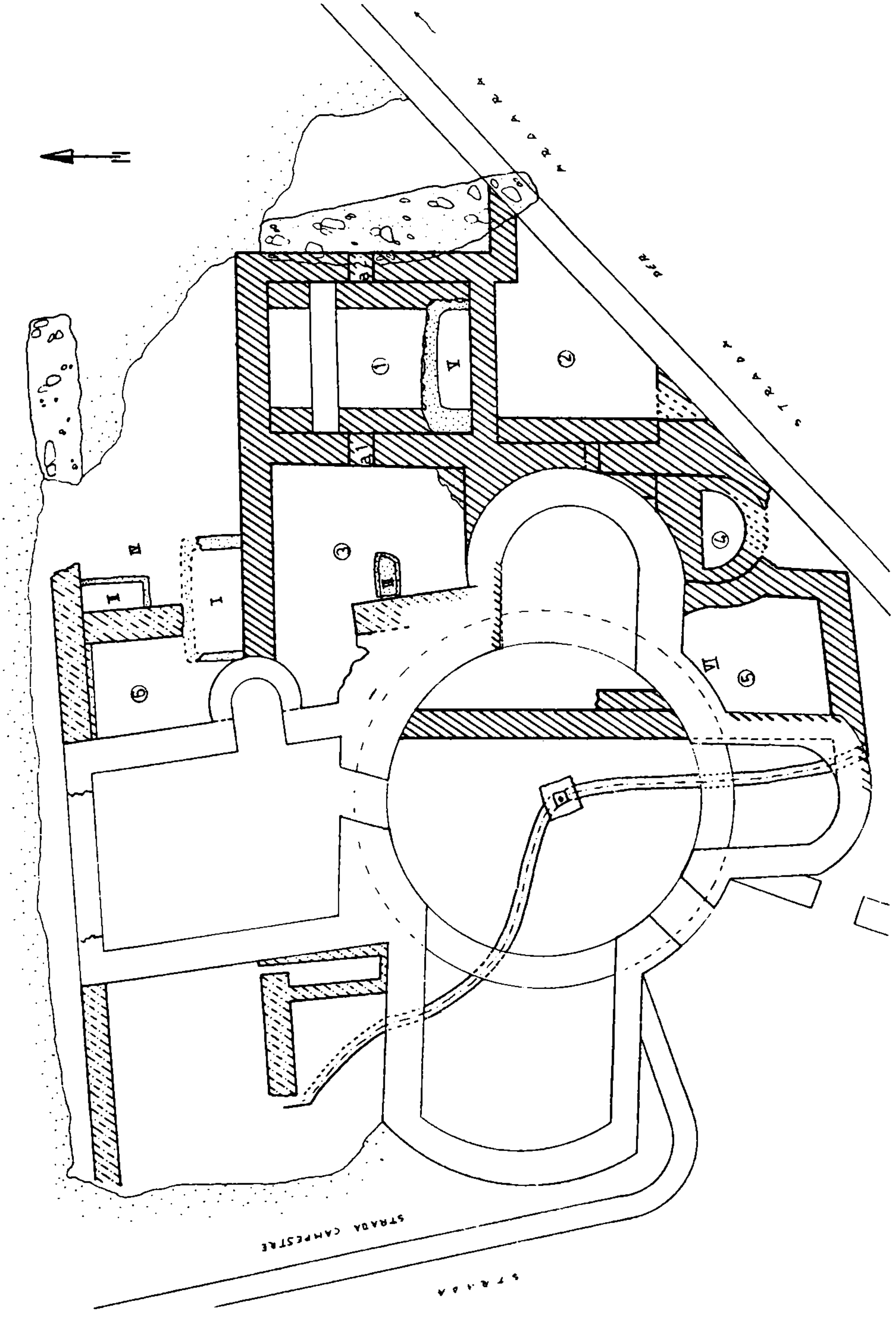

①
②
③
④
⑤
⑥
V
I
I
II
VI
a
a
STRADA CAMPESTRE
STRADA
STRADA PER

Fig. 5. SILIGO: Baths

1869, 25 f.; 1871, 8; NSc. 1918, 76–9) – undoubtedly, the region was intensively worked agriculturally then as it is today.

SORSO. This fertile area was inhabited in the Roman period as is testified by a few tombs and by two baths, one described and illustrated by SPANO (BAS 6, 1860, 129–32), the other only briefly described recently (SS 9, 1949, 560). In the earlier baths (fig. 6), the letters A, B, C indicate three rooms with *opus signinum*. Those marked E and F seem to have been pools, the first smaller than the second; the one is 3 × 2 m., the other 4 × 5.5m. The rooms marked I and O formed part of the building, as did the area to the left of N, which was not excavated although traces of a wall were visible. The room marked G was a hall with twenty-four columns (R). The area marked F seems to have been a cistern because in the corners connecting F with G were two small drains (a, b). There was a cement conduit in B and C. Traces of mosaics and an inscription (CIL 10. 7947) were also found; the inscription reads *Genio villaes com. villa.*, hence, the baths undoubtedly belonged to an opulent *villa rustica*. The second set of baths covered an area 45 × 30 m.; among the remains were two rectangular pools in *opus incertum*. These also seem to have belonged to an opulent villa: some tombs were

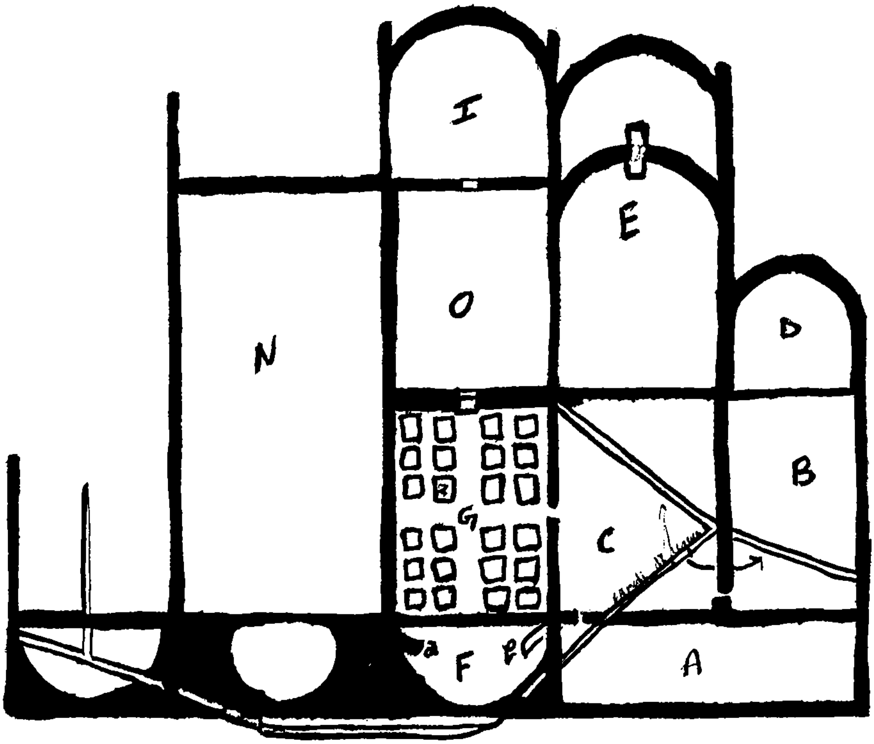


Fig. 6. SORSO: Baths

discovered in the area, including an inscription on marble, and a silver bird (NSc. 1880, 409; SS 9, 1949, 557).

TELTI. A large quantity of Roman ruins was explored in the 1890's; among the buildings were *'vasche, cunicoli'*, and mosaics (PANEDDA, agro, 132).

THARROS (Pl. IV. 7 – V. 8). Two baths have been excavated in the Punico-Roman city of Tharros (G. PESCE, Tharros, Cagliari, 1966; cf. S. MOSCATI, Introduzione a Tharros, Riv. Stud. Fen. 3, 1975, 89 – 99). The larger of the two, Terme n. II or Terme Convento Vecchio, are fairly well preserved. Probably built in the second century, they were constructed on three levels, partly in *opus mixtum* and, for the *caldaria* (of which there were three), in *opus latericium*. On the upper level are the remains of an *apoditerium* and of a *frigidarium* which was covered with a vault and which had two pools, one with an apse. From the *frigidarium,* one can pass to a room which was perhaps the *tepidarium* which, in turn, leads to one of the *caldaria.* The *praefurnium* is still visible on the lower level with remains of the *suspensurae*; the *caldarium* to the east of this area was in later times converted into a brickmaking furnace. There is also a latrine connected with the baths (as is the case of the Terme a mare at Nora) and several pieces of mosaic have survived (PESCE, Tharros 154 – 9; SS 14/15, 1955/1, 331 – 51). The other baths are to the northeast of the Terme Convento Vecchio; they were constructed over a punic building (SS 14/15, 1955/1, 320 – 9) in *opus listatum.*There were two *caldaria,* one of which was later converted to other uses. Both baths were used as cemetaries in Byzantine times (PESCE, Tharros 144 – 6; SS 16, 1958/9, 320, 334). There was also an acqueduct to Tharros, which will have served, at least in part, the needs of the baths.

USSANA. The fertile fields around the town were evidently extensively inhabited and intensively worked during the Roman period as is attested by the various tombs found in the area (Scop. 1869, 28; NSc. 1906, 56 – 8; SS 7, 1947, 41, n. 19). In 1949, new evidence, probably of a *villa rustica,* came to light with the discovery of a bath in the locality S. Lorenzo, northeast of the town. In the vicinity of the ruins of the baths were traces of other ruins of the Roman period. These baths consisted of a *tepidarium* (partially reused for a medieval church), a rectangular *caldarium,* the short ends of which were absidal, with two hypocausts, and a *frigidarium,* with two pools; there was another room which may have been a *laconicum.* Parallels to the form of the bath, except for the orientation of the *caldarium* to the east, are to be found in Africa. They seem to date to the late Empire, perhaps to the fourth century (SS 9, 1949, 517 – 27; FA 4, 1949, 3936).

VALLERMOSA. About 1 km. northeast of the town is the medieval church of S. Maria; outside the wall, behind the main altar, are traces of an apse; the original construction, perhaps a bath, was of *opus listatum,* perhaps of the fourth century. Perhaps this is another example of a bath converted into a church, or possibly we are dealing with a church which had a bath attached to it (A. FIGUS, La chiesa di Santa Maria di Vallermosa alla luce di recenti scoperte, Cagliari, 1961, 5 – 19).

Appendix: Two other possible bath sites are at FLUMENTEPIDO, in the mining country of the southwestern part of the island, where SPANO says there were '*vetusti ruderi*' at the site Cabu d'aquas calentis, and, second, at Abba Sansa or Bagnos Romanos west of BONORVA where there were '*ruderi e vestigia di antiche case*' (BAS 5, 1859, 92, 105).

II. Mosaics

(distribution map, fig. 17)

Many of the baths reported above were decorated with mosaics, and it may be that some of the sites where mosaics are reported to have been found were also sites of baths. To the extent that the existence of mosaics is an indication of a certain measure of prosperity, the number and distribution of mosaics reveal a greater amount of surplus wealth than might have been thought to be the case; they also reveal, however, that such wealth was concentrated in a relatively small number of individuals' hands. At some sites, their presence is a result of Roman military occupation. Although some of the mosaics date to republican times, the bulk of them seems best dateable to the second and third centuries A. D.

ALGHERO. There are two reports of mosaics in the area: ANGIUS reported seeing on the beach at Santimbenia (Porto Conte) some pieces of mosaic pavements, '*un po' grossolano*' (CASALIS, 1. 222). SPANO later (Scop. 1867, 31) reported a tomb with a mosaic pavement. The tomb contained a number of luxury objects, but the mosaic is not described in detail.

ANTAS. At least part of the floor of the temple of Sardus Pater (Pl. V. 9) was covered with mosaics; extensive remains, still in situ, consist of white *tesserae* with darker internal borders.

ARDARA. SPANO's collection of antiquities (Cat. racc. SPANO, 91, nr. 28) included a piece of a mosaic found in Canedis near Ardara; there is a nuraghe Canedis north of Ardara in a relatively level and well watered area, an ideal site for a *villa rustica*. The only other trace of the Roman in the territory of Ardara is a fragmentary inscription (SOTGIU, 236).

ASSOLO. The very sparse remains around Assolo (east of the Roman colonia of Usellus) include what seems to be traces of a *villa rustica*: the church of S. Lucia appeared to SPANO to have been built over a Roman building; there were traces of other constructions nearby, the rooms of which had pavements which seemed to be mosaic (Scop. 1868, 32). There were some inscriptions in the vicinity, but these yield very little information (CIL 10. 7848 – 50); most interesting is the fragmentary name *-amocada* (7848), which parallels *Valeria Amoccada* (CIL 10. 7842), whose tombstone at Vallermosa was erected by her husband L. Memius Saturninus.

BARUMINI. In the site called Bangius were discovered various objects in glass, terracotta, bronze, and silver, all in the midst of the ruins of a room with a mosaic floor, of which no details were given (Scop. 1866, 29). This was undoubtedly the site of a *villa rustica.*

BALLAO. In the region S. Chiara, near the remains of a nuraghe, were traces of a Roman building with a floor of *'cocciopisto'* (NSc. 1919, 184).

BIORA. According to Guida, 424, there are visible some pavements in mosaic, but I have been unable to find details.

CAGLIARI. (Pl. VI. 10 – VII. 12). The most beautiful and well known of all of the mosaics found in Sardinia was discovered in Cagliari in 1762: a marvelous polychrome mosaic representing Orpheus surrounded by animals, it is now in the Egyptian Museum in Turin. It was discovered in Stampace in the building later called the Casa di Tigellio (Scop. 1873, 5; NSc. 1876, 60; cf. S. ANGIOLILLO, Il mosaico di Orfeo al Museo di Torino, SS 23, 1973/4, 181 – 9). Another beautiful mosaic, said to be the equal of the former, representing Hercules, likewise found in Cagliari in the 18th century, was lost at sea while being transported to Barcelona (BAS 4, 1858, 161 – 5; Atti della Accad. Sc. di Torino, 10/11, 1875/6, 101). The earliest of the mosaics known from Cagliari is a Punico-roman floor mosaic with a representation of Tanit and of a palm, found in a house in the Campo Scipione (Via Po), now in the Museum in Cagliari (G. PESCE, Sardegna punica, Cagliari, 1960, 76; cf. SS 7, 1947, 253 f.). Mosaics of similar technique were also found in some Punico-roman dwellings to the northeast of the Via Po (NSc. 1943, 155 – 65). Taking the other mosaics of Cagliari in the chronological order in which their discovery was reported, we find G. CARA noting the discovery of a mosaic in Stampace in BAS 1, 1855, 51 f. In BAS 2, 1856, 88, n. 1, SPANO reports the finding of a fragment of another mosaic in the same area. In connection with the baths noted above, near the church of S. Pietro, were some fragments of mosaics (BAS 3, 1857, 59). From S. Avendrace came mosaics representing a deer with a human figure and another with a greyhound running; these were made of *„piccolissimi cubi di una rara finezza e naturalezza"* (BAS 4, 1858, 138 f.). Near the Piazza del Carmine, among various objects (including a coin of Domitian) were many *'tasselli'* of a mosaic of various colors (BAS 5, 1859, 45). In 1862, among the remains of a large building, near the Piazza of S. Carlo (now Piazza Yenne) and Via S. Francesco, was at least one figured mosaic which was destroyed at the time of discovery: there were *'tasselli'* of red, green, and yellow (BAS 8, 1862, 63 f.). Also in Stampace, near the church of S. Paolo, were found foundations of buildings, pieces of mosaics, and remains of stuccoed walls, along with the remains of columns and capitals; there were also some coins, including a bronze of Vespasian and others in gold (Scop. 1865, 33). In-

1868, at the Casa di Tigellio, were uncovered two large rooms with mosaic pavements, in connection with the baths noted above; one represented a peacock the other „*è formato a quadrelli bianchi e rossi come se fosse una camera pianellata.*" Two coins, quadrantes, were found under the first mosaic, the '*tasselli*' of which were of red, white, and black marble. Other mosaics were visible in the area of this excavation. In the vicinity, on the property of a certain Sig. Marongiu, was a large, simple mosaic of white marble '*tasselli*' (Scop. 1868, 13 f.; NSc. 1876, 61). Near the Punic temple of Venus Erycina on Capo Sant'Elia were some houses of the Roman period; among their remains were fragments of mosaics (Scop. 1870, 14). Among the numerous Roman remains in the area of the present day Orto Botanico were discovered some rooms constructed in limestone; at least some of these included mosaics among their decorative elements (Scop. 1872, 14). In the following year there was discovered, opposite the church of S. Efisio in Stampace, a mosaic with a floral design (Scop. 1873, 5 f.). In 1874, other fragments of mosaics were discovered on the Marongiu property (Scop. 1874, 6). Still another mosaic was discovered in the following year in the same place, this one also made of white marble '*tasselli*'; another floor of the same establishment was constructed in *opus signinum*. Three meters further down were Punic remains which SPANO concluded indicated a shrine or temple to Eshmun (Scop. 1875, 6). In 1876, SPANO returned to the area of the Casa di Tigellio where, among many other objects, he found four entire pavements in mosaic (Scop. 1876, 6; NSc. 1876, 60, 148–54, 173–6; 1877, 285 f.; cf. SS 19, 330–48). In the catalogue of his collection, SPANO included several pieces of mosaic which seem not to have been described elsewhere: one a piece of mosaic '*molto grossolano*' discovered in S. Avendrace (p. 91, nr. 29), the other a fragment found near the house of the Cappuccini (across the street from the amphitheater) (p. 91, nr. 31). In Stampace, near the Largo Carlo Felice, were discovered some remains of a building '*di accurata struttura*' which included a mosaic pavement, '*piuttosto commune*' (NSc. 1888, 607 f.).

In the area of Bonaria, in the eastern part of the city, among a number of Christian tombs, some with wall paintings (cf. Nuov. Boll. Arch. Christ. 7, 1901, 61–9), were discovered several tombs with mosaic floors: these were polychrome mosaics with geometric designs (NSc. 1892, 188). In Stampace there were some traces of a house, '*di qualche importanza*', as was deduced from the existence of a mosaic floor; this too was polychrome with geometric designs (NSc. 1896, 212 f.). Among the remains of the baths published in 1909 (NSc., 135–47) were many mosaics: one, a large floor mosaic of polychrome lozenges bordered by '*dentelli*'; this mosaic is divided into twenty-five rectangular compartments, twenty-four around a central scene which features a rose, the other compartments representing various stylized floral designs or figures (Eros on a dolphin, a Nereid, an ichthyocentaur, etc.). TARAMELLI points to stylistic connections between these mosaics and the Orpheus mosaic (above) as well as those discovered in the Casa di Tigellio. Among the large number of objects discovered in the Piazza del Carmine, dating from pre-Roman to late Imperial times, are a few bits of mosaic, whose purpose and date are impossible to guess (NSc. 1949, 266). At the Largo Carlo Felice, in Stampace, near the baths discussed above, were discovered at the same time as the baths, remains of private houses, some pavements of which were decorated with polychrome mosaics with geometric and floral designs (SS 16, 1958/59, 742). Finally, in 1961, G. SOTGIU published a previously unpublished mosaic inscription with geometric and marine designs (SOTGIU, 58).

CALASETTA. On the northwest corner of the Isola di S. Antioco near the village of Calasetta, SPANO saw an ancient mosaic decorating the local church (BAS 4, 1858, 140, n. 1); the only other Roman remains reported from the area are some Republican (NSc. 1890, 396) and late Imperial (NSc. 1883, 217 f.) coins.

CAPOTERRA. As part of the baths (above), perhaps of the *frigidarium*, there was a pavement decorated with a 'varicolored' geometric mosaic of irregularly shaped tesserae (FA 5, 1950, 4193).

CASTRO. At this site, on the Lago di Coghinas, southwest of Oschiri, where now are visible only slight remains of a Roman *castellum*, there once was a fairly large number of mosaics (BAS 4, 1858, 140). Other Roman remains are rare: some jewelry (Scop. 1870, 32) and tombs, which yielded two glass vessels, both with inscriptions (BAS 2, 1856, 154 f.); some coins were also found, but no details are given (Ibid., 47).

COROS. According to the note of ANGIUS (CASALIS, 5. 441), there were many reports of discoveries of tombs with lamps and vases 'of singular form', well worked mosaics of various colors, and other artefacts.

ELMAS. On the shore of the Stagno di Cagliari, there once were visible many remains of magnificent buildings, including mosaics, columns, and capitals (CASALIS, 6. 332). Numerous inscriptions have been found in the area (CIL 10. 7826 – 30; EE 8. 722; SOTGIU, 161 – 6; cf. EAD., L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., above in this same volume [ANRW II 11,1], p. 565 A 161) as well as various other Roman remains (NSc. 1923, 288 f.; SS 9, 1949, 498 – 501).

FONNI. On the road between Cagliari and Olbia, some two km. north of the present day village of Fonni, stood the *statio* of Saralapis (Ptol. 3.3.7) or Sorabile (It. Ant. 81). In the days of ANGIUS, numerous remains were visible (CASALIS, 6.726 f.), but chance finds and systematic research have failed to disclose anything so lavish as ANGIUS described. One republican coin was found at Sorabile, "where consular coins are frequently found" (BAS 4, 1858, 159), while, at a site called Masiloi on the road to Sorabile, there have been numerous finds of Roman material, including Republican and Imperial coins (Ibid., 124). In 1879 and 1881 were published the results of systematic exploration undertaken by VIVANET and NISSARDI (NSc. 1879, 3504; 1881, 31 – 5) by which they discovered remains of a guard house and other buildings, including baths (above). Included among these remains was a floor constructed of a tessellated mosaic; white and green (*'verdognoli'*) *'tasselli'* are mentioned. Another building similarly had pavements in green and white mosaic (as well as floors *'battuto di argilla'*). An important inscription, undoubtedly referring to Sorabile, was found in Fonni some years ago (SOTGIU, 221); it probably dates to the mid third century. The only other inscription in the area (CIL 10. 7889) apparently conceals the name of an indigenous Sardinian: Celes Cusin. There is also a fragment of a military diploma found nearby in a locality called Dronnoro (NSc. 1882, 440). In the territory are traces of the Roman road and of bridges over the rivers Gusana and Taloro (F. FOIS, I ponti romani in Sardegna, Sassari, 1964, 29 f.).

FORDONGIANUS. In the summer of 1969 there was discovered a large (more than 20 mq.) red and black mosaic with geometric designs; as yet unpublished, it is now in the Museum in Cagliari (US, 2 July 1969). This is not the first mosaic discovered at Fordongianus; one of the most interesting in the whole island is described by ZEDDA (p. 21 f.): less than an hour's distance from the city was an old castle (*'su casteddu becciu'*), the foundation of which was a nuraghe over which had been constructed, in the Roman period, the *castellum*. The construction had various rooms, both circular and square, one of which had *'una volta ogivale'*; this room was paved with a mosaic. The baths at Fordongianus were floored with mosaics, traces of which were once visible (ZEDDA, 25), but of which nothing now remains. One of them consisted of *„rombi di tasselli di colore rosso e nero alternati"* (NSc. 1903, 479). Another mosaic, discovered in 1874 (Scop. 1874, 22), is described as *„un ornato di foglie di pampini che fanno un bel risalto, in giro ed in mezzo avvi una gran ghirlanda ben intrecciata, con altre quattro più piccole agli angoli dello stesso mosaico"*.

GUSPINI. A mosaic was discovered in 1936 in the region Bangius or Sa Tribuna, but was destroyed before being accurately described (SS 9, 1949, 424).

ISILI. Near the town, in the region Bangiarxia, were once visible remains of a small *villa rustica*: two fragments of walls (2.8 and 1 m. long) and a floor composed of a geometric mosaic made of polychrome *tesserae* (SS 7, 1947, 58, n. 60).

NEAPOLIS. Although this city has yielded the remains of several large buildings and of two baths, only one of the baths had a mosaic described. The large baths at S'Anzrarza, near the sea, had a *'spogliatoio'* with a mosaic floor constructed of *tesserae 'di vari colori'* (FA 6, 1951, 4672).

MARRUBBIU. According to TARAMELLI (Mon. Ant. 25, 1919, 24), *„l'agro di Marrubbiu . . . solcato da numerosi rigagnoli che scendendo dal M. Arci, conserva molte traccie di ville e di costruzioni agrarie d'età romana"*; however, the only published remains are of a single large building, briefly mentioned by ANGIUS (CASALIS, 10. 198) and described in more detail by SPANO (BAS 9, 1863, 57–9). There were eight rooms of varying size, each floored with a mosaic, most of which were „*lavorati a fregii di diversi colori*". There were also traces of an acqueduct and of a furnace (cf. above); coins in the region were of the imperial period.

NORA (Pl. II.3, II.4, VIII.13, VIII.14). There are many mosaics still in situ in the city of Nora; one of these, from the Republican period, is similar to the Punico-roman mosaics of Cagliari (crushed terracotta with '*tassellini*' of white marble), but without the figures; two of the rooms of the building with the '*cocciopisto*' mosaic had later mosaics of white cubes (PESCE, Nora, 73). In the area of the forum, to the east, are remains of an *ambulacrum*, behind which are traces of a building with traces of a mosaic floor (PESCE, Nora, 55). To the north of the forum is a Roman temple with several different mosaic floors: an open walkway around the *cella*, the large square *cella*, and a smaller room off the sacred area all have mosaics (PESCE, Nora, 55 f.). The orchestra of the theater, the only surviving theater in Sardinia, was paved with mosaic and with marble inlay (*opus sectile*) (PESCE, Nora, 62). The central baths had several mosaics preserved: a corridor with a white and yellow floor, and the *frigidarium* with its undulating pattern (PESCE, Nora, 69–71). East of the central baths is another *ambulacrum* which also has a pavement in white and yellow mosaic; off of this *ambulacrum* is a series of rooms, some of which have mosaic floors, perhaps living quarters (PESCE, Nora, 75). To the north of this area is a rectangular construction in *opus mixtum*, perhaps a *nymphaeum*, surrounded by a portico with two aisles on three sides and one aisle on the fourth; these aisles are paved in polychrome mosaics with geometric designs (PESCE, Nora, 75 f.). Northwest of the theater is an extensive Punic area, rebuilt in Roman times, which PESCE calls the Kasbah, within which are some traces of mosaic pavements which may date to the republican period (PESCE, Nora, 79–81). Near the northwestern limit of the city are the small baths where there remain polychrome, geometric mosaics in the *frigidarium, apodyterium*, and *ambulacrum* (PESCE, Nora, 81 f.). In the large baths by the sea there are only a few traces of mosaics surviving; however, given the size and date of the structure, there must have been mosaics thoughout. South of these baths are the remains of the house with the tetrastyle atrium, in some of the rooms of which are beautiful examples of polychrome, geometric mosaics; the walls of this building also showed excellent examples of painted stucco (PESCE, Nora, 87 f.). Still further south are the remains of another building, perhaps with a peristyle; this, too, has fragments of a mosaic pavement on the two excavated *ambulacra* (PESCE, Nora, 89). At the extreme southeastern end of the city is a large temple, the courtyard of which was paved with a geometric mosaic (PESCE, Nora, 89–96). Finally, the baths in the east also have polychrome, geometric mosaic floors (PESCE, Nora 108–10).

NURAMINIS. A fragment of a mosaic was once discovered here; it was apparently polychrome ('*a diversi colori*') and geometric ('*non figurato*') (BAS 4, 1858, 140; Cat. racc. SPANO, 91, nr. 27).

OLBIA. Several traces of buildings with mosaics have been found. One, with a large floor of white *tesserae*, was found in the Villa Tamponi in a context with seven large columns of granite (NSc. 1889, 172; PANEDDA, 92), perhaps belonging to a public building. Nearby were other foundations of buildings and traces of mosaic pavements (Ibid.). Among the remains of the baths was found a rectangular pavement in mosaic, also of white '*tasselli*' (NSc. 1881, 175; PANEDDA, 98). Also part of the baths was found in the Giardino Pintus: a mosaic of white '*tasselli*' with bands of black and red '*tasselli*' on the border (NSc. 1896, 384; PANEDDA, 102). An interesting mosaic was discovered in 1865 in the necropolis of S. Simplicio (Scop. 1865, 41; PANEDDA, 123): the burial consisted of one skeleton in a *hypogeum* along with fragments of glass and four bronze coins, two of Vespasian, two of Domitian. Over the vault was a mosaic with '*rosoni*' and decorations of various colors on the borders. Elsewhere was found a mosaic in black and white *tesserae* along with foundations of a building (10 × 7 m.) (PANEDDA, 96). Among some sporadic finds between the Corso Umberto and the Via Cagliari were some '*tasselli*' '*bianchi e neri*' (PANEDDA, 108); some traces of a wall with a pavement in a mosaic '*a tasselli bianchi*' were found on the Corso Umberto (*Panedda*, 114). Outside of the city, in the area Tilibbas, were traces of a building with a pavement in mosaic of black and white *tesserae* (PANEDDA, agro, 116 f.). Slightly to the north, near a stream, were remains of a building with a mosaic floor (PANEDDA, agro, 117). North of the city, in the region Cabu Abbas, was once visible the traces of a large building, perhaps somehow connected with the acqueduct to Olbia; among the remains of this building was a floor of black and white mosaic (PANEDDA, agro, 122).

OZIERI. Among the sparse Roman remains in this area were some traces of brick walls with '*rozzi pavimenti a mosaico*'; here were found two gold coins and numerous remains of glass objects (NSc. 1891, 240). There are other finds of coins in the region: copper (ibid.), republican denarii (Cart. arch. 194, IV SO, 1), two second century A.D. bronzes, found in connection with fragments of bricks and tiles (SS 7, 1947, 261), and a funerary inscription of a certain *Ferentius Miloni f(ilius)* (SS 16, 1958/9, 739; FA 17, 1962, 4063).

PADRIA. In 1945 a mosaic pavement was found, '*di ottima fattura,*' with geometric design, dated to the second or first century B.C. (SS 7, 1947, 262, with Tav. I.4; F. FOIS in US, 11 June 1964). SPANO also mentions a '*bel mosaico*' (Scop. 1866, 11).

PIRRI. In the region Nostra Donna d'Itria were discovered some traces of Roman buildings, perhaps a *villa rustica*, which included „*un tratto di mosaico grossolano che forse era il fondo di una vasca*" (NSc. 1884, 199).

PLOAGHE. Among the numerous remains here is one extremely interesting mosaic: about 4 km. from the village were traces of a Roman building which incorporated into its structure a nuraghe; this rare villa had two rooms paved in mosaic (BAS 4, 1858, 190).

PORTO TORRES. (Pl. IX.15). In the early 19th century, LUNELLI DI CORTEMILIA described several mosaics which he had seen at Porto Torres: 1) the pavements of various rooms near the harbor, in mosaics of various designs; 2) the pools of the baths near the bridge which were covered with mosaics; 3) the *cella* of a 'temple' (Palazzo di Re Barbaro?) on the top of the hill which had a mosaic floor of very beautiful designs (Scavi di antichità romane in Sardegna, Turin, 1820, 11). SPANO mentions discoveries near the Palazzo di Re Barbaro which included many pavements of mosaics with *„bellissimi disegni a quadrati di diversi colori, con meandri ed ippogrifi"* found near the beach (BAS 2, 1856, 140; 4, 1858, 140). Among the mosaics donated by SPANO to the museum in Cagliari are two fragments from Porto Torres, one *'con tasselli rossi'* the other *'a diversi colori'* (Cat. racc. SPANO, 91, nr. 11, 33); the loss of others is deplored by A. DELLA MARMORA (Itinerario dell'isola di Sardegna, Cagliari, 1868, 2.117). Additional discoveries have been made in more recent times. Near the harbor was found part of a peristyle, on the east side of which was a portico with marble columns and a pavement of marble covered with a polychrome mosaic (white, black, red, and yellow) with floral designs; another area of the same construction also had a polychrome mosaic, with floral and geometric designs, perhaps from the early fourth century (SS 7, 1947, 229 f.). In the small baths (above) were several mosaics. A large part of the floor of the *caldarium* was extant at the time of discovery: it was polychrome with geometric and marine designs (in white, black, red, yellow, rose, azure, green, and *'grigio-bruno'*). The mosaic of the pool was of geometric design made of white, black, and yellow *tesserae* (ibid., 231). Among the Roman tombs at Porto Torres is a late imperial *hypogeum* with, inter alia, a mosaic inscription on the floor (SS 8, 1948, 430). Another tomb, a Christian one, includes mosaic inscriptions, perhaps prompted by the name of one of the recipients, Septimia Musa (NSc. 1966, 355 – 65). The mosaic is polychrome with meander patterns. Finally, a polychrome, geometric mosaic has recently been uncovered on the floor of one of the *tepidaria* of the large baths (BArte 1968, 148). Some of these mosaics are on display in the Museum in Sassari, others are still in situ, for the most part unprotected from the elements.

QUARTU S. ELENA. Among the traces of the Romans, which include buildings, tombs, coins, and inscriptions, there was once a *'bel pavimento in mosaico'* (F. CHERCHI PABA, Quartu S. Elena e il suo litorale, Cagliari, 1965, 7), probably from a *villa rustica*.

ROMANA. The locality Sevine has yielded a mosaic floor (SS 9, 1949, 553); no context is given, but the area had previously yielded tombs and ceramics (above p. 751 – 3).

S. ANDREA FRIUS. There are reports of several mosaics found here, in an area where there was a fairly extensive settlement in Roman times as well as a Punico-roman shrine, apparently, to judge from the ex-voto's, to a healing divinity (below p. 792). ANGIUS reported that in 1829, when the walls of the church of S. Marta were destroyed, there were discovered some canals and a mosaic pavement (CASALIS, 18.94); and SPANO reports several different fragments of mosaics of which no details are given (Emend. ed agg. 77).

S. ANTIOCO. SPANO (BAS 3, 1857, 52; 4, 1858, 140) refers to many mosaics discovered here, but gives no details. One piece of a mosaic from S. Antioco was included in his collection donated to the museum in Cagliari (Cat. Racc. SPANO, 90, nr. 8). TARAMELLI repeated the statement that many mosaics had been found in the town (NSc. 1908, 146, 148); but he, too, gives no details. However, in 1914 were discovered remains of a large building with a mosaic pavement which is described in detail (NSc. 1914, 406–8): it was polychrome with white, black, red, yellow, and green *tesserae* plus azure pieces of glass. The central scene consists of a vase from which grew two ivy branches while two tigers stand up to the vase as if to drink from it. It is probably from the later imperial period. One other mosaic has come to light here, a large (5.3 × 4.6 m.) polychrome, geometric mosaic, probably of the second century A.D. (NSc. 1925, 473 f.).

SANTULUSSURGIU. In the region Banzos, in connection with the ruins which TARAMELLI (Cart. arch. 206, III NE, 11) said were certainly either of baths or of a villa, were remains of mosaic pavements, of which no details have survived.

S. PIETRO. Only a few discoveries of the Roman period have been reported from this island, the Accipitrum insula. In addition to a hoard of imperial coins (BAS 8, 1862, 91), there are records of the existence of several pieces of wall paintings (Cat. racc. SPANO, 91, nr. 24, 26; 92, nr. 30) and a piece of mosaic (ibid., 91, nr. 24) found in the same site, probably the location of a villa.

SARROCH. Part of the villa at S'Antigori (above p. 754) has a polychrome mosaic floor, partly in scales (*'squamme'*), partly in zig-zag decoration, *„il tutto a vivi colori e ben distribuiti"* (NSc. 1889, 170 f.).

SASSARI. About 10 km. south of Porto Torres, near the nuraghe Macciadosa in the region Sa Crucca, were once visible extensive remains of a Roman building, which was composed of various interconnected 'compartments.' From the size of the walls and from other indications, SPANO thought that it was *„un pubblico edifizio tendente ad un tempio parallelipipedo"*. Within the ruins was found a square room with a mosaic floor; it has a fish-scale design, each scale divided into two parts, one made of red *tesserae*, the other of white *'pietruzze'* which *'si scangiano'* with jasper (BAS 3, 1857, 82–5).

SIMALA. About 2 km. from the village were remains of a Roman dwelling *'di una certa importanza'* from which was extracted a mosaic *'a disegno geometrico'* (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 22, n. 34).

SORSO. Included in the ruins of the villa with bath at Sorso were *'tasselli cubici di mosaico,'* of which no further details are provided (BAS 6, 1860, 131).

TELTI. There are many traces of the Romans in this region, through which passed the Roman road from Cagliari to Olbia. In connection with the complex, which may have included a bath (above p. 757), were discovered several tracts of mosaic floors, in black and white (NSc. 1892, 491; PANEDDA, agro, 132).

TERRALBA. In the fertile region of Arcidanu, to the south of the town, was discovered a mosaic, of which no other details are provided; further search on the site produced two gold rings, many terracotta vessels, and some of glass. It may have been the site of a *villa rustica* (BAS 7, 1861, 154).

THARROS. This city has not yet yielded as many mosaics as Nora or Cagliari. In the 19th century, SPANO's collection included a disc with many small pieces of mosaic from Tharros, possibly from a tomb (Cat. racc. SPANO, 92, nr. 57), but no others are mentioned until the modern excavations undertaken by PESCE. Among the remains of one house were traces of wall paintings and small fragments of white and colored marble (some of it imported), undoubtedly from a mosaic (PESCE, Tharros, 89). No polychrome mosaics have been reported, but there are two other buildings with second-century mosaics in black and white, as well as many floors of '*cocciopisto*' (crushed terracotta with white limestone '*cubetti*') (PESCE, Tharros, 92). One house had a layer of refuse which included mosaic *tesserae*, over which a later imperial floor had been built (PESCE, Tharros, 149). The two mosaics with black and white geometric designs were in the Terme Convento Vecchio (above), one in the *frigidarium*, the other in one of the *caldaria* (PESCE, Tharros, 155, 158).

TISSI. One polychrome mosaic is reported; it had geometric designs '*a greca*' (SS 9, 1949, 558).

USELLUS. In the early 1960's a polychrome mosaic discovered here was destroyed 'by ignorance and vandalism' before any details could be reported (US, 11 June 1964).

III. Nuraghi

(distribution map, fig. 18)

The distribution of Roman remains at nuraghi and other prehistoric sites demonstrates that, at least in material terms, Roman civilization spread pretty thoroughly over most of the island, including the sparsely populated, mountanous Barbagia. The blank spots in the '*campidano*' of Cagliari and in the agricultural regions around Oristano are probably due to the widespread destruction of nuraghi to make way for agriculture in those zones. The lack of evidence in the Iglesiente (southwest) and in Gallura (northeast) must have other explanations; for the latter, it seems likely that it was sparsely populated and that such inhabitants as there were remained unaffected by the Romans. The distribution of Roman remains in the interior removes some credence from G. A. SANNA's explanation of how and when the Latin language came to that region (La romanizzazione del centro montano in Sardegna, Filologia Romanza 4, 1957, 30 ff.: Christians brought the language in the early middle ages), a subject which I will explore in more detail elsewhere (cf. M. PITTAU, La romanizzazione linguistica della Sardegna e del centro montano, Questioni di linguistica sarda, Brescia, 1956, 11 ff.). For all that, it must be admitted that Roman remains at nuragic sites are poor and sparse; when they are not poor, one may suppose that they frequently are the results of successful raiding parties. The question of the persistence of nuragic culture into the Roman period is partly answered by the finds around the nuraghe Marfudi, Barumini, and elsewhere, but still requires a thorough examination. Such a study is impeded, however, by the fact that much of the material is and has been discovered by prehistorians who merely report that there was Roman pottery at the site, without indicating what sort of pottery it is or what its chronological parameters might be; or, we are told that nuragic and Roman pottery were found mixed together, without any indication that such a phenomenon is a sign of persistence or of disturbance.

ABBASANTA. In this territory (the Roman Ad Medias: MELONI, 254, 271–3) are many dwellings and tombs of the pre-Roman inhabitants which continued to be used or were reused in Roman times. One of the more important and imposing of the prehistoric monuments of Abbasanta, indeed of Sardinia, is the nuraghe Losa (LILLIU 1961, 101–5), which in Punic times developed into a village which endured until the late imperial period. Among the remains found there were many fragments of locally made imitation arretine ware, coins of the imperial period, parts of milling equipment, and what seems to be part of an olive press (NSc. 1916, 246 f.). The nearby nuraghe Aiga likewise shows traces of occupation until the late imperial period (NSc. 1915, 115); all around it were tombs of the Roman period (Cart. Arch. 206, II NO, 9). Similarly, near the nuraghe Perda Crappida were Roman tombs with terracotta lamps, vases, and some bronze coins; in the vicinity were remains of small constructions, an example, says TARAMELLI, *„di persistenza delle abitazioni in età romana“* (Ibid., 60). Near Perda Crappida, as well as in other parts of the territory of Abbasanta, nuragic-age tombs were reused: at Su Pranu (Ibid., 20), Suei (Ibid., 35), Chirighiddu (Ibid., 40), Su Serrau de is Arrius (Ibid., 56), Su Cantaru (Ibid., 58), Su Tentoruzu (Ibid., 61). Indeed, some of these tombs – of Tanca Regia, Sa Tanchitta, Sos Ozzastros, and Cutzu de sas Molas – are useless for nuragic chronology because they yield only material of the Roman period (ASS 11, 1915, 226).

ALA DEI SARDI. Near the nuraghe Lathari were discovered more than a century ago the only traces of the Romans found in this region: many wine jars, cups and other ceramic items, a gold ring with the image of an emperor, various bronze objects, including a figurine dressed as a warrior (possibly Mars). Similar discoveries are said to have been frequent. Only about 10 km.

from Budduso (Caput Thyrsi), Lathari seems too close to be the way station on the road from Caput Thyrsi to Olbia claimed for it by SPANO (Scop. 1867, 43); however, it may have been a small military post along the road.

ALES. Some Roman as well as prehistoric material was found near a nuraghe in this territory; the material consisted of a large, well wrought bronze tripod, a glass flask, terracotta lamps, and coins of Volusianus and of Constantine (Scop. 1876, 28). Another discovery yielded an inscription (SOTGIU, 177), dated to A.D. 62, possibly a dedication to a deity in whose shrine it was found (Latomus 36, 1977, 466 f.).

ALGHERO. In the Grotta Dragumara, an exploring group recently discovered nuragic, Roman, and medieval ceramics (RSP 23, 1968, 424), which scarcely indicates continuity either of occupation or of population. However, in the upper levels of the nuraghe Palmavera, northwest of Alghero, near Porto Conte, were discovered ceramic fragments from the third and second centuries B.C. (Mon. Ant. 19, 1908, 262 f.).

ANTAS (Pl. V.9). Several hundred meters southwest of the temple of Sardus Pater was a nuragic village which was re-inhabited in the Roman period; it seems to have been abandoned during the Punic and perhaps even during the Roman republican periods. The occupation seems to have lasted at least into the fourth century A.D. (Studi Semitici 30, 1969, 147 – 59).

ARBUS. Within the borders of the territory of the town, but about 30 km. from the settlement, in a place called Bruncu Espis di Fontanazzu, west of Monte Arcuentu (on the top of which were traces of a building probably of the Roman period) nuragic, Punic, and Roman objects were found in a giants' tomb (cf. Pl. IX.16). These included various terracotta objects and some coins, from the third century B.C. to the time of Commodus, and a large number of bronze nails. It is worth quoting TARAMELLI's observation that *„la conservazione del tipo della tomba collettiva a corridoio, anche dopo l'inizio dell'età punica, nella regione del Campidano di Oristano, è prova che la tomba di Fontanazzu è opera di elementi indigeni sardi persistenti nella località dopo che quelle colonie furono così saldamente insediate sul litorale da essere centri diffusori di nuovi e più elevati elementi di cultura“* (NSc. 1927, 360 – 6). Also in the territory of Arbus, near the nuraghe Punta Cugui, were found three late imperial coins and a *'lucernetta'* (SS 8, 1948, 422).

ARMUNGIA. Some 20 km. north-northeast of the nuraghe Scandariu were discovered remains of an ancient capanna, with nuragic and Roman ceramics in the area around (LILLIU 1961, 159 f.).

ARZACHENA. Nuragic, Punic, and Roman remains have been found in the nuraghe Albucciu (RSP 17, 1962, 174 f.). In the same territory, in the locality Malchittu, were some tombs likewise with prehistoric, Punic, and Roman remains, *„probabilmente senza soluzione di continuità“* (BPI 77, 1968, 121 – 54). At the prehistoric site of Li Muri, grave circle eight yielded fragments of pseudo-arretine ceramics (SS 19, 1964/5, 113).

ASSOLO. Near the town is a plateau, Monte Giuerri, on the top of which is nuraghe Giuerreddu; the summit is rich in obsidian and yielded fragments of Roman ceramics, while the slopes are extensively cultivated with grain, and probably were in the Roman period as well (Mon. Ant. 18, 1907, 26 f.).

BALLAO. Among the traces of the Roman period in this region are some which indicated a certain continuity of population from prehistoric times. In the region S. Chiara, close by remains of constructions which were evidently Roman, is the nuragic sacred well, Funtana Coperta (NSc. 1919, 171). Around the well, and even in it, were found fragments of Roman pottery (Ibid., 182). Near another nuragic building was discovered a large vase (*'ziro'*) with carbonized grain; recognizable coins date from the period between Augustus and Constans (Ibid., 184 f.).

BARUMINI. After the destruction in the sixth century B.C. of the massive nuraghe and village of Su Nuraxi at the hands of the Carthaginians, the indigenous population rebuilt their dwellings and continued to inhabit the place; cultural artifacts and way of life continued basically unchanged save for the importation of ceramic and other materials (LILLIU 1961, 124). Less than one km. to the north is the nuraghe Marfudi, 20 meters from which was a small Roman *'casetta'* (5.5 mq.) with tombs of the imperial period scattered around the area. Of greatest interest and importance, partly because the region of Barumini, thanks to the patient labors of LILLIU, has been well served by modern techniques and proper stratigraphical methods, is the discovery of nuragic pottery in Roman levels, *„fatto che si rileva con certezza qui per la prima volta e che offre un termine finale – già intuito ma non dimostrato – in epoca alto-romana di alcune forme industriali della civiltà paleosarda“* (NSc. 1946, 194). The *'casetta'* was constructed at least by the beginning of the second century B.C. and lasted, with a new floor in one room, at least until the Augustan period; pottery in the region demonstrates a further continued habitation around the nuraghe until the second or third century A.D. (Ibid., 201). Also important are the conclusions of the anthropologist CARLO MAXIA, who studied skeletons discovered in the territory of Barumini: *„questi resti scheletrici di Barumini del III secolo d. Cr. in definitiva presentano caratteri morfologici simili a quelli dei relitti umani neolitici e eneolitici finora trovati in Sardegna, confermando ancora una volta la continuità della razza eurafricana dal periodo pre-nuragico a tempi storici“* (Rassegna Medica Sarda, 3/4, 1943, 23). There are also a number of Roman tombs around various other nuraghi in the area (SS 3, 1937, 152–3: map), probably an indication that those structures continued to be inhabited. Southeast of the village is the nuraghe Riu Zirigus, which was apparently continuously inhabited, as well as a group of rectangular *'capanne'* with various Roman objects, including agricultural equipment and a Republican coin (NSc. 1939, 375 f.).

BAULADU. One of the two springs which showed Roman construction (above p. 744) was near a nuraghe (CASALIS, 2. 178).

BENETUTTI. A recently explored domus de janas (cf. Pl. X.17) with eight cells yielded pre-nuragic, nuragic, and Roman material (BPI 76, 1967, 116–8).

BERCHIDDA. Near the village, where once were visible remains of a Roman village (CASALIS, 2. 251) and where a hoard of Republican coins was found (NSc. 1918, 155–63), in the region Su Peddiu, near the nuraghe Mandrione, there once existed all around the nuraghe traces of numerous *'capanne'* in which were discovered remains of Roman ceramics and bricks (Cart. arch. 181–2, II NO, 4).

BESSUDE. In this territory, about 35 km. east of Alghero, the only Roman remains reported are in connection with nuragic sites, one at Cugnola or Pumari, the other at S. Teodoro. In the first instance, there were Roman tombs not far from the nuraghe; in the second, there were some tombs which yielded imperial material near a nuraghe (Cart. arch. 193, I SE, 55, 63).

BIORA. The extensive remains around Biora have presented one *vicus* around a nuraghe; it was oriented along the Roman road. Among the remains were fragments of local imitation arretine ware (SS 7, 1947, 57, n. 58).

BOLOTANA. Among the numerous Roman tombs in the region was one giants' tomb in the locality Orolatu which was used in the Roman period; various ceramics were found, similar to those found in other tombs in the area (Cart. arch. 207, IV NO, 18).

BONARCADO. In the region Bigiola, a giants' tomb near the nuraghe Argioledda yielded Roman ceramics and imperial coins, the only Roman remains in the area (Cart. arch. 206, III NE, 41).

BONANNARO. In the region Sas Turres, near the nuraghe Mallis, were once visible remains of a construction which may have been of the Roman period (Cart. arch. 193, I SE, 16). The only other trace of the Romans in the territory is a milestone (EE 8. 745).

BONORVA. One of the better known pre-historic monuments in Sardinia is the domus de janas of S. Andrea Priu, east of the town, a tomb which continued to be used through the Roman period (Cart. arch. 193, II NE, 16). Nearby, around the medieval church of S. Lucia, were some tombs also of the Roman period which included one inscription reading simply

ANTΩNIA ΡΟΥΦΙΝΑ

(NSc. 1881, 71 f.).

BORTIGALI. This territory has several examples of continued use or reuse of pre-historic buildings and tombs in the Roman period. There was a number of tombs near the nuraghe Santu Martinu, at least one of which included objects in gold (Cart. arch. 206, I NE, 58 f.). A short distance from the Roman remains of Berre is the nuraghe Berre, near which is the giants' tomb of S. Giovanni, a tomb apparently of prehistoric construction, but with a *'capezzale'* of the Roman period (Ibid., 60 a).

BUDDUSO. In the region Iselle is the nuraghe Iselle around which were found numerous Roman objects, a fact which led SPANO (Emend. ed agg., 148) to locate the ancient *oppidum* of Caput Thyrsi in this spot. Near the nuraghe Teltoro, in the region of the same name, were also visible remains of buildings of the Roman period, with tiles, pottery, wells, and traces of a road (Cart. arch. 194, I SO, 5).

CALANGIANUS. In one of the rooms of the nuraghe Agnu was discovered an *'anforetta,'* but it is not stated whether it is Roman or not (LILLIU 1961, 180).

CHEREMULE. In the nuraghe Maiore were found millstones and lamps of the Christian (i.e., late imperial) period (Cart. arch. 193, III NE, 63). Elsewhere in the territory, in the region Moseddu, is a tomb, perhaps of the Roman period, with petroglyphs of human figures, carved with stone, rather than with metallic implements (BPI 74, 1965, 85 – 7).

CHIARAMONTI. The nuragic precinct at Sa Oltigia has at least one rectangular building (4 × 6.5 m.) which may be Roman (RSP 24, 1969, 378).

COLLINAS. In the locality Blardi, near some Roman tombs a fossa and near a nuraghe, a small vase was found; it contained *'un oggettino d'oro frantumato'* (SS 8, 1948, 423).

CORNUS. Around the nuraghe Majore were discovered large amounts of pottery fragments along with coins of the imperial period; coins were also commonly found around another nuraghe not too far away (NSc. 1887, 47). Still other nuragic constructions persisted through the Roman period (NSc. 1918, 292) but no details of remains found in or around them have been recorded. Perhaps others suffered the fate of the nuraghe Sisiddo, around which was built a *villa rustica*, and were dismantled in antiquity (Cart. arch. 206, III NO, 45).

DORGALI. In the cave Su Anzu have been found many fragments of nuragic and Roman pottery together, an indication, notes TARAMELLI *„della permanenza in quell'antro di numerose persone di gente antichissima, degli ultimi discendenti dei Sardi nuragici, in età romana"* (NSc. 1933, 350). Similarly, in the Grotta of Tiscali, PAIS found hand-made nuragic pottery together with Roman material (Ibid., 353 – 7). At Biristeddi, a giants' tomb was still in use, or was reused, in Roman times as is attested by the pottery (Ibid., 360 f.). At the nuraghe Mannu were constructed two rectangular buildings in the Roman period (Ibid., 361 – 9); the hearth of one of these dwellings revealed both Roman and nuragic pottery together, and the other contained millstones, amphoras, and other objects (BArte 1928, 475). TARAMELLI thought that these were guard stations, but they may have been rustic dwellings. Nearby at Cala Gonone are remains of a nuragic village; one of the *'casette'* (of only five which were explored) contained fragments of Roman bricks and ceramics as well as some materials of native production. This dwelling seems to have been a later construction over the ruins of the village, which was destroyed by the Romans, but a building with internal dimensions of 3 × 2.2 m. seems too small to be the *'vedetta'* TARAMELLI called it (NSc. 1933, 370 – 8). Around the nuraghe Sortei were once found some Roman tombs (Cart. arch. 208, IV E, 3) as also around the nuraghe Zorza (Ibid., 7), while Roman coins have been found around the nuraghe Sos Provereris or Sospile (Ibid., 8).

ESPORLATU. Over the architrave of the nuraghe Erimanzanu, were once visible some symbols which were thought to be traces of ancient writing (Cart. arch. 194, III SO, 40).

FLORINAS. Around a nuraghe in this territory were discovered a vase, a *timiaterion*, and a late republican coin (BAS 6, 1860, 185).

FLUSSIO. Around the nuraghe Giannas are traces of nuragic *'capanne'* and of Roman constructions; fragments of nuragic and of later pottery have been found in the area (LILLIU 1961, 69 f.).

FORDONGIANUS. Near the town, on a high point, is the nuraghe Casteddu Ecciu which was reused in Roman times, perhaps as a *'vedetta'* (Cart. arch. 206, II SO, 24).

GALTELLI. After noting that much nuragic material had been discovered in this area, SPANO (Scop. 1868, 28) observes that it was also cultivated by the Romans because many tombs of the latter had been discovered in constructing a modern road; whether there is any relationship between the former sites and the latter ones is not clear. The tombs may relate to the traces of a small Roman village described by LILLIU (NSc. 1949, 286 – 90).

GERGEI. Around the nuraghe Aurreddus were found remains of bricks and pottery, indicating that this was the site of a Roman *'villaggetto'* (SS 7, 1947, 48, n. 34); among the ceramic fragments were some of locally made imitation arretine ware. Around the nuraghe Ardiddi, between Gergei and Mandas, were similar fragments (Ibid., n. 33) as also around the nuraghe di Riu Maccior (Ibid., n. 32), and the nuraghe di Conca Moru (Ibid., n. 31). In the same territory, the church of S. Marta, near the nuraghe of the same name, is built over the ruins of a *vicus* (Ibid., 49, n. 35). At a bend of the R. Murera, northeast of Gergei, is the nuragic village of Su Iriu, which seems to have continued its existence into the Roman period; across the river are traces of a small Roman village, perhaps the successor to the nuragic village (NSc. 1943, 166 – 70).

GESTURI. Around the nuraghe Nuracc'e Deu is the trace of a small stone dwelling of the Roman period (LILLIU 1961, 93 – 5). Around the nuraghe Margini are traces of Roman pottery and, under the nuraghe, is a tomb of the Roman period (Mon. Ant. 18, 1907, 60). On the high point of Zepparedda (609 m.) was a nuraghe, no longer visible; however, abundant fragments of

Roman pottery have been found, and there are also indications that, in prehistoric times, this site was an obsidian workshop, which may have continued into the Roman period (Mon. Ant. 18, 1907, 49). Similarly, at the nuraghe Addeu are nuragic and Roman ceramic fragments mixed together, along with numerous remains of obsidian (Ibid., 65). These are the only traces of the Romans in the region of Gesturi, with the possible exception of a statuette called Sardus Pater (BAS 10, 1864, 75).

GHILARZA. The nuraghe Medaurru is situated very close to the Roman road; although no Roman remains have been reported here, the fact that it was still well preserved in the twentieth century seems to indicate that it was in a good state of preservation and, consequently, in use during the Roman period (Cart. arch. 206, II NO, 90). Another nuraghe is similarly situated at Birigheddai near the road to Fordongianus (Cart. arch. 206, II SE, 7), while the nuraghe Sa Manenzia at Su Fossau, situated on a dominant position overlooking the road, had been destroyed, perhaps by the Romans, as TARAMELLI conjectured (Ibid., 8).

GONNESA. Several of the prehistoric villages in this area exhibit remains of the Romans as well as of the nuragic period: At Gennerei, Sa Ghillotta, and Erbexi (ASS 9, 1913, 19, 22, 26 of extract). The nuraghe Serucci likewise shows traces of habitation into the Roman period (ASS 8, 1912, 368).

GONOSFANADIGA. In the site called Pala de Pardu, is a nuraghe which seems to have been used in the Roman period; at any rate, a tomb was discovered there which contained Roman ceramics, lamps and vases. There was also a foundry at the site, as can be deduced from the '*scorie,*' but it is impossible to say if it was nuragic or Roman (Scop. 1867, 38 f.).

GUSPINI. Although there are many traces both of the proto-Sardi and of the Romans in this region, there is only one site where both are found together, at the nuraghe Santa Sofia, around which are fragments of nuragic and Roman pottery (LILLIU 1961, 97).

IGLESIAS. The nuraghe Cixerri is thought by BARRECA to have actually been a late Punic funerary monument (Studi Semitici 20, 1966, 151 f.); if so, it perhaps demonstrates a native influence on their Punic or Punico-roman overlords.

ILLORAI. Near the nuraghe S. Luca was once discovered a hoard of Roman coins, of which no details are provided (Cart. arch. 207, IV NO, 35).

IRGOLI. In the Vigna Cabras, near the village, next to a nuragic foundry, were found Roman remains, which are not more precisely defined (Cart. arch. 195, III SE, 49); the only other Roman find in the zone is of a hoard of coins dating to the third century A.D. (NSc. 1931, 103–6).

ISILI (Pl. X.18). One of the best preserved nuraghi, to the present day, is the nuraghe Is Paras (Pl. X.18), which was the center of a small hamlet in the Roman period: fragments of roof tiles and of pottery have been found around it, one of the fragments being of imitation arretine ware (SS 7, 1947, 59, n. 62; LILLIU 1961, 166–8); the well has recently yielded Roman material (RSP 30, 1975, 405). In the region Funtana Manna fragments of imitation arretine ware were found over a domus de janas (SS 7, 1947, 49). Near the nuraghe Cracaxi are traces of a Roman settlement: tombs, foundations of two rectangular buildings, other traces of walls, and ceramics, including imitation arretine ware (SS 7, 1947, 53, n. 49). Near the nuraghe Sa Musera are fragments of roof tiles and ceramics, including the locally made imitation arretine ware (SS 7, 1947, 55, n. 54). Roof tiles, ceramic material, and traces of walls have been found around the nuraghe Crastu (SS 7, 1947, 55, n. 55). Around the nuraghe Atzinnara are traces of rectangular buildings, fragments of bricks, and pottery, including the usual pseudo-arretine material (SS 7, 1947, 56, n. 57). On a cliff overlooking the valley of the Mexoni Procus, near a nuraghe, are numerous traces of Roman construction, including the foundations of a *'casetta'* (11.6 × 7.6 m.), with abundant fragments of bricks and of pottery (SS 7, 1947, 58, n. 61).

ITTIREDDU. Near the Castello di Monte Zuighe was once discovered, apparently in a nuragic context, a large amount of carbonized grain, clearly of the Roman period because various Roman coins, including one of Antoninus Pius, were found with the grain (Scop. 1872, 30). Next to the nuraghe Sa Domu e S'Orku are remains of a rectangular building (11.8 × 8.4 m.), probably of the Roman period (LILLIU 1961, 66).

LANUSEI. Various Punic and Roman coins have been found in the ruins of the nuragic village, but no other details have been provided (A. USAI, Il villaggio nuragico di Seleni, Lanusei, Cagliari, 1966, 22).

LASPLASSAS. Several prehistoric sites show traces of habitation in the Roman period. Fragments of pottery and of roof tiles have been found in the nuragic village of Su Pranu (NSc. 1943, 172). Next to the nuraghe Bruncu 'e Forru are traces of a wall, with fragments of bricks, perhaps Roman, in the vicinity (Ibid., 173, n. 1). Around the nuraghe S'Utaxi are traces of walls, remains of *„un aggregato di abitazioni romane"*, with abundant remains of Roman pottery and millstones (Ibid., 173). In the locality Su Accu e S'Ena, a group of Roman tombs, with material dating from the first and second centuries A. D., was discovered some 300 meters from a nuraghe (NSc. 1949, 284–6).

LOCULI. In the locality Santo Stefano were found remains from the Roman period, perhaps tombs; nearby, not far from a pre-Roman foundry, were walls and Roman building materials. This may have been the site of the ancient Cares or of Viniola (Cart. arch. 195, III SE, 52; NSc. 1931, 106).

LOIRI. A recently examined giants' tomb, Su Monte de s'Ape, provides some interesting data. The tomb is about 400 meters from the nuraghe Casteddu; ceramics include nuragic, Punico-roman, and Roman wares, down to the fourth century A. D. One part of the tomb contained only Roman fragments. There are no signs of an interruption in the utilization of this tomb; hence, to speak of re-utilization is misleading: it continued to be used from late nuragic times until the late imperial period (BPI 77, 1968, 8–89).

LUNAMATRONA. Two nuraghi in this zone contained fragments of Roman pottery (NSc. 1943, 176).

LURAS. In the region Ladas, about 30 meters from a '*dolmen*' are the remains of a wall, which may have been Roman (SS 9, 1949, 552).

MACOMER. Near the nuraghe Sa Corte were found some terracotta lamps and vases inside tombs of the Roman period (Scop. 1871, 16). Especially interesting is the inscription discovered in 1870 near the nuraghe Pazza (Scop. 1870, 30); the name on the inscripton, *L. Aurimi(us)* is unique in Latin onomastics. Other unique names have been found on inscriptions discovered at Macomer, in the locality Sa Tanca de Su Nurache: *Julia Valeria que et Ginsora* and *Valeria Urelio* (NSc. 1888, 717 f.) or *Urekio* (EE 8. 731). Habitation continued around the well preserved nuraghe Santa Barbara, as is shown by traces of Roman walls, tombs, bricks, and pottery (LILLIU 1961, 113–5). An important prehistoric find occured at S'Adde: a steatopygian Venus of basalt with various objects of bone, fragments of pottery, and objects of stone; mixed in with these prehistoric materials were fragments of Roman pottery, but whether or not this phenomenon was due to disturbance is not clear (FA 4, 1949, 2292; RSP 4, 1949, 227).

MARINARU. In the prehistoric tomb at Marinaru several of the cells yielded Roman pottery (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 46–51).

MASULAS. One of eight obsidian workshops examined by PUXEDDU was near the remains of a Roman building; the other seven were at nuraghi (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 40).

MEANA. Near the nuraghe Norza are traces of a small hamlet: foundations of buildings, fragments of bricks, and pieces of a mill (NSc. 1878, 298). More recently, an inscription was discovered among the ruins of the buildings:

d]uas berpas . . . tertius qui lego

(NSc. 1923, 293 f.; cf. G. SOTGIU, L'epigrafia latina in Sardegna ..., above in this same volume [ANRW II 11,1], p. 567 A 183).

MILIS. Near the nuraghe and the church of S. Pietro are remains of a Roman village, including roof-tiles, bricks, and fragments of 'Etrusco-campanian' pottery (SS 7, 1947, 258).

MOGORO. Around the nuraghe Mudegu have been found bits of obsidian along with fragments of nuragic and Roman pottery (LILLIU 1961, 96 f.). The nuraghe Su Guventu included Punico-roman pottery fragments (SS 16, 1958/9, 167), and the obsidian workshop at Puisteris yielded abundant Roman ceramic fragments (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 39).

MONTELEONE. Around the nuraghe Tudera Roman bricks and coins have been found (Cart. arch. 193, III NO, 9).

MONTI. The nuraghe Binza Alvina provided remains of the Roman period, which were not more precisely defined (Cart. arch. 181–2, II NE, 3). In the same region, but perhaps not in relation to the nuraghe, were fragments of granite columns and of Roman pottery (SS 9, 1949, 552).

MONTRESTA. In a nuraghe that was already destroyed in 1871 were found a small bronze statuette of a boar and a bronze spear along with a late republican coin (Scop. 1871, 17).

MORES. Around the nuraghe Poddighe are traces of a Roman building (Cart. arch. 193, II NE, 40 a).

NABELLA. At the nuraghe Nabella, southwest of Siniscola, were found a bronze ring, fragments of pottery and of roof tiles, along with other remains; nearby is the mine of Sos Enatos which was perhaps exploited in Roman times (Scop. 1871, 13).

NARBOLIA. In the nuraghe Tunis were found five Terracotta figurines (CASALIS, 11. 627; Cart. arch. 206, III SE, SO, 37).

NULE. Near the nuraghe Stelai were found a bronze cinerary urn, a bronze candlestick, and other objects (Scop. 1871, 15).

NULVI. There are Roman remains around the nuraghe Irru (Elenco, LXIX, 115) while in the prehistoric village round the nuraghe Alvu coins have been found lasting through to the late imperial period, probably indicating that the village was continuously occupied until then (Guida, 344).

NUORO. Ceramic materials of various epochs have been found in a domus de janas at Valverde; these include Roman pottery, but whether they indicate continuity or not is an open question (Cart. arch. 194, II SE, 14). However, around the nuraghe Noddule are remains of a nuragic village which continued to be inhabited into the Roman period (LILLIU 1961, 97 f.; RSP 16, 1961, 274).

NURAGUS. In the region Coni or Santu Millanu, a prehistoric sacred well continued to be used well into the late empire, possibly for secular rather than for religious purposes (NSc. 1915, 105 f.). In the region S. Elia were two Roman tombs near a nuraghe (NSc. 1882, 305 f.). Nearby, in the locality Forraxi Nioi, among the remains of a nuragic building, were Punic coins and Roman pottery and coins dating to the end of the imperial period (including six coins of Tetricus), perhaps belonging to tombs (Ibid., 308 f.). At another nuraghe were found some iron agricultural implements, which may have been medieval rather than Roman (NSc. 1882, 283).

NURECI. Around the nuraghe Uriel was a number of tombs, in one of which was a pair of silver ear-rings, a silver ring, and parts of a silver necklace (NSc. 1880, 107 f.).

NURRA. From the area around the nuraghe Pinu de Olia were extracted many terracotta statuettes, bronzes, and lamps (BAS 10, 1864, 91; RSP 30, 1975, 400). In the territory called Campu Selvaggiu, around the nuraghe Cugiareddu, were found remains of a small rustic dwelling and a millstone (BAS 6, 1860, 61). There are other localities which show habitation from nuragic into Roman times (NSc. 1925, 328), but details are not provided.

NURRI. Around the nuraghe Santu Perdu are traces of a small dwelling of the Roman period (LILLIU 1961, 139), including fragments of locally made imitation arretine ware (SS 7, 1947, 58, n. 59).

OLBIA. In the region S. Lucia are remains of a building next to the traces of a nuraghe; fragments of bricks and of tiles point to a Roman date for the structure (PANEDDA, agro, 125, nr. 4). At the nuraghe Contras de Ozzastru, among the ruins of what may have been the ancient Cares, were the remains of a large building with five rooms; there is a tomb reported for the same locality (PANEDDA, agro, 129, nr. 19. 6, 20). Not far from Olbia, along the Roman road from Cagliari to Olbia per Hafam, in the region Multa de Caccu, are Roman remains near the traces of a nuraghe (PANEDDA, agro, 135, nr. 7). On the same road, in the region Trambuccone, near the homonymous nuraghe, are some Roman ruins (PANEDDA, agro, 138, nr. 6).

OLMEDO. Around a nuragic well in the locality Bonassai, there are, in addition to the nuragic materials, fragments of *'terra sigillata chiara'* and Punico-roman pottery (RSP 20, 1965, 379; 21, 1966, 436).

OLZAI. On Monte Gulana, 649 meters high, dominating the valley of the Taloro, are remains of buildings called Casteddude Gulana; the remains consist of brick work over a megalithic wall, perhaps a Roman watchtower, or perhaps a rebuilding by the natives using more advanced techniques (Cart. arch. 207, III NE, 20).

ORGOSOLO. In the isolated, mountainous region Orulu were discovered remains of what appears to have been a sacred place which continued in use from nuragic times to the late imperial period; there were also ceramic remains and foundations of circular and rectangular buildings which indicate the same continuity (Cart. arch. 207, I SO, 12; NSc. 1932, 528–36). There does seem to have been a break in the continuity – at least there are no coins from those of the late Republic to the time of the Antonines –; but, nonetheless, the re-utilization of the place indicates *„la tenacia con cui i vecchi culti, principalmente montani, della schiatta sarda si mantennero nella loro semplicità attraverso ai secoli, resistendo alle influenze religiose importate dai Romani, ed anzi formando quasi il nerbo, il rifugio più valido di una mentalità distinta ed avversa a quella del conquistatore"* (NSc. 1932, 531; cf. Latomus, 36, 1977, 460–70). On Monte Novo, in the region San Giovanni, where Roman remains had previously been found (Cart. arch. 207, II NE, 4, 4 a), have recently been found remains of nuragic pottery, one piece of which was decorated with impressed '*cerchi crociati*', a motif which elsewhere in Sardinia continued until the republican period (RSP 23, 1968, 421).

ORROLI. Around the nuraghe Arrubiu are remains of Roman bricks, pottery, and millstones (LILLIU 1961, 127–30). Nearby is the nuraghe Su Pardu, which had a village of ten '*capanne*' and a well, which show traces of utilization in the Roman period (FA 5, 1950, 2341). The well and village at Su Putzu show continuous occupation into the Roman period, at which time the steps leading down to the well were reconstructed (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 207–12).

ORTUERI. There were reports, but the evidence was dispersed, that a terracotta vase and Roman lamps were found in and around the nuraghe Ghenna de Juncu (Cart. arch. 207, III SO, 27). Two other nuraghi in the same territory revealed traces of Roman occupation: at the nuraghe Porchile 'e Campu were found coins and vases; at the nuraghe Sedda 'e Ortola were bricks and a large '*dolio*' (Ibid., 31, 33).

More recently, near the nuraghe Nurache was found a large vessel of trachite, 2.5 × 0.6m., of uncertain use (SS 9, 1949, 542). In the early part of the present century, near the nuraghe Carrasale, were found some fifty tombs of the imperial period (Ibid., 542 f.). The only inscription from the region records a unique, undoubtedly native, name, Acareltorte (SOTGIU, 217).

OSILO. Around the nuraghe Baiolu are fragments of Roman pottery and part of a mill (LILLIU 1961, 65); the only other traces of the Romans in the territory is a hoard of imperial coins, from the Antonines to Gallienus (NSc. 1890, 23).

OSSI. In 1869 (Scop., 24) was reported the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins found between two nuraghi, Pianu Arras and Biancu. More recently, we have the report of the discovery of some Roman tombs at the feet of the nuraghe Tresnuraghe, which included a coin of Gordian III; other traces, not defined, were found around the nuraghe (FA 17, 1962, 4233).

OTTANA. The nuraghe Su Furre 'e Sa Teula takes its name from the many *tegulae* of the Roman period found around it, an almost certain indication of habitation during that period (Cart. arch. 207, IV NO, 8).

OZIERI. In the region Bisarciu, in the hollow where stands the medieval church of S. Antioco di Bisarciu, are the remains of a nuraghe; given this church's importance as a religious center, TARAMELLI conjectures that the place was also sacred in nuragic times (Cart. arch. 193, I NE, 4), hence, presumably, also in the Roman period. Elsewhere, inside the nuraghe Bulghidu, was found a small amphora which contained a number of indeciferable copper coins (NSc. 1891, 240).

PAU. Some of the obsidian workshops show continued utilization into the Roman period (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 48).

PAULILATINO (Pl. XI. 19). One of the more interesting examples of continuous usage of a nuraghe is provided by the nuraghe Lugherras which, in the Punic period, was transformed into a shrine which endured until it was destroyed in the later fourth century (as is evident from the coins), presumably by Christians (LILLIU 1961, 105–8; Mon. Ant. 20, 1910, 158–200).

PLOAGHE. At the nuraghe Attentu were many fragments of Roman pottery, bricks, iron nails, a wall attached to the nuraghe, and coins (BAS 9, 1863, 55; Scop. 1872, 26; 1874, 32; Cart. arch. 193, I NO, 65; LILLIU 1961, 92); nearby, at the nuraghe Don Michele, excavation provided similar results: fragments of Roman ceramics, and pieces of cinerary urns (Scop. 1874, 32 f.; RSP 16, 1961, 277 f.). In the locality Teuladu, near the nuraghe Ure, were found many cinerary urns, which contained coins and glass vessels (BAS 3, 1857, 96). In 1858, SPANO published a funeral stele with a crude representation of a human figure, similar to ones found elsewhere in the island (below p. 830–32); this specimen was found at the nuraghe Fiorosu; still other similar figures were said to have been found in connection with giants' tombs (BAS 4, 1858, 14). In the region Truvine was a nuraghe with a mosaic floor (above). Around the nuraghe Bure were discovered coins, from the republican period to the late empire, and a large vase containing carbonized grain (Scop. 1872, 26).

POMPU. Three of the seven obsidian stations at Pompu show traces of Roman occupation (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 44).

PONTE SECCO. A number of the cells of the prehistoric tomb show reutilization in the Roman period (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 27–42).

PULA. About 1.5 km. from the village were recently discovered two menhirs in a field with abundant Roman pottery fragments, but with no other traces of prehistoric cultures (RSP 30, 1975, 408).

ROMANA. Two prehistoric sites show traces of continued use in the Roman period; one is the mineral water baths of S. Giorgio (above p. 751), the other is the nuraghe Santu Iacu around which were discovered tombs of the Roman period, one of which contained a gold coin of Vespasian (Cart. arch. 193, IV SO, 13).

S. ANTINE (MONTE). On the slopes of the mountain, an important sacred spot in prehistoric times, there are traces of Punico-roman and Roman constructions as well as a tomb, of prehistoric shape, but of late Punic or Roman construction (Mon. Ant. 18, 1907, 83–5).

S. GAVINO MONREALE. In the locality Giba Onida, near the nuraghe, about fifteen tombs of the Roman period have been discovered, including one with a funerary inscription of Silvanus Tantilianus (SOTGIU, 41) as well as traces of a village dating from the first century B.C. until early in the third century A.D. (NSc. 1949, 275–84).

S. LUCIA. In the plain around the nuraghe Puttu de Inza, mixed in with nuragic pottery were fragments of large jars of Roman manufacture, probably an indication of a rural habitation in or around the nuraghe (Mon. Ant. 29, 1919, 831 f.).

SANTULUSSURGIU. A domus de janas in the locality Funtana Orruos was utilized in the Roman period as is attested by pottery found within it (Cart. arch. 206, II NO, 30).

S. PIETRO. In a site called Is Nurachis, where there are traces of nuraghi, a hoard of imperial coins was discovered (BAS 8, 1862, 91).

S. VERO MILIS. Around the nuraghe S'Uraki are traces of a Punico-roman village, including foundations of walls, bricks, and pottery, including a terracotta head of a Negro (dated to the third century B.C.) (BAS 7, 1861, 29 f.; SS 7, 1947, 254; FA 3, 1948, 1912).

SAN VITO. Around the nuraghe Assoru are traces of a small prehistoric village which continued its existence into the Roman imperial period (LILLIU 1961, 164–6).

SAGAMA. Among the many traces of the Romans in this region are coins, fragments of high quality pottery, and pieces of carnelian found around the nuraghe Moristeni (BAS 9, 1863, 69).

SAMUGHEO. In the large and fertile plain, Planu de Lacos, there were traces of Roman buildings and tombs, some with inscriptions (of Silvanus, Asinius Amiti, Aruntius); in the midst of these remains is a large giants' tomb (BAS 6, 1860, 118 f.). Elsewhere in the territory, near the nuraghe Longu, are traces of many buildings, a funerary inscription to a certain Asinarius, and various others of the Roman period (Ibid., 121). Similarly, near the nuraghe Perda Arrubia were remains of Roman ceramics, including pseudo-arretine ware, *„indizi che nel luogo dell'antico abitato nuragico continuò a sopravvivere un piccolo centro rurale in età storica“* (LILLIU 1961, 160 f.).

SARDARA. Next to, and over part of, the nuragic sacred well rose the early medieval church of S. Anastasia, leading to the assumption that the sacredness of the spot continued through Roman times (Mon. Ant. 25, 1919, 33–44). Elsewhere in the territory is the nuraghe Nuiateddu near the Roman village of Masone Oneddu which presents *„un nuovo esempio della persistenza dei centri abitati dall'età preistorica fino all'età romana“* (NSc. 1909, 335).

SARROCH. The nuraghe Domu S'Orku shows a long period of utilization during the Roman period after a brief period of abandonment, apparently due to the Carthaginians (LILLIU 1961, 74–6).

SASSARI. Around the nuraghe Pisandanna, the remains of pottery and of bricks indicate a continued habitation in the Roman period (LILLIU 1961, 68). Near a nuraghe in the territory of Sassari, near the torrente S. Giorgio, some lamps and statuettes were discovered nearly a century ago, one representing Isis, another representing Ceres (NSc. 1881, 222). A tomb of the domus de janas type (with a stele of a giants' tomb), in the region La Dana di Lu

Mazzoni, revealed ceramic material of the republican period (RSP 23, 1968, 429).

SCANO DI MONTIFERRO. Around the nuraghe Culu, various coins dating from late Punic times to the late imperial age were discovered (Scop. 1872, 23); there are also traces of buildings of the Roman period (Cart. arch. 206, IV SE, 21). Similar remains of Roman buildings were found next to the nuraghe Donnigheddu (Ibid., 37a).

SEDILO. Next to the nuraghe Irghiddo was found an incised gemstone, representing the radiate bust of Sol in a style said to be that of the first century A.D. (SS 9, 1949, 507). In the region Santu Antinu 'e campu five stele were found representing crude human figures (see below p. 830–32); the site includes a nuraghe and a village which persisted from prehistoric to Roman, perhaps even to medieval, times (Frontiera 1, 1968, 228–30).

SELEGAS. In the region Nuritzi, near a nuraghe, were found some worked pieces of gold which may or may not have been Roman (BAS 5, 1859, 58 f.).

SENEGHE. In the region Barile, near the nuraghe Scala, are traces of Roman constructions: roof tiles, bricks, and coins of the Antonine period (Cart. arch. 206, III NE, 62 a). Pottery and brick fragments have also been found around the nuraghe Coe (LILLIU 1961, 115 f.).

SERRI. In the region Longoni or Genna Marta, around the homonymous nuraghe, have been found remains of a Roman habitation, including a coin of the third century, ceramics, bricks, wall foundations, other materials (SS 7, 1947, 50, n. 39). Around the nuraghe and nuragic village at Ladumini have been found traces of Roman construction (SS 7, 1947, 53, n. 48). At the nuraghe Trachedalli similar traces of Roman construction have been found plus, most importantly, a *torcularium*; the imitation arretine ware included in the remains provides one indication of the date of this settlement (SS 7, 1947, 55, n. 52). One of the more important sites in Sardinia, that of the sacred well and nuragic village of S. Vittoria, is in the territory of Serri; the village seems to have been taken by storm by the Romans, abandoned for a time, and then reused, possibly as a '*vedetta*'. In addition to ceramic and metallic remains, there are ruins of several buildings and of a street (TARAMELLI, Mon. Ant. 34, 1931, 9–119; NSc. 1922, 300–25; 1911, 293–312; 1909, 422; Mon. Ant. 23, 1915/16, 315–430).

SETTIMO S. PIETRO. Around the nuraghe Su Nuraxi some tombs of the imperial and Byzantine periods were discovered (NSc. 1888, 68 f.).

SIDDI. Although the nuraghi in the territory of Siddi as yet have given no indications of Roman habitation, LILLIU (NSc. 1941, 158) conjectures that there was such.

SILANUS. The nuraghe Madrone, in addition to the usual remains of prehistoric and Roman pottery fragments, exhibits evidence for rebuilding, in

Roman times, of the upper part of the tower (LILLIU 1961, 70 f.). Near the nuraghe Oroliu, a small hoard of five or six coins of the late empire was casually discovered by a farmer (NSc. 1881, 125). M. PITTAU (Lingua e civiltà di Sardegna, Cagliari, 1970, 29–34) has suggested that the peculiarly shaped church of S. Sabina is built over a nuragic sacred well which remained a sacred place throughout the Roman period. The village around the nuraghe Corbos continued to be inhabited into the Roman period (RSP 27, 1972, 475).

SIMALA. The obsidian center of Funtana Cadena provided pottery of the Roman period, and four (of five) obsidian workshops in the territory yielded evidence of Roman occupation (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 42 f.).

SINIS. In the region Giarrei, about halfway between Tharros and Cornus, there have been some discoveries of Roman material; SPANO seems to relate the Roman materials to the nuragic villages existing in this fertile area (BAS 6, 1860, 74).

SUNI. In and around the nuraghe Seneghe have been found pottery fragments of the Roman period (LILLIU 1961, 78 f.); there is also a giants' tomb in the region Chigantolu which yielded Roman terracotta vases and copper coins (Cart. arch. 206, IV NO, 4).

TEMPIO. A Roman tomb was found near a nuraghe in the region Taerra (Cart. arch. 181–2, I SO, 2), and a hoard of gold coins was found near the nuraghe Careddu in the region Santa Giusta (Ibid., III NE, 6).

TERTENIA. Around the nuraghe Nastasi, in addition to some important prehistoric material, were traces of the foundations of some Punico-roman '*casette*' (BArte 1967, 206 f.); other Roman material was discovered both inside and around the nuraghe (V. M. CANNAS, I nuraghi Aleri e Nastasi e le nuove scoperte archeologiche nel territorio di Tertenia, Cagliari, s. d. [1972?], 54 f.).

TETI. In the nuragic village of Surbale, near the nuragic sanctuary of Abinia, which was destroyed by the Romans, were some fragments of Punic and Roman pottery (NSc. 1931, 70).

TONARA. On the road from Sorabile to Austis, around the nuraghe Perdas Lobadas, in addition to various ceramic material, there have been found coins and other objects (BAS 10, 1864, 73 f.). In the region Marti or Su Pranu, in and around the nuraghe Su Nurache (also called Nurazze or Su Pranu), in a dominant position 966 meters above sea level, have been found stone weapons and Roman coins (Cart. arch. 107, III SE, 6), some of which were republican (BAS 4, 1858, 45). There is also in the territory of Tonara a prehistoric tomb reused in the Roman period (NSc. 1911, 387).

TINNURA. In the giants' tomb 10 meters from the nuraghe Tres Bias, in addition to stone weapons and nuragic ceramics, there have been found some Roman terracotta lamps (Cart. arch. 206, IV NO, 18 a and b).

THIESI. Near the nuraghe Possilva is a group of Roman tombs containing pottery and lamps (Cart. arch. 193, I SE, 39 a).

TORRALBA. Beginning in the first century B.C., the nuraghe Santu Antine and its environs served as a hamlet for peasants working in the nearby fields: numerous objects, including a recently discovered sarcophagus (FA 11, 1958, 7072), have been found in the area (LILLIU 1961, 108–13).

TRESNURAGHES. On the slope below the nuraghe Nani, there are traces of some ten circular '*capanne*' as well as some rectilinear walls together with nuragic and Roman ceramics (LILLIU 1961, 82 f.).

TUILI. In a destroyed nuraghe in the region Guramu there are Roman remains from the republican to late imperial times (A. CABRAS, Materiale archeologico del ripostiglio di Baradili, Cagliari, 1950, 8); other nuraghi in the area also show traces of continued habitation in and around them: the nuraghi Bruncu Ruinas, Simoni, S'Uraxi, and the *hypogeum* Domu S'Orco (NSc. 1940, 239–42).

TUTURU. There were some tombs near the nuraghe Tuturu, the exact location of which I have been unable to find, as well as a deposit of coins, one of which was of Carinus (BAS 7, 1861, 94).

ULA. Around a nuraghe were discovered some tombs; they included pottery and coins which range from the late republic to the reign of Commodus (Scop. 1869, 24).

URI. A series of nuraghi in this territory was recently explored. Punico-roman burials were found in the nuraghe Scala Cavalli. In the nuraghe Abbalua, nuragic and Punico-roman ceramics were found together, while pottery and glass of the Punico-roman period were found in the nuraghe Pepe Gallu. Around the nuraghe Sa Iddazza was a village which endured until the later Roman empire; other nuraghi which included Roman material were Sa Pigalvedda, S'Asturedu, Chessedu, and S'Alzol 'e Sa Cudina (RSP 14, 1959, 74, 92; 17, 1962, 298–300).

URZULEI. In the region Eddidili, nuragic and Roman ceramics have been found scattered on the ground; there were also once visible remains of a prehistoric habitation which continued into the Roman period (Cart. arch. 208, III NO, 10). Also in the territory, in a small grotto near the Grotta Sa Domo 'e S'Orcu, in addition to three bronze nuragic boats, were various metallic objects of the Roman period (RSP 19, 1964, 317).

VILLACIDRO. A *villa rustica* seems to have existed in the region Nuraxi where sixteen Roman tombs were found; the name, Nuraxi, presupposes a nuraghe, but no details are provided (F. CHERCHI PABA, Villacidro e Guspini, Cagliari, 1969, 16).

VILLANOVAFRANCA. A recently discovered tomb with multiple burials, near the nuraghe Mariga, contained a late imperial coin, probably of

Maximinus. Around the nuraghe were fragments of bricks and pottery, indicating that it had developed into a small village (SS 9, 1949, 539 f.).

VILLANOVAFORRU. Roman remains, as yet unpublished, have been found in a large nuragic village (personal communication).

VILLANOVA TRUSCHEDDU. Within the large nuraghe S. Barbara were some small dwellings of the Roman period, with pottery, coins, and tombs in the area (NSc. 1915, 312 f.).

ZEPPARA. One of the obsidian workshops in this area exhibited Roman material (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 46).

ZERFALIU. Various Roman remains were found around a destroyed nuraghe; these included a well, pottery, and tombs (NSc. 1918, 76–9).

IV. Statues and Statuettes

(distribution map on fig. 19)

On the whole, the quality of the artistic remains of Roman Sardinia is relatively low. Some pieces, however, such as the head portrayed on Plate XI.20 and the relief from Capofrasca (Pl. XII.22), which I have included here (along with some other reliefs), show a higher than average level of skill and inspiration. The study of art work in Sardinia during the Roman period is hampered more than most topics by the unavailability of the evidence: A. L. LEONI, in an unpublished ‘*tesi di laurea*’ (1972/3); ‘Contributo al Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Sardinia,’ includes sixty-two separate unpublished pieces, mostly from Tharros and Porto Torres. The art work adds considerable information to our knowledge of deities propitiated in Roman Sardinia (not completely utilized by MELONI, 319–41). Including possible attributions, the following are represented:

Apollo . . . 1
Artemis . . . 1
Asclepius . . . 3
Bacchants . . . 3
Bacchus . . . 9
Bes . . . 7
Cautopates . . . 1
Eros . . . 1
Faun . . . 2
Flora . . . 1
Hercules . . . 13
Isis . . . 3
Juno . . . 2
Jupiter . . . 1
Mars . . . 2
Mercury . . . 3
Minerva . . . 2
Mithra . . . 1
Sabazius . . . 1
Satyr . . . 5
Silenus . . . 6 (including 1 possibly of Pan)
Silvanus . . . 1
Venus . . . 12

ABBASANTA. In an unspecified location south of the town, objects of varying periods (e.g., coins of Philip and of Marcian), a bronze statuette of Mercury and other figurines (Cart. arch. 206, II NO, 85). Elsewhere in the territory, a marble bust of a partly nude female (Venus?) (Scop. 1869, 26).

ALA. In addition to a gold ring with the portrait of an emperor and various other bronze objects, a bronze statuette of a warrior, possibly Mars (Scop. 1867, 43).

ANTAS. Associated with the temple of Sardus Pater, various marble, bronze, and terracotta figures of male and female forms (Ritrovamenti, 21).

ASUNI. A bronze statuette, 11 cm. high, of Isis in a seated position (NSc. 1898, 128).

ATZARA. A bronze mask, not otherwise defined (BAS 10, 1864, 157).

BARUMINI. In the region S. Lussorio, a bronze statuette of Apollo *'di tipo greco arcaico'* outside of an archaeological context (*„presso alla base di un muro attigua alla chiesa"*); all of the other remains in the vicinity are of the second century A.D. (NSc. 1946, 201 – 7).

BAUNEI. A small bronze statue of Asclepius once belonged to the priest of the town where, presumably, it was found (BAS 4, 1858, 51).

BESSUDE. An unidentified bronze statuette, perhaps not Roman, near a nuraghe (Cart. arch. 193, I SE, 63).

BIORA. A small bronze statuette of a *'cinghiale'* (BAS 3, 1857, 95) and a bronze statuette, 7.7 cm. high, of a naked, young Hercules (SS 7, 1947, 65 f.).

BISARCIO. A bronze statuette of Hercules (BAS 1, 1855, 57 f.).

BITHA. A colossal sandstone statue of Bes, dated to the Hellenistic period (before or after 238?), clearly remained in situ at his temple into the imperial period (Ritrovamenti, 29). Also, many terracotta ex-voto's (M. L. UBERTI, Le figurine fittili di Bitia, Rome, 1973).

BITTI. A small bronze bull (Scop. 1871, 13).

BONORVA. SPANO's collection included a bronze disc, of unstated size, on which were represented Silenus and a Bacchant (Cat. racc. SPANO, 47, nr. 28).

BOSA. A bronze statuette of Hercules, bearded, naked, and wearing a diadem (Scop. 1865, 41).

CAGLIARI. In the region Stampace, a bronze representation of a temple with a 19 cm. high statue of young Hercules holding in his right hand the usual club and, in his left, a small child, seated, perhaps his son Telephus; a doe stands below the left hand, licking the child's left foot (BAS 1, 1855, 52 – 8). On Via Monti, a marble Bacchus at a site which yielded a coin of Augustus (BAS 3, 1857, 127). In Stampace, a headless statue, Apparently of Asclepius, in the ruins of what may have been a temple (BAS 4, 1858, 49 – 52). Among the many objects found in the Piazza del Carmine (including a coin of Domitian and building fragments) was the lower part of a marble statue, originally perhaps 50 cm. high, representing a semi-nude male figure (BAS 5, 1859, 45). At the Via Monti, a herm *'di Bacco biforme'* (BAS 5, 1859, 5–7). At Capo S. Elia, near the temple of Venus, a small bronze dog (BAS 7, 1861, tav. facing 65). On the Via S. Antonio in Stampace, a marble head, apparently from a statue of Venus (BAS 8, 1862, 31). In the Botanical Gardens, a semi-colossal statue of Isis, made of granite, which disappeared soon after its discovery (BAS 8, 1862, 7). In a tomb in the eastern cemetary of Bonaria, a terracotta statuette of Venus, nude, with her right hand curling her hair and her left one holding a mirror (BAS 9, 1863, 86). Near the Casa di Tigellio, a slightly mutilated marble statue of Bacchus (Scop. 1863, 13). A terracotta statuette's head was found in the Botanical Gardens; it seemed to be a head of Faustina Junior (Scop. 1866, 38). In the Stagno di S. Gilla, a 'very Greek looking female head' in terracotta (Scop. 1869, 11); and, near the eastern cemetary, a fragmentary terracotta statue of Hercules (Ibid., 12). Another head, similar to the one of Faustina, near the location where the first one was found (Scop. 1870, 18) along with the head of a Bacchant (Ibid.). In Stampace, a terracotta female head 'of singular form,' perhaps belonging to a group representing Niobe (Ibid., 18 f.). In the cemetary of Bonaria, a terracotta statuette of Juno (Ibid.). In the Botanical Gardens, two sphinxes in the same spot where the statue of Isis had been found (Scop. 1874, 8). Near the Casa di Tigellio, a small terracotta head of a male wearing a Phrygian cap, perhaps a representation of Ulysses (Scop. 1874, 6); in the Casa, a foot and various other pieces of a semi-colossal statue (NSc. 1876, 60) and fragments of statuettes of children in marble (Scop. 1873, 5). Near the rural church of Sant'Isidoro, some pieces of bronze, including *„alcuni figurati a testa di pecora od altro"* among which was a bronze locust (Ibid., 6 f.). Near the Piazza del Carmine, the torso of a small statue of a nude female, perhaps Venus (NSc. 1879, 161). In Stampace, a colossal marble hand holding a globe (NSc. 1888, 608); another marble hand was found in the amphitheater (G. SPANO, Storia e descrizione dell'amfiteatro romano, Cagliari, 1868, 29). Some terracotta votive hands were found in the Stagno di S. Gilla, perhaps from a sanctuary of Punic origin which continued into Roman times (NSc. 1892, 15).

Between Via Caprera and Via S. Pietro, the marble statue of Bacchus illustrated on Pl. XII.21 (NSc. 1905, 44–6); a previously unpublished head of young Bacchus found on the eastern slope of Tuvixeddu and a head of Silenus from the Via Roma were published at the same time (Ibid., 47–50). Near the Via Cavour, a marble head from the early empire, perhaps of a local magistrate (NSc. 1908, 144). On the slope of Tuvixeddu, fragments of two terracotta statuettes of female divinities (NSc. 1943, 156). In the Piazza del Carmine, along with the many remains (of a building, ex-voto's, etc.) from a Punic sanctuary which survived into the Roman period, a marble head of a herm in archaizing style and a statuette of an *'amorino'* (NSc. 1949, 266). Nearby, a marble (perhaps pentelic) torso of a figure wearing a breast-plate, dating to the early empire, along with a (perhaps lunese) marble statue of a woman, of the late republic, and a marble (perhaps parian) head of a Panisca, perhaps to be dated to the period from ca. 250 to 180 B.C. (NSc. 1949, 271).

CAPOFRASCA. An imperial relief representing Europa and the bull (Pl. XII.22) is identified in the Museum in Cagliari as coming from here; it is perhaps to be related to the nearby Neapolis.

CARBONIA. In the bed of the Riu Trotu, near the town, a marble head of Bacchus (BAS 3, 1857, 24 f.).

CASTIADA. A bronze statuette of Hercules (BAS 1, 1855, 58).

CORNUS. Early finds include a large marble statue of a male wearing a breastplate (BAS 5, 1859, 170; Cart. arch. 206, III SO, NO, 34), a gold statuette, about 25 cm. high (BAS 10, 1864, 62), a semi-colossal marble statue of a woman, perhaps the empress Sabina (Scop. 1869, 19), and a bronze statuette of an archer (Scop. 1872, 22). TARAMELLI's excavation unearthed the trunk of a statue of an emperor wearing a breastplate (NSc. 1918, 306) and some remains of a statue of a figure in a toga (Ibid., 310 f.).

CORONGIU. A marble head which, from the appearance of the hair and the beard, represented M. Aurelius, and, from a lower stratum, a marble statue of a figure in a toga (Scop. 1873, 43; SPANO, Emend. ed agg. 63).

CUGLIERI. Very near the find spot of CIL 10.7930, a small marble head of a female crowned with ivy, undoubtedly part of a Bacchic scene (NSc. 1888, 608).

CURCURIS. In a tomb of the Roman period, a statuette, ca. 25 cm. high, possibly of Bes (SS 7, 1947, 257).

FORDONGIANUS. In the area of the Roman baths, two trachite statues of Bes, perhaps from the Roman period, or at least remaining in situ into the Roman age (Ritrovamenti, 46).

GADONI. SPANO reports that finds of '*idoletti di bronzo*' are frequent, perhaps not Roman however (Scop. 1869, 29 f.; Emend. ed agg. 97).

GESTURI. A bronze statuette called Sardus Pater (BAS 3, 1857, 135; 10, 1864, 75), although it doesn't particularly resemble the figure on the coin of M. Atius Balbus (cf. MELONI, Pl. XXIV).

LANUSEI. A bronze statuette of Hercules (BAS 5, 1859, 30 f.).

LULA. Near a mine, a bronze statuette of Asclepius (Cart. arch. 195, III NO, 13).

MARACALAGONIS. Amid the ruins of what might have been a temple, two colossal sandstone statues of Bes from the late republican period (Ritrovamenti, 49 f.).

MOGORELLA. A bronze statuette of a gladiator (BAS 5, 1859, 184 f.).

MORES. In a tomb, a '*mezzo busto*' of a nude lady in '*pietra cinerina da affilare*' (ASS 2, 1906, 319).

MONTRESTA. In a nuraghe near the village, a small bronze wild boar along with a bronze spear and a republican coin (Scop. 1871, 17).

NARBOLIA. In the nuraghe Tunis, five terracotta figurines (CASALIS, 11.627; Cart. arch. 206, III SE, SO, 37).

NEAPOLIS. A bronze statuette of Hercules (BAS 3, 1857, 127).

NORA. A votive deposit of terracotta statuettes of late republican date; four of the statuettes represent a young male, standing in the pose of one making an offering. Two others represent persons practicing incubation; hence, it has been supposed that the temple within which they were found was of Asclepius (Ritrovamenti, 67 f.). There were also some small marble figures, a small bronze Pegasus, and a wooden statue of Bes (perhaps of Punic date) (PESCE, Nora, 47). An acephalous statue of Artemis was also reported, '*lavoro di greca officina*' (NSc. 1891, 301).

NULVI. A small bronze head representing the metamorphosis of Io: on one side, a human face, on the other, a cow (Scop. 1876, 30).

NURRA. Near the nuraghe Pinu de Olia, many terracotta statuettes and bronzes (BAS 10, 1864, 91).

NURRI. In a votive deposit, numerous terracotta figurines, including representations of heads, arms, legs, etc. (Scop. 1873, 7).

OLBIA. A bronze amphora contained bronze objects, one a statuette of a young girl offering a dove, possibly to Venus (PANEDDA, 49, agro 130) and a small bronze of Cerberus (ID., agro 131). A small bronze statuette of Minerva (ID., 49), a marble head of a helmeted figure (Scop. 1866, 32). In the forum area, two marble heads, one of Trajan, the other perhaps of Drusus the younger or of Germanicus (PANEDDA, 48, with tav. V, figg. 1–2). In the Villa Tamponi, a variety of marble fragments, perhaps belonging to a series representing Bacchus (PANEDDA, 91) along with fragments of a relief representing an equestrian figure, with a round shield, attacking a fallen, naked figure with a rectangular shield (PANEDDA, 90, with tav. IX, figg. 1–2). Perhaps from a tomb, two bronze figurines, one of a '*crotalista danzante*,' the other of a bearded Silvanus (ID., 93); a similar '*crotalista*' had been found earlier (Scop. 1875, 37). A marble bust of Nero, now in the Cagliari Museum, is said to have been found in Olbia (AJA 79, 1975, 115, n. 6).

OLIENA. A bronze statuette (Cart. arch. 207, I NE, 14 a).

OLMEDO. At a prehistoric well which persisted through the Roman period, with a total absence of Punic material, a statuette of an '*offerente*' (BPI, 1933, 114 f., with fig. 1), perhaps pre-Roman.

ONIFERI. In the ruins of an ancient building, a bronze bull (BAS 6, 1860, 99 f.), possibly a votive object of local workmanship from the Roman period (Cart. arch. 207, IV NE, 30).

ORANI. About three km. from the village, in the proximity of remains of a rustic building (including millstones), a bronze statuette of a nude female seated on the back of a '*drago*' (Scop. 1873, 27 f.).

ORGOSOLO. Among the objects in what seems to have been a votive deposit in a prehistoric sacred place which was brought back into use in the time of the Antonines (if, indeed, it ever went out of use) and which continued into the fourth century, was a figurine of a dove (NSc. 1932, 534).

OSIDDA. A bovine protome (pre-Roman?) which seems to have formed part of the decorative elements of a building, perhaps a temple (BAS 3, 1850, 94 f.).

OSSI. Two bronze statuettes, one wearing a helmet (Mars?), the other '*accappuciata*' (Telesphorus?) (Scop. 1871, 17). Amid various remains, a marble head of a Faun (NSc. 1881, 223). Near traces of a Roman building, a small bronze figurine representing Hercules and the Hesperides, perhaps dating to the first century A.D. (AC 12, 1960, 96–9).

PADRIA. Part of a terracotta frieze representing a *biga* driven by Victory (Scop. 1866, 12), and a bronze statuette of a cavalryman (Ibid., n. 2). A bronze Sabazius hand (Ibid., 13: misidentified), a bronze head said to be of Mithra (Ibid.) and a bronze head of Silenus (Ibid.). Among other bronzes was the foot of a tripod representing a '*discofora*' (Ibid. 14). Part of a marble statue of Pan or Silenus (Ibid. 15). A marble lion's foot (Scop. 1867, 44), and a 32 cm. high marble herm with a space hollowed out in the mouth, hence, probably part of a fountain (Scop. 1868, 26). Recently, a small marble head of a young male (SS 7, 1947, 261, with tav. I.3) and fragments of terracotta statuettes along with various representations of parts of the body, probably a votive deposit (SS 7, 1947, 262). There was also an acephalous marble statuette of a young girl (Scop. 1870, 31).

PAULILATINO. Various terracotta ex-voto's were included in the finds at the nuraghe Lugherras (cf. Pl. XI.19) (Mon. Ant. 20, 1910, 191–3, with fig. 16).

PERDAS DE FOGU. A bronze statuette of a Nereid seated on a dolphin to whose mouth was connected a bronze tube forming part of a bath or fountain (BAS 4, 1858, 94 f.). Tavola X, 49–51, 53, 'Sardegna romana,' published by the Istituto di studi romani, Rome, 1939, shows four bronzes from here: Jupiter, Venus, Juno, and a '*Ninfa marina.*'

PERFUGAS. A figurine of a winged '*Canopo*' (BAS 2, 1856, 182).

PLOAGHE. A terracotta statuette of a breastplated warrior holding a round shield over his breast; the crest of the helmet is pierced to allow the figure to be hung up, and the legs are moveable (fig. 7). Other similar statuettes are said to have been in the Museum in Cagliari, many with moveable arms as well (BAS 4, 1858, 197 f.). There are also fragments of what seems to be a

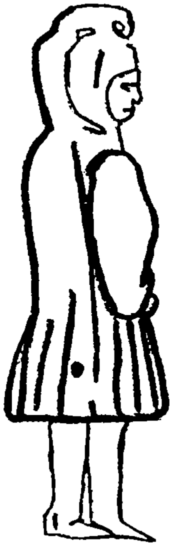


Fig. 7. PLOAGHE: Terracotta warrior

satyr as well as a statuette of a naked, bearded male resting on a tree-trunk (Ibid., 198).

PORTO TORRES. Various marble statuary fragments, including a thigh of Hercules (LUNELLI, cit., 10). A statuette of Hercules (BAS 5, 1859, 31, n. 1), a fragment of a marble statue (NSc. 1881, 437). The torso of a colossal marble statue of a naked male with a chlamys on his shoulders (NSc. 1882, 122). In the area of the large baths (Palazzo di Re Barbaro), a statuette, perhaps of Hecate (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 498 f.), found near an altar dedicated to Isis (NSc. 1931, 121, with fig. 4; SS 12/13, 1952/4, 495 – 8). A marble head of a youth, possibly of a member of the imperial family (FA 17, 1962, 3749, with fig. 72). A 13 cm. high marble statuette of Silenus (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 499 – 502, with tavv. V – VI). A 25 cm. high torso of an 'exceptionally beautiful' marble statue of Venus (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 503 – 8, with tavv. VII – X). A torso, two acephalous statues, and a female head of the fourth century (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 380, n. 25). Two male statues, wearing togas, acephalous and mutilated, one probably of lunese marble, the other apparently of local workmanship (NSc. 1964, 325 f.). Near the large bath, an altar with a relief dedicated to Bubastis and dated to A.D. 35 (BArte 1967, 205, with fig. 25); near the altar, a female head of marble dating to the same period (Ibid.). In the same area, a marble, acephalous statue of Cautopates (Ibid., 1968, 148, with fig. 19).

POSADA. A bronze statuette of Hercules, of Etruscan inspiration, but of local workmanship, perhaps pre-Roman, but possibly dating to after the Roman occupation of the island (Cart. arch. 195, I NO, 1).

S. ANDREA FRIUS. Amid remains of what may have been a villa with a bath, various *'pietre delle figure scolpite'* (CASALIS, 18. 94), perhaps the same site as the one referred to above (p. 765; SPANO, Emend. ed agg. 77). From a votive deposit, terracotta legs, heads, feet (Scop. 1866, 40; 1873, 7) of Punic inspiration (Ritrovamenti, 83 f.).

S. ANTIOCO. A marble statue of a male, now in the entranceway of the university in Cagliari (CASALIS, 8. 380). The foot of a marble statue; an acephalous, armless statue in local marble of a governmental official; a marble statue of a male draped in a chlamys, but with a naked chest (Scop. 1873, 11 f.). A fragmentary terracotta figurine, perhaps Punic, *„assai probabilmente di Afrodite-Astarte"* (NSc. 1908, 157, with fig. 12). A late imperial bas-relief representing a judge and an advocate (NSc. 1919, 148 f.).

S. PANTALEO. A head of a faun crowned with ivy leaves (BAS 7, 1861, 93).

S. VERO MILIS. In the remains of a village around the nuraghe S'Uraki, a terracotta head of a Negro of the third century B. C. (Ritrovamenti, 88).

SARROCH. At a site which yielded much Roman material (CASALIS, 23. 16; Scop. 1874, 10; NSc. 1889, 170 f.), a terracotta *'testa votiva'* (Scop., cit.).

SASSARI. Near a nuraghe in the region Il Prato, near the torrente S. Giorgio, a terracotta statuette of Isis (NSc. 1881, 222).

SEDINI. Included in a hoard of coins, many of which are of Caesarian date, three terracotta statuettes (BAS 1, 1855, 154 f.).

SERRI. In a tomb of imperial date, a bronze statuette, 3. 3 cm. high, said to be of Astarte (SS 7, 1947, 52, n. 46). Another tomb, at the nuraghe Longoni, dated by a coin of Julia Mammaea, included a bronze statuette of a wild boar (SS 7, 1947, 50, n. 39).

SINIS. In a place called Giarrei, a bronze statuette of a female, crowned with ivy and holding a cornucopiae in her right hand, possibly a representation of the goddess Flora (BAS 6, 1860, 73 f.).

SORSO. A marble head of a woman (NSc. 1880, 409).

TABERNA. Some *'idoletti'* in bronze, perhaps pre-Roman (Scop. 1875, 23).

TERTENIA. A bronze statuette of a male in the act of sacrificing: his head is covered and in his right hand he holds out a *patera* (V. M. CANNAS, Tertenia e dintorni, Cagliari, 1964, 46, with tav. III. 2).

TETI. Around a nuraghe, a piece of lead in which was fixed a foot of a bronze statuette (NSc. 1882, 378).

THARROS. A head of Bacchus (BAS 3, 1857, 97–100, with tav. I). In tombs, statuettes with moveable limbs similar to the ones described p. 790 above under Ploaghe (BAS 4, 1858, 197 f.). A statuette of Mercury (BAS 9, 1863, 61). Various terracotta statuettes *„col disco solare e collana al petto"* (Scop. 1867, 32). In a very rich tomb, an ivory statuette of a nude female with silver breasts and eyes (Venus?) (NSc. 1886, 29). Near some tombs of imperial date, a headless statue (NSc. 1892, 189), near which was another one, of a young male (Ibid., 190). Several fragments of sculpted works, noteably the head of a young satyr, crowned with ivy (Mon. Ant. 45, 1961, 422 f., with fig. 56).

TORPE. A bronze statuette of Mercury, naked (Cart. arch. 195, IV NE, 11).

TORRALBA. Two bronze statuettes, one of a panther, the other of a tiger or a lynx, both probably belonging to a Bacchic group (Scop. 1875, 37).

URI. A 30 cm. high bronze statuette of Hercules (CASALIS, 27. 410).

USSANA. Near the entrance to the baths, in what was thought to have been a cult place, two terracotta votive *'piedini'* (FA 4, 1949, 3936).

VILLACIDRO. A bronze statuette of a bearded male making an offering with a cup in his right hand and a plate in his left; this bronze was found along with a coin of Antoninus Pius (D. LOVISATO, Una pagina su Villacidro, Trieste, 1900, 16–9).

VILLANOVA TULO. A marble head of a young male (SS 7, 1947, 260).

VILLAURBANA. Some votive statuettes of a standing female figure wearing a cloak, of Hellenistic-Roman date (SS 16, 1958/9, 744 f.).

V. *Timiateria*

(distribution map on fig. 20)

One deity particularly venerated in Roman Sardinia – undoubtedly a mark of continuity from the Punic period (cf. F. BARRECA, La Sardegna fenicia e punica, Sassari, 1974, 121 and passsim) – is the goddess Ceres, particularly in her representation as a *timiaterion, kernophoros,* or *„Cerere col modio sulla testa."* The distribution of these finds confirms that her worship is essentially a continuity of Punic cult. Of particular interest, from an artistic point of view, would be a detailed stylistic examination of the various types, both for their relationship to one another and to their relationship to other examples, particularly, but not exclusively, to those found in Sicily.

AIDOMAGGIORE. An unspecified number of examples is reported (Mon. Ant. 20, 1910, 190, n. 4).

ALGHERO. In the tomb with the mosaic floor at Porto Conte were found some terracotta specimens (Scop. 1867, 31).

ANTAS. A bronze figurine of Ceres, mutiliated, but recognizable (Scop. 1868, 17).

CAGLIARI. Amid the remains of Roman buildings were some fragments of terracotta statuettes of Ceres (Scop. 1865, 34).

CORNUS. '*Alcune*' statuettes of Ceres in terracotta were reported (Scop. 1865, 48).

FLORINAS. A terracotta statuette, 12 cm. high, representing Ceres was found in almost mint condition (BAS 6, 1860, 185).

FORDONGIANUS. There is a report of an '*idoletto*' of a goddess holding a cornucopiae in her left hand and part of a '*timone spezzato*' in her right; similar figurines were said to have been found in great abundance in the region (ZEDDA, 37).

ITTIRI. One timiaterion was found among the objects in a tomb (NSc. 1964, 303).

NARCAO. In a recently discovered, but not yet published, temple of 'Demeter-Ceres', some three hundred representations of the goddess have been found, many of which are on display in the Museum in Cagliari. The temple dates to the third century B. C. and remained in use at least to the second century A. D. (Frontiera, 4, 1971, 826 f.).

NURRA. In a district called Nuraghelighe, one example in terracotta was found (BAS 8, 1862, 156).

OLBIA. A bronze statuette, possibly of Ceres, about 5 cm. high, was found near a spring of fresh water (NSc. 1898, 79 f.; PANEDDA, agro, 139). A bronze amphora which contained some bronze objects included an ex-voto to Ceres (PANEDDA, 47; agro, 130). Two examples of Ceres figures in terracotta, along with an as of republican date, were found in a tomb (PANEDDA, 67, 136, with tav. VIII. 1).

OLMEDO. Around the nuragic well, an unspecified number of busts of Ceres (BPI 1933, 121, with figg. 6–7).

PADRIA. Included with some incineration burials was a number of terracotta timiateria '*a busto di Astarte*' dated by coins included among the finds to the late republican period (NSc. 1947, 318; SS 7, 1947, 262). Another one was reported in Scop. 1867, 44, found along with skeletal remains in a simple, stone sarcophagus.

PAULILATINO. On the top of the central tower of the nuraghe Lugherras (Pl. XI. 19) was a sanctuary, dating from the fifth or fourth century B. C. to the late fourth century A. D., under which was a deposit which included a very large number of figurines of Ceres (Mon. Ant. 20, 1910, 178 – 192, with figg. 9 – 15).

PLOAGHE. There were four examples of busts of Ceres, in two different styles, made of terracotta, 20 cm. high. Another four, somewhat cruder, were found in the same place along with numerous fragments of still other models – there were at least eight types in all; they were found amid the ruins of a Roman building with a mosaic floor attached to a nuraghe (BAS 4, 1856, 190 – 3).

PORTO TORRES. Many terracotta statuettes of Ceres are reported (Scop. 1874, 28).

PULA (Pl. XIII. 23). A deposit, probably of late republican date, included heads of 'Demeter' and 'Kore' and other objects associated with their worship (NSc. 1974, 506 – 13).

ROMANA. One *timiaterion* was found with six lamps of late republican date (SS 9, 1949, 553).

SASSARI. Near a nuraghe, together with a statuette of Isis, was found a terracotta statuette of Ceres with the inscription *LAVRI* on the back (NSc. 1881, 222).

SINIS. Near Matta Sterri, some tombs contained, among other objects, *'molte statuette di terracotta'* of Ceres (Scop. 1872, 21).

THARROS. A recently discovered temple contained terracotta representations of Demeter and Kore (NSc. 1974, 509, n. 3). Earlier, TARAMELLI referred to numerous examples of timiateria found at Tharros (Mon. Ant. 20, 1910, 190, n. 4), and four *'bustini'* of Ceres, found in Tharros, are now in Turin (SS 14/15, 1955/57, 304 f.). A bronze statuette discovered in 1871 may have been of Ceres (Cart. arch. 216, I SE, 15).

VI. Gold and Silver Objects

(distribution map on fig. 21)

Gold and silver objects are not as rare in Sardinia as might have been thought and are distributed fairly widely over the islands. Finds which can be dated (mostly by associated coins) are: Republic (1), late republic (1), imperial (2), Claudius (1), first century (1), first and second centuries (1), Antonines (3), early third century (1), third century (2), late third century (1), late empire

(6), Constantius II (1), fifth or sixth century (1). The types of finds and numbers of examples are:

	gold	silver
ring	50+	10+
ear-ring	37+	11+
necklace	7+	0
diadem	1	1
crown	0	1
letters	0	2 (on a bronze weight)
bracelet	5+	1
'globetti'/'granelli' (finds)	2	1
objects	1+	+
statuette	1	0
'monili'	+	0
boss	1	0
'smaniglia'	1	2
button	1	0
plate	1	6
ear-ring or bracelat	1	0
pin	0	3
'ciondolo'	1	0
spoon	0	5
fork	0	1
'caldierina'	0	1
'laminetta'	0	1
'armilla'	1	1+
fibula	0	1
bird	0	1
goose	0	1
mirror	0	1.

ALA. A gold ring with the portrait of an emperor (Scop. 1867, 43).

ALGHERO. At the site of Porto Conte in the tomb with the mosaic floor, along with other objects, were a golden necklace with thirty oval balls decorated with filigree, two pairs of gold ear-rings similarly decorated, others of silver, and some golden rings with gems (both onyx and carnelian) (Scop. 1867, 31). A gold necklace and a pair of golden ear-rings is also reported (P. SERRA, Reperti tardoantichi . . . dalla Nurra, Sassari, 1976, 7).

ANTAS. Among the poor remains of the village near the temple of Sardus Pater was a burial containing a skeleton, on the left ring finger of which was a ring *'a fascetta'* in silver and tin; pottery dates the burial to the third century A. D. An animal, possibly a serpent, and some indeciferable signs ran around the band. Another ring of the same materials was found near the first; the latter ring had a monogram incised on the bezel (Stud. Sem. 30, 1969, 158).

BITHIA. A gold ear-ring, 1. 8 cm. long, was found in what is called a votive deposit to Bes (NSc. 1968, 321).

BORTIGALI. In the necropolis of Berre, various pieces of gold jewelry, one of which was a large, very elaborate ear-ring; two others, probably from a different burial, were smaller and less complicated (NSc. 1880, 109). In another region, a tomb yielded a gold diadem (Cart. arch. 206, I NE, 59). Still another contained a silver crown which, when found, was still on the skull of the skeleton (Scop. 1868, 23).

CAGLIARI. At the site of the marble statue of Bacchus (Scop. 1868, 14), was found a gold ear-ring (Ibid., 1869, 12) (fig. 8 b). In the Piazza del Carmine, a bronze weight with silver letters and symbols (Ibid., 1871, 5).

CALASETTA. A small vase with forty-eight republican denarii also contained two gold rings, one of which had a gem (NSc. 1890, 396).

CAPOTERRA. Various tombs yielded an unspecified number of silver ear-rings (Scop. 1873, 8).

CARLOFORTE. Among the objects found in tombs of the necropolis at Salmatore di fuori was a bracelet made of many „*scudetti di sottilissima lamina d'oro, in cui sono rappresentate diverse bizzarre figure di grossolano lavoro e di scorretto disegno;*" there were also necklaces and '*globetti d'oro*'. Coins of the Antonines point to a late second century date (NSc. 1878, 198).

CHEREMULE. In a tomb, a large silver ear-ring (NSc. 1880, 111).

CHIARAMONTI. A gold ring with a carnelian incised with a figure of Pallas (Scop. 1871, 17).

COLLINAS. In a small vase found near a tomb '*a fossa*' in the vicinity of a nuraghe were the broken pieces of a small gold object (SS 8, 1948, 423).

CORNUS. A gold statuette, about 25 cm. high (BAS 10, 1864, 62). Among the many objects forming the collection of B. Mocci were various '*monili*' and ear-rings (Scop. 1872, 22). There was also found here a silver ring with the heads of two bearded male figures (Scop. 1873, 15).

DOLIANOVA. In tombs were found a golden boss weighing 39. 5 gms., bronze and gold rings, a necklace of gold '*pendaglietti*' and two large ear-rings with gold pendants (fig. 8 a), all from the late empire (NSc. 1919, 141 – 5). Another gold ear-ring, of curious shape, seems to have come from near the same site (Ibid., 146 f.).

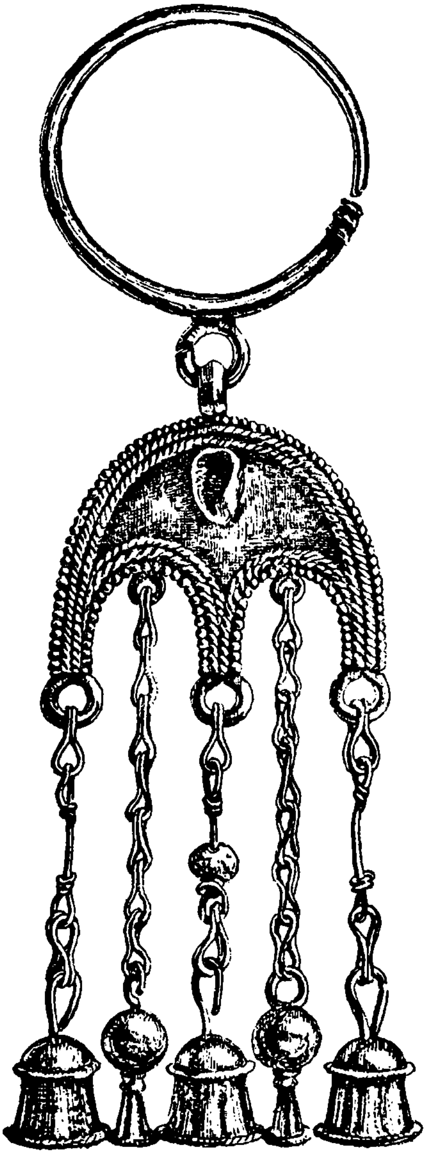


Fig. 8a. DOLIANOVA: Gold ear-ring

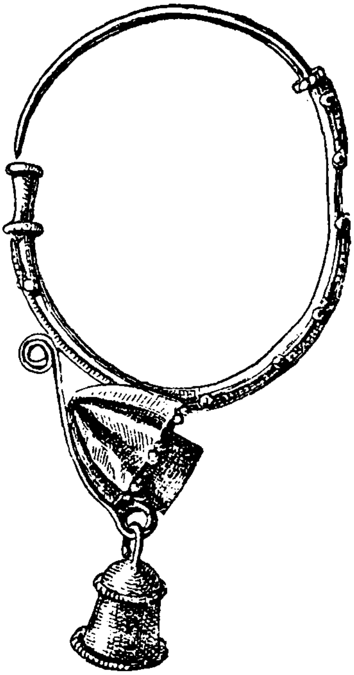


Fig. 8b. CAGLIARI:
Gold ear-ring of uncertain provenance

ESPORLATU. In a tomb *'a lastrone'* were found an iron sword, a gold ring, two large gold ear-rings (not a pair), and a bronze coin of Constantius II (BAS 3, 1857, 155).

FLORINAS. A tomb of a *'fanciulla'* included a gold necklace with *'globi turchini'* and a coin of Claudius (BAS 3, 1857, 96). Another tomb yielded a gold *'smaniglia'* one meter long, a gold necklace also with *'globi di pietra turchina'*, ear-rings, and a gold ring with an amethyst (Ibid., 142 f.).

FONNI. The excavator of the site of Sorabile was assured that in previous years many objects, including pieces of gold and silver, had been found there (NSc. 1879, 352).

FORDONGIANUS. In a tomb, among other objects, were two gold rings and a late republican denarius (NSc. 1903, 485). ZEDDA (p. 36) claims that there was an "infinite" number of such tombs, *„quasi tutte più o meno ricche di oggetti di valore."* In 1365, the governor of Sardinia paid 300 gold fiorini for two silver *'smaniglie'*, each decorated with three precious stones, a gold button, two large ear-rings, a gold ring, and four silver plates, all said to have been found in a marble sarcophagus in Fordongianus (BAS 6, 1860, 163).

GIORRE VERDI. In a domus de janas in the region La Crucca were found various late imperial objects of 'barbaric' art, including a gold ring, a fragment of a gold and silver ear-ring or bracelet (RSP 27, 1972, 471 f.).

GOLFARANCI. A gold ring of ten gm. weight (PANEDDA, agro, 124).

GONNESA. Near the mine of S. Benedetto were 'many' Roman burials, some of which contained silver ear-rings (Scop. 1873, 10).

LACONI. In a 'vast' necropolis, many large ear-rings both of silver and of bronze (Scop. 1871, 8 f.; Studi Etruschi, 1944, 348).

LAERRU. A small silver ring with a yellow incised jasper, along with coins of the first century A. D. (BAS 9, 1863, 95).

LEI. Among the remains of a village, two large silver earrings (Scop. 1871, 15 f.).

MACOMER. A gold ring with a Hebrew inscription, translated as *'vita allegra, segno buono'* (BAS 5, 1859, 56).

MORES. In a tomb, a thin silver pin (ASS 1, 1905, 141); another tomb produced a gold ring with an emerald (ASS 2, 1906, 319).

NORA. In a tomb, objects of gold and silver, including a 'curious' silver ring with five breasts incised on the gem (BAS 7, 1861, 30). Associated with a burial into (but not necessarily of) a Punic level were two silver ear-rings *'di bassa lega'* (NSc. 1901, 380). A number of burials in *hypogea* included gold and silver objects; those associated with Roman materials are very few and may be earlier (Mon. Ant. 14, 1904, 219 f.).

NURAGUS. A gold ear-ring (BAS 4, 1858, 125). Silver rings, one of which had *„un tassello di pasta per boccia cui è sovrapposto un ornamento di vetro fuso imitante una palma“* (Scop. 1874, 23 f., with fig. 16).

NURECI. In a tomb at the nuraghe Uriel was a pair of silver ear-rings, *„con globetto alla parte inferiore a quattro punte cesellate, della circonferenza di 7 cent. e grossi in proporzione,“* as well as a silver ring, some *'granelli'* of a silver necklace; the total weight of these objects was more than 58 grams (NSc. 1880, 107 f.). A silver *patera* from the fifth or sixth century is said to have come from Nureci (SS 21, 1968/70, 21–9).

OLBIA. Four of 165 tombs in the region Acciaradolzu, dating to the first and second centuries A. D., yielded gold objects, including a 6 cm. long *'ciondolo,'* two ear-rings, and a necklace 33 cm. long (PANEDDA, 67, 134 f.). Elsewhere, near a tomb in the necropolis around the church of S. Simplicio, was a 'treasure' of twenty-one gold objects, including twelve rings, two *'collane'* and seven ear-rings said to be remarkable for their finely executed filigree work; one of the *'collane'* had three *'rubini'* (ID., 68). Another tomb yielded the *'toeletta di una ricca matrona'* consisting of gold *'monili'* and five rings *'con castoni'* (ID., 69). Numerous other gold objects (rings, ear-rings, bracelets, and necklaces), found in various necropolises, are distinguished – some of them, at any rate – by *„un eleganza che non si trova in altri punti della Sardegna“* (ID., 69, 122–36). One tomb in the necropolis Su Cuguttu included four silver spoons (ID., 93); another one elsewhere had half of a silver hair-pin (ID., 131). A tomb in the region Pasana included a silver hair pin, 10 cm. long (PANEDDA, agro, 134), and a tomb in the region Putzolu had a gold ring along with various late imperial coins (ID., 128).

ORGOSOLO. As part of a votive deposit was a *'caldierina in lega d'argento'* (NSc. 1932, 534).

ORISTANO. A *'piccola laminetta'* of silver, attached to an *'anellino'* (Cat. racc. SPANO, 47, nr. 22).

PERFUGAS. A ring similar to gold rings found at Olbia (BAS 10, 1864, 48; cf. 7, 1861, 115).

PLOAGHE. In a tomb was found a skull encircled with a thin band of silver (Scop. 1873, 24).

PORTO TORRES. Two gold ear-rings were found in a tomb (Scop. 1876, 31). A silver fork and spoon were reported to have been found in another tomb (Cat. racc. SPANO, 45, nr. 37 f.). A tomb situated between Porto Torres and Sassari yielded a gold object called either an *'orecchino'* (NSc. 1881, 125) or an *'anello'* (Ibid., 203), formed *„da un cerchio su cui è avvolto altro cerchio a spira.“* Another tomb yielded, along with coins of the third century A. D., a gold *'armilla'*, 11.2 cm. in diameter, 3.2 cm. thick (NSc. 1931, 108–11). A tomb of not before the sixth century contained, among other objects, a silver ear-ring (NSc. 1965, 343 f., 356).

POSADA. Among the remains found at S. Teodoro di Oviddè were *'qualche oggetto d'oro'* (Cart. arch. 182, III NE, 2).

S. ANDREA FRIUS. Among what were called votive objects were large silver ear-rings and a single gold one in the shape of a heart with an emerald in the middle (Scop. 1867, 35; cf. NSc. 1919, 146). Elsewhere, in a tomb, along with other objects, was part of a silver *fibula 'ad arco'* (NSc. 1923, 290–3).

S. ANDREA PRIU. Among the many Roman objects found near the re-used prehistoric tombs were *'molte cose preziose in oro,'* including a large gold ring with a gem incised with the inscription

LUCRETIA

(BAS 2, 1856, 171).

S. ANTIOCO. A gold ring was found, with a coin of Marcian in place of a gem-stone (BAS 9, 1863, 109). A silver ring was elaborately decorated with a haloed human head, crowned with three rays in the shape of palms, a lion's head, and a horned serpent, the inscriptions

ISOCNHH and *SVV.*

Other Christian rings (of unspecified metal) are said to have been frequently found, variously decorated with a seven-branch candelabrum, a fish, a cross, or an anchor (BAS 10, 1864, 39 f.). A gold ring (NSc. 1908, 154, with fig. 8) was perhaps Punic (Ibid., 155).

S. GIOVANNI DI SUERGIU. Gold ornaments, perhaps but not necessarily Roman, were found in a tomb (BAS 6, 1860, 61).

S. GIUSTA. A gold ring with a double bezel formed of two rectangular *'striscie'* on which were carved a horse and a ram (Scop. 1866, 30).

S. SPERATE. In a large sarcophagus were many gold objects, including two bracelets in the form of a serpent's head, perhaps Punic (BAS 4, 1858, 32). Not a few tombs in the area are said to have contained gold and silver (Scop. 1876, 47); others contained two *'anelli crinali'* and four ear-rings of gilded bronze (NSc. 1879, 161 f.) as well as some gold objects (Ibid., 162).

SANLURI. In a tomb near a village in the region Mareidda, a gold ring (SS 8, 1948, 427).

SELEGAS. A large silver ear-ring found in a tomb; elsewhere, near a nuraghe, some worked pieces of gold (BAS 5, 1859, 58 f.).

SENORBI. A gold ring with a *'turchessa'* (Scop. 1867, 35). A tomb yielded, among other objects, eighteen globules of gold, *'lavorati con minutissimi rilievi,'* presumably belonging to a necklace (NSc. 1881, 437).

SERDIANA. A large silver ear-ring similar to one found at Cheremule (NSc. 1880, 111).

SILIGO. In the necropolis around the church of Mesumundu, several silver ear-rings and a gold one (NSc. 1965, 311 – 9); gold ear-rings had previously been reported (Cart. arch. 193, I NO, 31).

SORSO. Between Sorso and Porto Torres, in the region called Bangius (above), were found gold ear-rings and silver rings (Scop. 1869, 30 f.). In the same region, a tomb yielded a silver bird (NSc. 1880, 409); elsewhere, in the region Gelithon, a small silver goose was discovered (Ibid.).

TELTI. In a tomb, said to be *'di piccole dimensioni'* was a silver bracelet in the shape of a fish (NSc. 1888, 402) or of a *'serpe'* (PANEDDA, agro, 133).

TERRALBA. In the vicinity of a mosaic, two gold rings, one of which had four incisions in the shape of an S in its gem (BAS 7, 1861, 154).

THARROS. A silver *patera* similar to the one found at Nureci (SS 21, 1968/70, 21 – 9). A number of tombs between San Salvatore and Tharros has been described; some of them yielded precious objects, including „ *un paio di pendini in oro semplici da cui pendono due goccie di vetro in forma di modius,*" as well as many silver rings and *'armille;'* associated coins run from Vespasian to M. Aurelius (Scop. 1873, 13 f.). An unspecified number of gold objects was uncovered, one of which was a pair of ear-rings *„rotondi con bottoncini a grane nelle estremità"* (BAS 6, 1860, 95). There were also some rings with a gold cartouche in place of a gem-stone (BAS 9, 1863, 87; Cart. arch. 216, I SE, 11). Another gold ring had a ruby on which was incised a dove with an olive branch it its beak; there was also found a gold ear-ring with a *modius* (Scop. 1871, 6 f.), another example of which was found the following year (Scop. 1872, 21). From a well equiped tomb which contained coins from Hadrian to Septimius Severus were extracted a silver *'armilla'* with the head of a *'biscia,'* a silver *'anellino'* imitating a serpent, and a silver ring (Scop. 1874, 17). In another tomb were found a silver ring *'in forma di staffa'* and a small, simple silver ear-ring. Still another tomb, which included a gold coin of Vespasian but which is to be dated by three coins of the late third century found near the skeleton's left foot, were two large gold bracelets *'formati da un grosso filo'* near the head; at the neck was a thin gold plate on which was impressed the figure of Cybele seated on a lion; near the right foot was a silver mirror. A gold ring, dated by a coin of Faustina the younger, was found in another tomb nearby (NSc. 1886, 28 f.). A variety of objects found between 1850 and 1869 was described in the latter year; they included gold rings, with representations of Isis between two sphinxes, of a horseman, of a Negro, of an *'ippocampo'* and of a male figure (Cart. arch. 216, I SE, 49). In a cistern near a temple recently excavated was part of a gold ear-ring (Mon. Ant. 45, 1961, 433).

UTA. Various objects are recorded, including an unspecified number of silver ear-rings (Scop. 1873, 8).

VII. Bronze and Other Jewelry

(distribution map on fig. 22)

The variety and distribution of bronze objects is, as would have been expected, greather than they were for more precious metals. Many of them are clearly the results of military presence, although one wonders about the utility of bronze weapons.

ring . . . 48 +
‘monili’ . . . +
disc . . . 3 +
‘armilla’ . . . 11 +
tripod . . . 1
strigil . . . 1
thimble . . . 1
‘candela’ . . . 2
vase . . . 1
seal . . . 7 +
phallus . . . 2 +
medical implement . . . 12 +
handle . . . 10 +
medallion . . . 2
hinge . . . 1
ear-ring . . . 2 +
pin . . . 11 +
mask . . . 1
fibula . . . 13 +
weapon . . . 6 +
toy . . . 1
simpulum . . . 1
phalera . . . 4 +
tongs . . . 1
weight . . . 6 +
urn . . . 3 +
comb . . . 1
chisel . . . 1
bell . . . 9 +
lamp . . . 12
bracelet . . . 10 +
spoon . . . +
stylus . . . 1
mirror . . . 11 +
nail . . . 53 +
harness & bit . . . 1 +
candelabrum . . . 3
vessel . . . 1 +
‘caldario’ . . . 2
amulet . . . 1
eagle . . . 3
gem . . . 1
cup . . . 2
key . . . 4 +
‘spillone’ . . . 1 +

The gems, although relatively few, show a fairly wide distribution over time and space; including those reported under gold and silver, their numbers are:

carnelian . . . 40 +
cameo . . . 7
emerald . . . 5
onyx . . . 3 +
jasper . . . 15 +
amber . . . 3 +
coral . . . +
amethyst . . . 1
ruby . . . 8
agate . . . 5
lapis lazuli . . . +
‘turchessa’ . . . 4.

ABBASANTA. From tombs around the nuraghe Aiga, fragments of bronze objects (Cart. arch. 206, II NO, 9).

ALA. Undifferentiated bronze objects (Scop. 1867, 43).

ALES. A large bronze tripod with human shaped legs and feet; associated coins were of Volusianus and Constantine (Scop. 1876, 28).

ALGHERO. In the mosaic tomb at Porto Conte were two swords, one of iron, the other of bronze, with the inscription *TARBH* (Scop. 1867, 31).

ANTAS. Two bronze ear-rings *‘ad anello’* (Stud Sem. 30, 1969, 149, 157).

ARBUS. In a giants' tomb, a large number of bronze nails (20 – 22 cm. long) and fragments of *‘cassette in lamine di bronzo’* (NSc. 1927, 363 – 5).

ARZACHENA. Around the nuraghe Albucciu, a bronze bracelet decorated *'da incisioni'* and a small chisel; they were found in a disturbed layer with both prehistoric and Roman pottery so that either one or both of the bronze objects might not be Roman (RSP 17, 1962, 174 f.).

ASSOLO. Bronzes, not otherwise specified, were said to have been frequently found (Scop. 1868, 32).

ATZARA. Two *'medaglie gnostiche con croci e stelle'* (Scop. 1866, 34) and a bronze mask (Scop. 1864, 157).

BALLAO. A bronze ring with a figure wearing a *paludamentum* on the gem (BAS 6, 1860, 158). A bronze bell with a cross in low relief on two of its sides (NSc. 1879, 164 f.); a bronze key (NSc. 1919, 184 f.) and part of a bronze lamp, found in the region S. Chiara (Ibid., 186) (fig. 9).

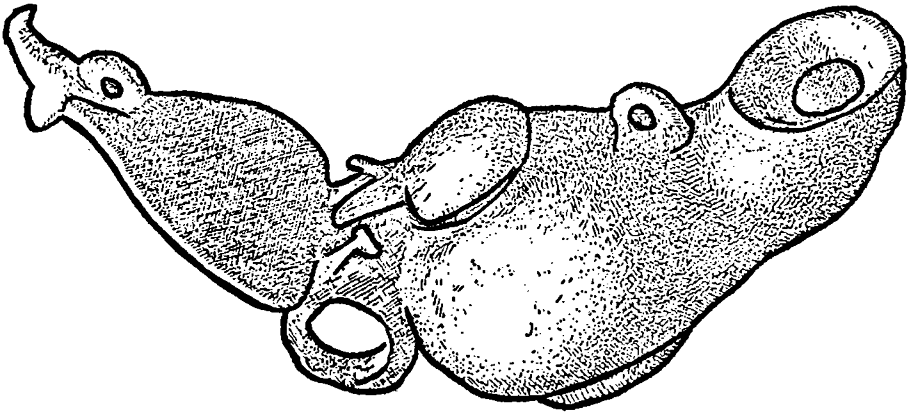


Fig. 9. BALLAO: Bronze lamp

BARUMINI. *'Frantumi di bronzo'* were found in the region Bangius (Scop. 1866, 29). A necropolis yielded numerous bronze rings (SS 3, 1937, 154 f.), and near some other tombs were a small ruby and a *„cammeo scheggiato, con una figura femminile di prospetto, dai capelli elegantemente acconciati"* (NSc. 1939, 374). Another tomb contained a ring of lead, *„forse un ciondolo, a nastro; sulla superficie superiore del nastro, entro due rilievi circolari periferici trattini obliqui fitti e minuti in rilievo"* (NSc. 1946, 204).

BARESSA. From tombs, a bronze mirror and an iron *'ascia'* (NSc. 1904, 238).

BIORA. Various bronze objects (BAS 3, 1857, 95). Amid the ruins of a small *'casetta,'* a number of pieces of a copper kettle (SS 7, 1947, 76). In a sarcophagus were found various pieces of jewelry in bronze (rings and earrings) and a *'ciondolino piriforme di ambra succinica'* (Ibid., 99 – 101).

BITHIA. In a votive deposit, two bronze amulets in the shape of a phallus along with various items of jewelry (NSc. 1968, 321 f.). Earlier finds included an agate of *'qualche grandezza'* (BAS 7, 1871, 61).

BITTI. A bronze lamp in the shape of a pig (Scop. 1871, 13).

BOLOTANA. A bronze bull at a building site (BAS 5, 1859, 93 f.).

BONORVA. Tombs included rings (CASALIS, 2. 430). Another tomb yielded some pieces of lead said to have been *„uniti e poggiati quasi come una ghirlanda di foglie"* along with a nail and a *fibula* (NSc. 1881, 71).

BORTIGALI. Incised gem stones and *'armi ed oggetti di metallo'* are recorded (Scop. 1868, 26) in the region Berre, along with a small jasper incised with a legionary standard (Scop. 1868, 20).

BOSA. Two bronze handles (of a vessel), one of which was elegantly worked with the head of a serpent and *'di discreta lunghezza'* (Scop. 1876, 29 f.); also, a carnelian scarab and *„un globetto forato di monile in colore di smeraldo"* (Scop. 1872, 23).

CAGLIARI. In a tomb were some pieces of bronze and iron, perhaps from a bracelet (BAS 1, 1855, 183); there was also a bronze comb in a cinerary urn (Ibid., 89). Many pieces of bronze were found in a building: nails, *'manici di stromenti,'* half of a bracelet with a serpent's head, and an oval bronze *'gemma'* for a ring, with a representation of Mars (BAS 3, 1857, 60). In the remains of another building was a *„campanello con alcuni chiodi di bronzo"* (Scop 1865, 34); another building yielded some bronze *fibulae* (Scop 1871, 4). A cameo was found, with the representation of a "philosopher who resembled Plato" (Scop. 1872, 16). In tombs was an unstated number of rings (Scop. 1873, 6). Some pieces of bronze were found in a building, *„a forma di scalpelli, chiodi, ed altro"* (Scop. 1874, 6). In one of the tombs on Mt. Tuvixeddu was a bronze ring with a cross and letters which 'seemed to be Christian' (Scop. 1874, 44). In a building were fragments of mirrors and small bronze nails (NSc. 1877, 286); another building yielded bronze pieces, *'ma poco significanti'* (NSc. 1879, 161). In the Casa di Tigellio, some bronze spoons were reported (NSc. 1880, 406). Remains of a bronze object, probably a lamp, were found in a tomb (NSc. 1887, 164). In the Campo Viale, among other objects, was *'un plasma di smeraldo'* (NSc. 1888, 754). A tomb yielded a broken bronze mirror (NSc. 1888, 399). In building remains at the western edge of the city were *'un chiodo'* and *'un manico di situla in bronzo'* (NSc. 1943, 156). In some tombs, which seem to be Punic, but one of which contained a coin of Ptolemy II Evergetes and another contained a coin of Atius Balbus, there were scarabs of carnelian and of jasper (Mon. Ant. 21, 1912/13, 168); there was also a number of copper rings reported, some of which might be Roman (Ibid., 139, 186, 203; SS 14/15, 1955/7, 178). Among the objects found in association with a Punic sanctuary were some pieces of coral and lapis lazuli as well as various bronze fragments (NSc. 1949, 188 – 98). In the extensive remains of the Casa di Tigellio were an onyx with a representation of Jupiter (NSc. 1876, 151), *„una pasta (o pietra) verde trasparente ... sulla quale vedonsi due gladiatori in atto di combattere“* (Ibid., 174).

CAPOTERRA. From tombs of the late empire, an unstated number of bronze *'armilli'* (Scop. 1873, 8 f.).

CASTELSARDO. *'Alcuni pezzi insignificanti di bronzo'* (NSc. 1881, 31).

CASTRO. (Apparently in tombs) some carnelians *'di ottimo lavoro'* (BAS 2, 1856, 47). A later report described some more carnelians, a jasper with Minerva represented, and another with a hunting scene (Scop. 1870, 32).

CHEREMULE. A bronze eagle, c. 6 cm. high, with wings spread (NSc. 1880, 410).

COGHINAS. One of a number of cinerary urns was of bronze (Scop. 1871, 17).

CORNUS. Included in some tombs were various bronze objects such as a mirror and some nails (BAS 6, 1860, 151). In another tomb, inside a cinerary urn, was an object in the shape of a mirror *'lavorato a pampini'* which had in the middle a medallion of lead with a mirror in relief. The object also had, on one side of the medallion, a disc with a half moon and a bird, and, on the other side, a fish and a star (BAS 10, 1864, 62). A bronze lamp in the shape of a woman's foot wearing a sandal was reported (Scop. 1866, 32). Bronze amulets and *fibulae* were reported (Scop. 1871, 8, 18). Another urn contained two bronze *'chiavette'* (Scop. 1872, 22). In less than a month, B. MOCCI excavated a large number of tombs, finding, inter alia, *„fusaiole e specchi di bronzo, globi di pietra, monili, orecchini ed altro“* (Scop. 1872, 22). Some incised stones are recorded: two jaspers (one representing a scorpion, the other with a male figure and a winged *'genietto'* holding a small bird) and a ruby showing a philosopher, along with a bronze seal of a freedman of M. Aurelius and L. Verus (Scop. 1876, 34). Two other rubies were found, one with Mars, the other with Pax (Scop. 1876, 48).

COROS. Among the remains of what seems to have been a villa with a bath were various carnelians (CASALIS, 5. 441).

DOLIANOVA. In addition to gold objects found in a tomb were a bronze vase and rings (NSc. 1919, 141–7).

ELMAS. In a tomb were found two bracelets *'in filo di bronzo'* (NSc. 1923, 288).

FERTILIA. Sporadic finds include bronze tongs and a bronze vessel, 9.05 cm. high (SS 9, 1949, 552).

FLORINAS. Bronze rings and bracelets are recorded as having been found in some cinerary urns (BAS 3, 1857, 144).

FONNI. Among the remains of Sorabile was a piece of bronze, probably part of a mirror (NSc. 1879, 352).

FORDONGIANUS. Many *fibulae*, embossed and decorated with '*ippocampi*,' birds, etc., are recorded (BAS 6, 1860, 163); two others represent a lion-hunting scene and a horse (Scop. 1866, 34). A large number of weapons is also recorded (BAS 6, 1860, 163). One tomb yielded, in addition to gold objects, a necklace or pieces of blue enamel, white glass, amber, and carnelian; a bronze bracelet, and '*un anellino in bronzo, con chiavetta a segreto*' (NSc. 1903, 485). A '*fibula barbarica o bizantina*' was found near the Roman bridge (ZEDDA, 37). Among the remains of the baths was a '*timbro*' (of what material?) '*di dimensioni piuttosto grandi*' representing a soldier in armor surrounded by a crown of laurel leaves (ZEDDA, 38).

GADONI. Various rings and '*ornamenti muliebri*' of unspecified material or description are recorded (SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 97). In a tomb were found „*tre campanelle ed un anellone di bronzo alla di cui periferia sono attacate quattro catenelle che ognuna finisce con un piccol coltello parimenti di bronzo*“ (BAS 4, 1858, 31). Still others were found later and called *phalerae* (BAS 10, 1864, 74). Elsewhere in the territory, a bronze *fibula* with an eagle's head adorned with circular designs was reported (Scop. 1870, 28). Many tombs yielded a large quantity of bronze objects including twenty rings, some with incised stones, '*campanelli, spilloni,*' and an unstated number of *phalerae* (Scop. 1869, 29 f.).

GEREMEAS. The remains of the villa excavated by SPANO included pieces of bronze (Memoria sopra l'antico oppido o villa di Geremeas, Cagliari, 1873, 12).

GIARA. Various bronze objects "of no artistic or scientific interest" were discovered (Scop. 1876, 29).

GIAVE. In the remains of a building, along with late imperial coins, was a bronze handle, 14 cm. long, of a vessel of some type (SS 8, 1948, 429).

GONNESA. From tombs near the mine of S. Benedetto came some bronze '*armille*' (Scop. 1873, 10).

ISILI. A round *fibula* (of bronze?) with a ruby and designs of enamel was reported (Cat. racc. SPANO, 53, nr. 13).

LACONI. A red jasper ('*diaspro sanguigno*') with the representation of a running horse was reported (Scop. 1867, 35 f.). Some tombs yielded bronze ear-rings (Scop. 1871, 9), possibly Punic (Ritrovamenti, 48).

LAERRU. Some fragments of bronze were reported (Scop. 1874, 36).

LA MADDELENA. Among the remains of a shipwreck found off the coast was a bronze lamp; associated pottery dates to the second or first century B.C. (Memoria della soc. geogr. ital. 25, 1959, 6).

LANUSEI. There was a report of four *phalerae* similar to those found at Gadoni (Scop. 1874, 36).

LEI. There was a bronze ring with a cavalryman incised on its gemstone (Scop. 1868, 28); some bronzes were found in another region of the same area, amid remains of buildings (Ibid., 29).

LULA. Among the few Roman remains were a bronze handle and some *'candele'* (Scop. 1871, 13).

MACOMER. Finds included a bronze ring on the gem of which was incised a scorpion (Scop. 1874, 38).

MARACALAGONIS. In a third century A.D. tomb was found a bronze object, probably a *fibula* (Scop. 1875, 40).

MARTIS. A bronze seal was found, similar to one from Villasor, with a handle on which was inscribed (in letters *'del bel tempo'*) *NICERI* along with a grape or ivy leaf (Scop. 1874, 37; cf. 1869, 26).

MEDUSA, CASTELLO DI. A bronze ring was reported from here (BAS 7, 1861, 102).

MONTRESTA. In a nuraghe were found a bronze spear and late republican coins (Scop. 1871, 17).

MORES. In some tombs were *'caldari'* of copper or bronze, *'qualche simpulum,'* and a few rings and bracelets, *'a semplice filo ritorto,'* together with some *fibulae* and *'fermagli'* in bronze. Associated coins ranged from Gordian I to Constantine (NSc. 1904, 291 f.). Another tomb, possibly dated by the brick stamp

ACTES AUG. L.,

yielded a small copper mirror (ASS 1, 1905, 141). Another tomb which contained a large bronze thimble is perhaps pre-Roman (Ibid.). In the fields near where building remains were later found was discovered *„una saltaginie di rame posta accanto alla bocca di un forno“* (ASS 2, 1906, 321). Another site provided a bronze lamp (Ibid., 318); and, at still another site, was found as small metallic rectangle, perhaps a weight (Ibid., 322).

MULARGIA. A tomb, possibly pre-Roman, yielded, among other objects, an iron sword (Scop. 1873, 23 f.); elsewhere was found a bronze lamp *'molto svelta e di buon lavoro'* (Scop. 1874, 38 f.).

NABELLA NURAGHE. Traces of buildings and other Roman remains, including a bronze ring with a gem on which was incised the Dioscuri, were found at this site, which is near a mine (Scop. 1871, 13).

NEONELI. Near the Tirso river, a bronze seal with a broad handle *'ad occhiello schiacciato'* and the inscriptions

IUNIAE / RUFINAE

was found along with a weight 4 × 4 cm., inscribed

*– * G / SOL / XXXG*

(i.e., *unciae sex / solidi / xxxvi*) (NSc. 1930, 267–9).

NORA. Finds here included a carnelian along with other jewelry (BAS 7, 1861, 30); a jasper representing Mercury, an oval onyx with a figure of a female and child, and another jasper representing a hand touching an earlobe with the inscription

MNEMEYON EMY

(Ibid., 94); another carnelian representing a togate figure seating and writing on a shield (Scop. 1868, 19). Among the sparse remains of the Roman necropolis was a fragment of a bronze mirror (NSc. 1901, 380). Elsewhere, there were found two *'aghi saccalia a doppia cruna,'* two nails and a small ring, all of bronze; from another trench came a bronze handle and a carnelian representing a fisherman (NSc. 1902, 75). In the tombs which are securely of Roman date were found a bronze object similar to a small candelabrum and a small box which contained organic material (Mon. Ant. 14, 1904, 219 f.).

NUGHEDU. In the region Su Sudanu, among other remains, was a *'bellissimo'* cameo, three cm. long (Casalis, 12. 627).

NULE. In the region Stelai, near the nuraghe of the same name, was a bronze cinerary urn with a *'candelo'* and other objects (Scop. 1871, 15).

NULVI. Finds included a carnelian with Greek letters arranged in six lines enclosing *„una serpe avvolta che si morde la coda"* (Scop. 1866, 35); another carnelian represented Mercury (Ibid., 1870, 33).

NURAGUS. One tomb included *'vasetti di piombo'* and a bronze weight (Scop. 1876, 27); other tombs on the Giara included *'armille'* of bronze (Ibid.). Elsewhere, at a nuraghe, were eight more bronze *'armille,'* four hair pins and a handle; there was also a large quantity of swords reported (NSc. 1876, 95). A tomb which included a coin of Augustus also has a small bronze ring (NSc. 1882, 307); other tombs yielded two bronze bracelets and an iron *'falciotto'* (Ibid., 307 f.).

NURALLAO. A few pieces of bronze utensils (handles of vases and harnesses) were found near a nuraghe (NSc. 1949, 301, n. 1).

OLBIA. The few bronze objects reported to have been found in tombs include *'catenelle,' 'crepundia,'* and *'chiodi'* (mostly of iron) (Panedda, 67 f.)., a copper ring (Id., 111), some bronze rings (Id., 123), strigils (which are also found made of iron), and *'granuli'* of amber, presumably from a necklace (Id., 69, 102). Other finds include part of a candelabrum – a figure of a woman wearing a short chlamys (Id., 91).

OLIENA. Amid many tombs were found a bronze spear, a horse's bit, a surgical instrument, various nails, rings (one with the inscription *C. TIULIUS*), and incised gems; coins date mostly to the period between Antoninus Pius and Constantine (Scop. 1868, 24).

ORANI. Around the thermal baths were found pieces of bronze (Spano, Emend. ed agg., 158); near where the bronze statuette (above p. 790) was found were also found some bronze rings (Scop. 1873, 28).

ORGOSOLO. Votive objects found at the shrine of Orubiu included bronze handles and a bronze cup (NSc. 1932, 534).

ORISTANO. There is a report of a bronze '*dramma*' weighing 3.5 grams, with a silver inscription, on one side *VICTORIS*, on the other AΩ and a *chrismon* (BAS 10, 1864, 75).

OSIDDA. Along with a vessel full of coins was found a small piece of bronze, thought to be part of a military diploma (BAS 2, 1856, 156). Elsewhere, in addition to coins of the Philips, were fragments of various bronze utensils (Scop. 1871, 15).

PADRIA. Finds included a bronze seal in the shape of a human foot with the inscription *HONORATA* (Scop. 1866, 14); rings, '*catenelle ingegnosamente intrecciate,*' keys, phallic figurines, and „*altre cose che non meritano d'esser descritte*" (Ibid.); a large quantity of incised carnelians, jaspers, and an onyx (Ibid., 15 – 7). Figures represented on the gems include Bacchus, Jupiter, Mars, Hercules, an equestrian, a cock fight, a locust eating grain, philosophers' heads, eagles, an owl, and a swallow. In tombs were found sheets of copper, two bronze rings, and various ornanemtal pieces of bronze (Ibid., 20).

PAULILATINO. At the site Puzzu 'e Torru, between Paulilatino and Fordongianus, among other Roman remains, were various '*stromenti di bronzo*' (Scop. 1866, 34). At the nuraghe Lugherras was found a number of iron weapons, mostly spear points; they were, according to Taramelli, of Roman type, perhaps a votive offering (Mon. Ant. 20, 1910, 166 f.).

PLOAGHE. Various otherwise unspecified seals were found among the remains of buildings (BAS 2, 1856, 21).

PONTE SECCO. A few small pieces of bronze were found in a re-used domus de janas (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 27 f.).

PORTO TORRES. Finds include: a carnelian representing a figure with a spear in one hand and a scale in the other; another carnelian represents a lion attacking an ox and has the inscription

SATYRU

(BAS 6, 1860, 126). Another carnelian, with the letters *LDE*, represents a naked Bacchus with a thyrsus; an emerald has a soldier resting on a column. A bronze ring with a dove incised on its gem was reported at the same time (Scop. 1867, 44). There was a later report of many bronze objects, not otherwise specified (Scop. 1872, 25). Near the city, at the site where a gold object was found (above p. 800) was later discovered a handle of a bronze vessel representing a graceful female head (NSc. 1881, 203). In another tomb, was a bronze mirror decorated with '*sottile incisione circolare*' (Ibid., 320); another tomb had a small bronze '*stadera*' (NSc. 1965, 349, with fig. 27, p. 350). Still another tomb included a bronze ring (Ibid. 343 f.). Among two different building remains were some unspecified bronze objects (SS 7, 1947, 229, 232).

POSADA. In the region San Teodoro di Ovidde there are reported to have frequently been found '*bronzi vari, anelli e braccialetti*' (Cart. arch. 181/2, III NE, 2).

REBECCU. Near the ruins of a large building were found, inter alia, '*oggetti in bronzo*' (BAS 2, 1856, 47).

S. ANDREA FRIUS. A bronze eagle, similar to the one found at Cheremule, is reported to have been found along with a bronze helmet (NSc. 1880, 410).

S. ANTIOCO. Finds from here include a bronze bracelet hinged in the middle (BAS 3, 1857, 51, n. 1); some bronze helmets and greaves found in tombs (Ibid., 52); a bronze seal with the inscription

ANNUS LARGUS

('*l'augurio di capodanno*') (NSc. 1919, 150). Among the many gemstones (found '*per caso tuttodì*'), most frequently carnelians and jaspers; one, representing Minerva, was singled out as worthy of note (BAS 3, 1857, 53, with fig.); others reported are two small carnelians, one of which represented a bireme with two sailors working the sails and with a helmsman (others with a trireme were known), the second representing a Cupid (BAS 6, 1860, 158); a carnelian with Jupiter and the letters LFA (BAS 7, 1861, 61); two more carnelians, one with three warriors and two vases, the other with a woman reclining on a couch and a naked young male (BAS 8, 1862, 29 f.); and one more with Mercury (Ibid., 64); a series of carnelians representing Ceres or Flora, Cupid, Minerva, Satyrs, the empress Sabina, a good shepherd (BAS 9, 1863, 78 f.); another carnelian represented a togate male '*seduto che adora un dio Termine*' (BAS 10, 1864, 125); near the city was found a bronze ring '*con un simbolo in forma di rombo*' (Ibid., 126); a cameo with a 'philosopher or rhetor' and a jasper with a tree, and a hare fleeing a greyhound (Scop. 1866, 37 f.); another carnelian represented Cybele (Ibid., 39); one more had Ceres with a cornucopiae (Scop. 1868, 20); an agate represented Venus '*uscita dal bagno,*' a carnelian with the head of a philosopher, and an onyx (Scop. 1869, 14 f.); a bronze ring with a gem representing Victory holding a cross, possible of the sixth century; some more carnelians, one representing Ceres with a cornucopiae and an ear of grain; an agate with a cornucopiae, ear of grain, and a *modius*; a small emerald with a *modius*, grain ears, and a poppy; a jasper with human and equine heads; two cameos, one with M. Aurelius, the other with Jupiter (Scop. 1874, 15 f.); a carnelian with Mercury, another with Faustina Junior and with M. Aurelius in the background; another with M. Aurelius, his wife and a philosopher (Scop. 1876, 8); a red jasper with a fish, a dolphin and a seal (Cat. racc. SPANO, 26, nr. 5). Finds also included a bronze '*armilla*' (BAS 8, 1862, 30), a bronze door hinge (Cat. racc. SPANO, 44, nr. 1), and, in the catacombs, some bronze rings and bracelets (NSc. 1921, 173).

S. GAVINO MONREALE. In a tomb was found part of a lead box for a mirror (NSc. 1949, 282).

SANTU LUSSURGIU. In the locality Porcargius was reported a bronze eagle with spread wings, but it was not a legionary eagle (Scop. 1870, 30). Elsewhere, from some tombs, were extracted some bronze ear-rings with pendants, in the shape of a '*ghianda*' (Scop. 1873, 42). Among the remains of a villa in the region Banzos were found bronze '*catenelle*' (Cart. arch. 206, III NE, 11).

S. PAOLO. A large bronze '*ago*,' perhaps for repairing fishermen's nets (Scop. 1867, 32).

SAGAMA. Various Roman finds are recorded, including pieces of carnelian, especially around the nuraghe Moristeni; the site called Murenda also produced fragments of bronze, including two handles of vases (BAS 9, 1863, 69).

SAMUGHEO. At a site named Trabi were frequently found coins, carnelians, and other incised stones, including a small jasper with a figure holding grain ears in her left hand, a cornucopiae in her right (BAS 6, 1860, 121 f.).

SASSARI. In association with the mosaic found in the building near the nuraghe Macciodosa were some pieces of bronze (BAS 3, 1857, 84).

SCANO. Inside a cinerary urn, dated by a coin of Augustus, was a bronze disc, probably either a plate or part of a mirror (BAS 2, 1856, 125).

SEDILO. A carnelian represented a trophy (Scop. 1873, 30). A cinerary urn of terracotta contained a '*piastra*' of bronze (Scop. 1875, 40 f.). Near the nuraghe Irghiddo, a red jasper, oval (12 × 10 cm.) with a radiate bust of Sol was reported (SS 9, 1949, 507).

SENORBI. An excavation in 1844 produced rings (Scop. 1868, 18); in the site named Santa Susanna were found bronze bracelets and ear-rings of unspecified material (Ibid., 28). A tomb yielded a bronze mirror (Scop. 1876, 29); four bronze hair pins, one with the inscription

ENARIA – ENDIABELA,

were recorded as coming from here (Cat. racc. SPANO 48, nr. 2–5). Another tomb, on the slope of Monte Lunas, included a ring with an agate (NSc. 1881, 437).

SERRI. In the region of the nuragic temple of S. Vittoria, a *fibula* (of bronze?) '*ad arco svolto*' was reported (Mon. Ant. 23, 1915/6, 387, with fig. 90). There were also a small hatchet, a knife, and some '*croci astili*' of iron (Ibid., 388, with fig. 92). Various dwelling units at the site included bronze among the debris, mostly, it would seem, of the nuragic period; however, some bronze objects ('*qualche anello e bottone*') were found in Roman layers (Mon. Ant. 34, 1931, 52, 70 f.). Elsewhere, at the same site where the bronze statuette of a wild boar was found, were other, undifferentiated fragments of bronze (SS 7, 1947, 50, n. 39).

SESTU. Amid the remains of a building which might have been a bath, in the region Foradas, were some bronze and lead urns; another bronze urn was found in the region Lionaxu. At an unspecified locality in the territory was found a carnelian representing Ceres with a '*timone*' and cornucopiae (SS 7, 1947, 41, n. 18). In the region Subardu in a '*loculo*' were found a bronze *fibula* with Greek letters, a bronze ring with a quadruped incised in the stone, and an iron sword (NSc. 1883, 382).

SETTIMO. A small bronze ring (NSc. 1888, 69).

SIDDI. Two fragments of rings (NSc. 1946, 207 f.).

SINIS. Along with coins of the late republic was found a small carnelian representing '*una sacrificante*' holding in her left hand a *patera* filled with fruit, in her right, two fish '*infilzati*' (Scop. 1871, 7).

SINISCOLA. A *fibula* with a representation of an ox and a manger (Scop. 1868, 26).

SINNAI. Along with some iron agricultural implements extracted from the remains of a building was a bronze *fibula* (BAS 4, 1858, 159).

SORSO. At the baths in the region Bangius were various pieces of copper vessels (BAS 6, 1860, 131).

TELTI. In a tomb, a fragment of a thin bronze link-chain (NSc. 1980, 337). At a building site were found, among other objects, many long nails and '*tanti filetti di bronzo*' (NSc. 1892, 491). Elsewhere, in tombs, were found a bronze ring, a few more fragments of a bronze link-chain, and a small metallic mirror (Ibid.). Not far from this site, in another tomb, were discovered some '*globetti*' of amber, pierced in the middle, a large bronze ring from which hung a bronze medallion, and coins of the second and third centuries (Ibid., 492).

TERRALBA. In a tomb, some bronze ear-rings, along with other objects (BAS 4, 1858, 87); in the same area where two gold rings were found were also found two bronze bells and other bronze fragments (BAS 7, 1861, 154).

TERTENIA. In the region San Marco, a bronze key (V. M. CANNAS, Tertenia e dintorni, Cagliari, 1964, 46); in the region Su Concali, a fragment of a bronze *'spillone'* (ID., I nuraghi Aleri e Nastasi . . ., Cagliari, s. d. [1972?], 52).

TEULADA. A late imperial or barbaric bronze *'di squisita fattura'* (NSc. 1903, 96) (fig. 10).

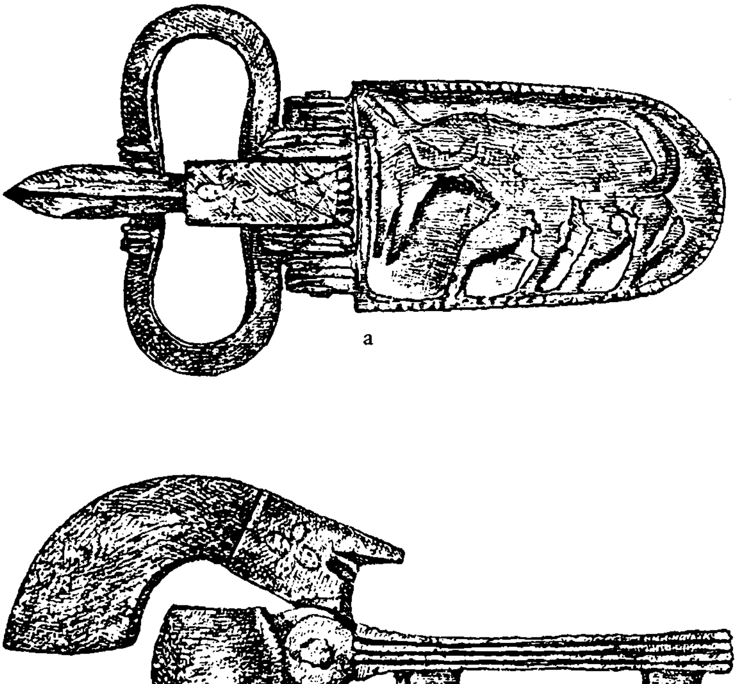


Fig. 10. TEULADA: *Fibula*, a) front view; b) side view

THARROS. Finds include various weights (BAS 6, 1860, 110 – 2); a small lead diptych, with a representation of Venus, nude, dressing her hair, with a Cupid holding her mirror (Scop. 1866, 32); a carnelian with a representation of a naked, winged warrior with a shield and a spear; in the background is the inscription

TULUS

(Scop. 1868, 19); a bronze foot of a candelabrum in the form of a panther and a bronze ring with a representation of Endymion (Scop. 1874, 17); two carnelians, each representing warriors, but in different poses (Ibid.); two bronze nails, a key, and a ring with the inscription *GASNF* (Scop. 1875, 18); various gems in SPANO's collection were from Tharros – a cameo, a carnelian, a *'pasta nera'* – as well as some bronze surgical instruments (Cat. racc. SPANO, 25, 27, nr. 6, 12; nr. 36; 49, nr. 1–2, 4–13); in a tomb, along with various gold objects, two small bronze discs, an agate, and a gem of *'vetro azzurro'* (NSc. 1886, 28 f.); similar bronze discs were found in another tomb nearby (Ibid., 29); from tombs, a bronze mirror and an ivory spindle (Cart. arch. 216, I SE, 7); a bronze lamp *'con sostegno a foggia di pantera'* (Ibid., 8); bronze nails (Ibid., 19); amber, bronze bracelets, rings, keys, and a bell (Ibid., 46). Various Roman bronze objects were found in the recent excavations (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 353 f.) and in the Roman level around the monumental Punic temple, here including a small tragic mask (23 cm. high), a ring, some four dozen nails of various types (Mon. Ant. 45, 1961, 428 f., 435 f.) as well as some hair pins and other objects of ivory (Ibid., 431 f.). Finds in the cistern included a bronze stylus (Ibid., 434).

TISSI. In a lead sarcophagus, along with the fragments of a skeleton – apparently of a young girl – were bits of a bronze mirror and a ring incised with a palm branch (NSc. 1964, 316 f.).

TONARA. SPANO records the discovery of *'bronzi ed altri oggetti;'* but he may have been referring to coins. Similarly, his reference to *'molte monete ed utensili'* at the nuraghe Perdas Lobadas may not be relevant to a survey of Roman objects (BAS 10, 1864, 73 f.). On the summit of Mt. Genna Floris, a *'bellissima'* bronze *fibula* of late imperial date was found; SPANO thought that it had been transported there by a shepherd (Scop. 1871, 12 f.; Cart. arch. 207, III SE, 6 b). Three bronze lamps reported in successive years, one decorated with a bird, may or may not be Roman (Scop. 1874, 25; 1875, 39; 1876, 49).

TORRALBA. A carnelian representing a soldier with a lance and shield, gazing at a small column with an urn on top was reported (Scop. 1873, 30).

USSASSAI. A bronze seal, rectangular, with the inscription

ANOD / EDEI

(Scop. 1868, 17), perhaps *anod(ynos)* *(h)edi(osmi)* (cf. Plin. HN 35. 181).

URI. From Punico-roman burials in the nuraghe Scala Cavaili, two bronze armlets, *'a testa di serpente'* (RSP 17, 1962, 298).

UTA. Some carnelians, along with other objects (Scop. 1873, 8).

VALENZA (cf. Nuragus). A two-spouted bronze lamp and some *fibulae* (of bronze?) of an (unspecified) new form (BAS 4, 1858, 125). Tombs yielded bronze armlets (Scop. 1874, 23) as well as bracelets, other *fibulae*, and rings, one of which had a gem incised with '*lunette*' (SS 7, 1947, 43, n. 23).

VILLACIDRO. At the sacred well at Matzanni, where a (pre-Roman?) statuette was found, were also discovered '*una tazza in bronzo, dorato*,' and a coin of Antoninus Pius (Mon. Ant. 25, 1919, 22, n. 3).

VILLASALTO. In the region Scandariu, a square '*campanello*,' presumably of bronze (Scop. 1867, 37); elsewhere were found a bronze bracelet and some fragments of swords and of utensils of bronze; some late imperial coins, including one of Probus were recorded as well, but it is not clear if the discoveries are to be connected (Scop. 1873, 8).

VILLASOR. A seal (of bronze?), rectangular, '*col manico ad anello*,' bearing the inscription

C. VALERI / HERCLANI

(Scop. 1874, 10).

ZERFALIU. In a tomb, a bronze disc, 8 cm. in diameter, probably the covering of a box, with three birds, presumably doves, and incisions '*a bulino*' (NSc. 1918, 78 f.) (fig. 11).

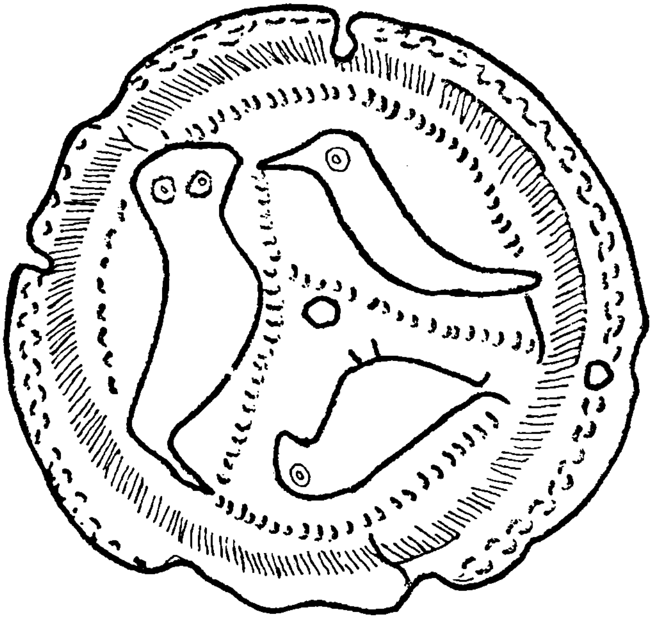


Fig. 11. ZERFALIU: Bronze disc

VIII. Glass

(distribution map on fig. 23)

The glass finds of Roman Sardinia (and of Punic Sardinia) have long been known for their frequency and number, even though a detailed study of their styles, composition, relationship to other glass known in the Mediterranean, etc. is still lacking. Most of the known examples come from the tombs of the larger cities, Cagliari, Tharros, Cornus, and Olbia; but, as the distribution map shows, glassware was spread fairly widely over the island, particularly in the agricultural and military zones. Three possible glass furnaces are known so that, although they were small ones, one must consider the likelihood that Sardinia was a center of production.

ALES. Near a nuraghe, a glass *'fiala'* (Scop. 1876, 28).

ALGHERO. In the tomb with a mosaic floor (above), were a glass goblet (*'tazza in forma di calice'*) and a smaller one (*'altra piccola'*) of white glass (Scop. 1867, 31).

ANTAS. In the remains of the village near the temple of Sardus Pater were found a few bits of glass: *'un grano di collana in vetro;'* the stem of a goblet of pale yellow glass, *'molto sottile'* (Stud. Sem. 30, 1969, 151), another element from a necklace (Ibid., 153), and another goblet neck, similar to the former (Ibid., 157). There was also a construction within which were found in great quantity, *„resti di piombo fuso e scorie della lavorazione del vetro"* (Ibid., 157).

AUSTIS. Various glass vessels (*'vasi'*) (NSc. 1887, 336).

BARUMINI. In the region Bangius, in the remains of a room with a mosaic floor, were found various *'vasetti'* of glass (Scop. 1866, 29). At the site Nurace Deo were found in Roman tombs *'vasellini,'* bowls, and *'lacrimatoi'* of glass along with coins of the second century A.D. (Scop. 1870, 27). Sporadic finds of glass are referred to in SS 3, 1937, 28. A necropolis in the region Masidano yielded *'oggetti rituali'* of glass in addition to (or including?) three *bombylioi* of polychrome glass (Ibid., 154 f.). At the nuraghe Marfudi were found in some tombs glass *bombylioi* and other objects (NSc. 1939, 374). At Bau Perda di Sotto were some fragments of glass cups and glasses (Ibid., 379). In the region Sialį di Sotto, a monochrome glass *'balsamario,'* dated by a coin of Gordian III (NSc. 1943, 183). A tomb in the region Su Luargiu yielded a glass bowl, and another contained the base of a monochrome glass *'phiale'* (NSc. 1946, 207).

BIORA. From the site whence came the bronze *'cinghiale'* were also extracted a large number of glass *'vasetti'* (BAS 3, 1857, 95). Around a dwelling excavated by Lilliu, glass objects were *'scarsi e insignificanti'*: a fragment of a *'vasellino,'* and parts of two cups (SS 7, 1947, 77).

BITTI. At the site of Juanna Pala was found a *„talismano di vetro fuso di carattere egiziano"* (Scop. 1872, 33), perhaps pre-Roman.

BOLOTANA. In the region Mascarida, were found Roman tombs with glass *'fialette'* (Cart. arch. 207, IV NO, 26).

CAGLIARI. Finds include: *'alcuni lacrimatoi di vetro'* in a cinerary urn (BAS 1, 1855, 89); *'globi di monile in vetro'* in some tombs (Ibid., 184); around the church of S. Pietro, among fragments of painted walls and mosaics were *'vetri'* (BAS 3, 1857, 59); in a tomb in Stampace, some glass *'fiale'* (BAS 6, 1860, 157); in the cemetary of Bonaria, some glass *'lacrimatoi'* (BAS 9, 1863, 86); in the same area, a glass amulet representing a *typhon*, repeated on both sides (Scop. 1868, 20), and unspecified other glass objects (Scop. 1869, 12); a cinerary urn, found on Mt. Avendrace, included a *'fiale'* of glass and a coin of Faustina the Younger (Scop. 1874, 6); nearby, in the remains of a building, were found fragments of glass cups (Ibid.); in a *'loculo,'* with the remains of single individual, evidently an infant, were three *'lacrimatoi'* (Scop. 1876, 45); along with other objects, including remains of wall paintings with rustic scenes, were found in the house on the Campo Viale various pieces of *'lastroni'* of glass (NSc. 1877, 285 f.); later excavations at the same site yielded further fragments of glass *'in buon dato'* (NSc. 1880, 406) and two glass *'globetti'* from a necklace (Ibid., 1888, 754). Among the remains of a necropolis, including inscriptions, were fragments of two glass urns (NSc. 1886, 104–6); not far away, further work produced five terracotta urns, one of which contained two glass *'unguentarii'* and a coin of Claudius; another one had one *'unguentario'* and an *'uncial'* coin; at the same site the remains of three uncremated bodies were also discovered along with *'diversi vasetti'* of glass (NSc. 1888, 398–9); a very few fragments of glass were found in the area of the Punic sanctuary in the Piazza del Carmine (NSc. 1949, 266, nr. 183–7); finally, a tomb yielded twenty grains of *'pasta vitrea'* from a necklace (SS 7, 1947, 255).

CAPO MERIDIONALE. In addition to building foundations and various objects, including coins of the Gordians, was found a quantity of glass objects (Scop., 1872, 19).

CAPOTERRA. A large quantity of melted glass and glass furnaces was found in 1835 (BAS 8, 1862, 110).

CAPUT THYRSI. Various Roman objects from around the nuraghe Iselle included oblong glass *'globetti'* from necklaces (Scop. 1870, 14).

CARLOFORTE. Included in the tombs in the region Spalmatore di fuori were a few glass objects: *'lacrimatoi, anforette, vasetti cosmetici,'* and a magnificent *'fiala di forma globosa ed elegante;'* coins of the Antonines date the burials (NSc. 1878, 198).

CASTELSARDO. Only one of a series of tombs dated to the late first century yielded fragments of a glass vessel; fragments of cups were also found in the vicinity (NSc. 1961, 423, 427).

CASTRO. Two glass objects were found in one tomb, a *'lacrimatoio'* and a square *lekythos*, each with an inscription, one

NME,

the other indeciferable (BAS 2, 1856, 154 f.). A quantity of glass objects was later found in tombs (Scop. 1874, 41).

CODRONGIANUS. A few *'lacrimatoi'* were found here (BAS 6, 1860, 94).

CORNUS. Some of the glass objects found at Cornus have recently been studied by M. T. FORTUNA CANIVET, I vetri romani di Cornus conservati al Museo di Cagliari, Journal of Glass Studies 11, 1969, 19–26. These glasses include urns, *'askoi, unguentari, piatti, bicchieri, coppe, e bottiglie.'* One of the *'bicchieri'* has the inscription

ΕΙϹΕΛΘΩΝ ΛΑΒΕ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ

(Pl. XIII.24), very similar to one found at Tharros (BAS 10, 1864, 12 f.). Earlier publications of glass objects from Cornus are to be found in BAS 6, 1860, 150; 8, 1862, 124; 9, 1863, 119; 10, 1864, 12, 62; Scop. 1865, 38, 42; 1866, 32; 1867, 34; 1869, 25; 1872, 22; 1876, 32; NSc. 1887, 47 f.; 1918, 295–302.

DECIMO. From the site where previously had been found a sarcophagus (BAS 7, 1861, 93) was found a *'monile'* of *'globi di vetro'* of various colors (BAS 8, 1862, 79).

ELMAS. In a tomb was found a *'vasetto vitreo'* (SS 9, 1949, 501).

FLORINAS. One tomb yielded some glass *'vasetti'* and a coin of Claudius (BAS 3, 1857, 96); from other tombs came two glass *'balsamarii'* and some small *'lacrimatoi'* (BAS 3, 1857, 143); still others yielded fragments of glass along with coins of Antoninus Pius (Ibid., 144), *'vasetti'* and *'ampolline'* (Ibid.), and *'balsamarii'* (Scop. 1874, 38).

FONNI. Among the building remains at Sorabile were some fragments of *'lastre di vetro,'* possibly from windows (NSc. 1881, 32).

FORDONGIANUS. In a late republican tomb was found a *'balsamario di vetro chiaro, piriforme'* (NSc. 1903, 485). Other tombs produced various *'ampolline o lacrimatoi, in vetro ed in cristallo'* (ZEDDA, 36).

GENONI. In various tombs were found different glass objects: *'urne, calici, scodelle, fiale,'* and others (BAS 8, 1862, 124–6).

GEREMEAS. Among the objects found in the ruins of the large villa were fragments of glass (Scop. 1873, 12, 14).

GESTURI. In a tomb, along with a coin of Nerva, were some *'guttari'* of glass (Scop. 1876, 27).

GUSPINI. In a tomb, a glass *'unguentario'* and a bronze of Maximianus (SS 8, 1948, 424).

ITTIRI. In a tomb was found a small plate with an *'orante,'* perhaps Christ, between two palm trees (fig. 12) (BAS 5, 1859, 113 f.; Cat. racc. SPANO, 62. nr. 13).

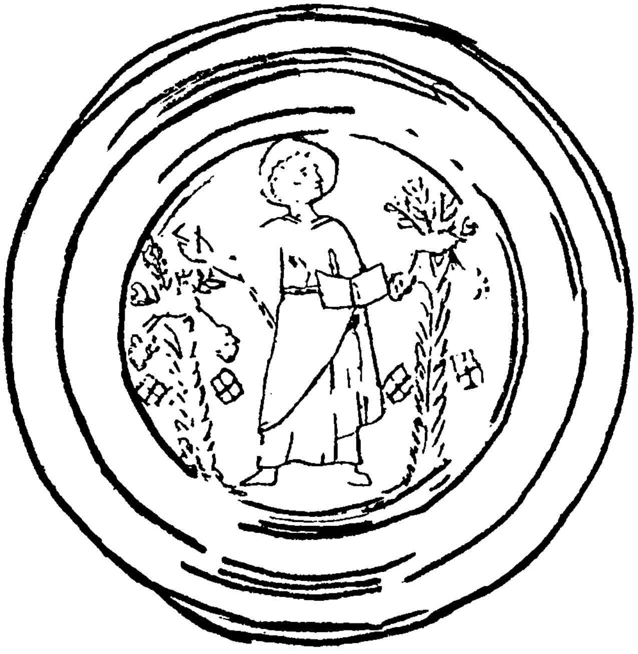


Fig. 12. ITTIRI: Glass plate

LA MADDELENA. In the remains of a shipwreck found off the coast was an *'unguentario'* (Mem. Soc. Geogr. Ital. 25, 1959, 6).

LAS PLASSAS. A quantity of glass vessels was found in tombs, along with coins of the second century A.D. (Scop. 1870, 27).

LUNAMATRONA. Glass vessels were found in some tombs, the entire complex of which may be dated by a coin of Antoninus Pius (NSc. 1888, 755).

MACOMER. Some glass *'vasetti'* were extracted from tombs (Scop. 1868, 27).

MORES. In a necropolis were found numerous glass *'fialette'* and *'balsamarii, bianco, azzurro o variegato;'* tiles covering the tombs bore the stamp

ACTES AUG. L., but coins within dated from Gordian I to Constantine (NSc. 1904, 291 f.). In another tomb were seven *'ampolline di vetro nero (forse lacrimatoi),'* arranged in a line, some square, others round (ASS 1, 1905, 141). Elsewhere was found a small *'balsamario di vetro azzurro'* and a *senophorum* of white glass (Ibid.). A terracotta cinerary urn contained two *'ampolle'* of white glass (ASS 2, 1906, 318). Nearby, a vase of *'cristallo ornato di fiorami'* was found (Ibid.). Elsewhere was a large quantity of glass *'globuli'* from a necklace, *'alcuni bellissimi e di vario colore'* (Ibid.). Another site produced a terracotta urn with contained a white glass *'lacrimatoio'* which was found closed with a stopper; within the vessel, *„grosso quanto un dito medio stava una materia rossastra simile alla lana"* (Ibid., 321).

MUSEI. Among the few finds was a glass cup, found along with a bronze coin, perhaps of Gallus (Scop. 1875, 9).

NEAPOLIS. At the site where a bronze statuette of Hercules was discovered (above) was also found a *'vasetto'* of glass (BAS 3, 1857, 127). Fragments of glass were included in the finds unearthed by the recent excavation of a bath (FA 6, 1951, 4672).

NORA. Cinerary urns of the Roman period were reported by SPANO (BAS 9, 1863, 103). Other tombs which yielded both Roman and Punic materials included some glass: two *'vasetti unguentari,'* fragments of other similar vessels, an amulet representing RA, another with Bes, and three with *'l'occhio mistico,'* these being in *'pasta vitrea'* (Mon. Ant. 14, 1904, 219 f.). Recent excavations produced fragments of *'balsamarii,'* necklaces, a ring, and a phallic amulet (in *'pasta vitrea'*) (PESCE, Nora, 46). In a building near the theater was a small furnace (Pl. VIII.14), thought by PESCE (Nora, 68) to have been for making glass.

NURAGUS. In a tomb, along with coins ranging from the reign of Vespasian to that of Hadrian, were some glass necklaces or bracelets (Scop. 1876, 27; NSc. 1876, 96). On the giara above the town, likewise in tombs, were some *'guttari'* of glass (Ibid.). In the region Conca de Ortu was found a broken *'lacrimatoio,'* along with coins of L. Verus and of Antoninus Pius; one of the two skeletons found was placed on its side, *„rannicchiato e messo in direczione opposta al primo"* (NSc. 1882, 306). Another tomb produced *'globetti'* in blue and green glass as well as a coin of Augustus (Ibid., 307).

NURECI. A cinerary urn containing bones and a glass phial was reported (Scop. 1869, 29).

OLBIA. Tombs yielded numerous glass objects: *'lacrimatoi, balsamari, calici, coppe,'* and some hair pins (PANEDDA, 67) as well as *'bottigline'* (ID., 111).

ORANI. In a cinerary urn was found an unspecified number of *'vasellini'* of glass (Scop. 1873, 27 f.).

OZIERI. Among the remains of wall, mosaic pavements, and two gold coins were *'numerosi avanzi di oggetti di vetro'* (NSc. 1891, 240).

PADRIA. Some tombs contained glass cinerary urns, within four of which were fragments of glass and other objects (Scop. 1866, 19 f.). There is also a report of *'due vetri'* (*'pasta vitrea'*?), one of which has a portrait of Hadrian incised, the other, a horseman throwing a javelin, followed by a dog (Scop. 1868, 20).

PAULILATINO. At the site Puzz 'e Torru, amid remains of buildings, were various objects, some of glass, one a *'balsamario'* (Scop. 1866, 34).

PLOAGHE. At the site Teuladu, near the nurage Ure, were found many cinerary urns from which were extracted coins and glass *'vasetti'* (BAS 3, 1857, 96). Another tomb yielded *'globi di vetro colorato'* (BAS 6, 1860, 48).

PORTO TORRES. In a tomb, dated by a coin of M. Aurelius, were some *'balsamarii'* and small *'lacrimatoi'* (BAS 3, 1857, 181). Another tomb yielded a *'balsamario'* along with some gold objects (Scop. 1876, 31). In a building complex were numerous fragments of various kinds of objects, including glass (SS 7, 1947, 232).

RIOLA. In one necropolis was found a large number of cinerary urns and lead *'casette'* along with *'vasetti'* of terracotta and glass; associated coins were all of Maxentius and the Constantines (Scop. 1874, 18).

SARDARA. Some glass *'fiale'* were reported (Scop. 1875, 9). A necropolis in the region Masone Oneddu produced a number of objects including, in one tomb, some *'balsamarii'* (NSc. 1909, 332).

SARULE. In a site called Lorrocorio were reported to have been found various objects of terracotta, iron, and glass (CASALIS, 23. 716).

SEDILO. A glass *'balsamario'* was found inside a cinerary urn along with a coin of Hadrian (Scop. 1872, 23 f.).

SENORBI. Some glass objects were reported to have been discovered in 1844 (Scop. 1868, 18); other tombs included glass (Ibid., 28).

SERRAMANNA. Some tombs yielded glass vessels with coins from Domitian to Gallienus (SS 9, 1949, 508); another tomb contained *„un bicchiere di vetro bianco, decorato al ventre, di dieci bugnette in vetro verdognolo,"* along with a lamp with a cross, probably, therefore, of the fourth or fifth century (Ibid., 517).

SERRI. At the sanctuary of S. Vittoria, in the *'dimora del capo'* were some *'perline di pasta vitrea azzurra'* (Mon. Ant. 34, 1931, 52); other glass fragments were found in at least one other location on the site (Ibid., 76). Elsewhere, in the tomb which contained the bronze *'cinghiale,'* were various *'vasetti,'* both of terracotta and of glass (SS 7, 1947, 50, n. 39; cf. Biora, above p. 817).

SILANUS. An unspecified number of *'fondi di tazze di vetro'* was found with other objects and a coin of Constantine II (Scop. 1866, 30).

TELTI. Among remains of buildings were found fragments of glass (NSc. 1888, 402). In the earth around some other tombs, one of which contained a coin of Titus, was a small *'bottiglia'* of azure glass (NSc. 1892, 366). In a similar context, in association with other tombs, dated by coins of Probus, Carinus, and Maximianus, were fragments of glass, *'in colore verdastro'* as well as some obsidian chips (Ibid., 491). Another tomb nearby, with coins from Faustina the younger to Decius, contained a glass *'bottiglina,'* 9 cm. high (Ibid., 492).

TERGU. A tomb yielded *'balsamarii'* of *'vetro soffiato,'* along with a coin of Nero (SS 16, 1958/9, 738).

TERRALBA. One of the four bodies in a single tomb at the site Sa Bursa had bronze ear-rings and a necklace with *'globi bislunghi di vetro;'* there was also a glass *'fiale'* and a curious conical cup (BAS 4, 1858, 87). At the site Arcidanu, where a mosaic and other objects were found, were also some glass *'vasetti'* (BAS 7, 1861, 154).

TERTENIA. Near the nuraghe Barisone was a glass cup (V. M. CANNAS, Tertenia e dintorni, Cagliari, 1964, 46).

THARROS. In his little volume on the city, G. PESCE gives a brief resume of the plundering and regular excavations of the tombs and inhabited area (pp. 66–82), including finds of glass. In BAS 10, 1864, 12–4, SPANO refers to no fewer than three hundred glass objects, all intact: *„grandi urne cinerarie, prefericolo, fiale, scodelle, bicchieri, calici, tazze, e guttari.“* Among these objects was a glass *'di vetro bianco apalizzato'* similar to the inscribed one found at Cornus (above p. 819) with the same Greek inscription. Other finds of glass are recorded in BAS 1, 1859, 180; 4, 1863, 87; Scop. 1866, 30 f.; 1869, 18; 1870, 19; 1871, 6, 67; 1873, 13 f.; 1874, 16 f. (a *'guttario di vetro smaltato'* on which is represented Isis); 1875, 18; NSc. 1886, 28 f.; 1892, 189; Cart. arch. 216, I NE, 6 a; I SE, 46, 49; SS 9, 1949, 505 f.; 14/15, 1955/7, 356; Mon. Ant. 45, 1961, 432, 436.

TISSI. A glass urn and other objects were found in a tomb (SS 9, 1949, 558).

TREXENTA. In the locality Is Mullonis, which seems to have been a habitation site, was found a *'vasetto a lungo collo'* (Scop. 1870, 26 f.).

TUILI. Inside a tomb, along with two skeletons, was *'una serie di oggetti di cotto e di vetro'* (NSc. 1943, 188). Another tomb produced four glass fragments (A. CABRAS, Materiale archeologico del ripostiglio di Baradili, Cagliari, 1950, 10); the base of a *'vasetto'* is also reported (ID., 11).

URI. Around the nuraghe Peppe Gallu were remains of ceramics and of *'pasta vitrea'* of the Punico-roman period (RSP 14, 1959, 92 f.).

UTA. At the site Porceddus were found *'monili di vetro'* and other objects (Scop. 1873, 8).

VALENZA (cf. Nuragus). Silver ear-rings (above p. 800) had an ornament of glass (Scop. 1874, 23 f.).

VILLACIDRO. In some tombs, along with coins which seemed to be Antonine, were *'vasetti'* and *'globetti di monili in vetro'* (Scop. 1873, 42).

VILLASOR. In a tomb was found a *„vetro bianco, incastrato in un cerchietto metallico dorato: guardandolo contro luce, vi si intravvedeva la figura d'un soldato romano"* (SS 16, 1958/9, 349).

IX. Burials

(distribution maps on figures 24–31)

A detailed description of every burial or burial type recorded for Sardinia would be out of place here. On figures 25–31, I have plotted the locations of the more common types. Here, I record, with some necessary repetition, the utilization or reutilization of prehistoric burial places or types in the Roman period; i. e., the use of rock-cut *hypogaea* called domus de janas (witches' houses) and the megalithic corridor 'giants' tombs' (fig. 24).

1. Domus de janas (Pl. X. 17)

ABBASANTA. Two different domus yielded both Punico-roman and Roman material; a third provided similar remains (NSc. 1915, 111).

ANGHELU RUJU. Remains of Roman ceramics imply reutilization (BPI 38, 1913, 72).

BENETUTTI. A large domus, with eight cells, included Roman material in cell E (BPI 76, 1967, 116–8).

BONORVA. The extensive network of tombs at S. Andrea Priu was reused in Roman and early Christian times (Cart. arch. 193, II NE, 16; Nuov. Boll. Arch. Chr. 7, 1901, 61–9).

MARTI. Fragments of Roman material lead to the supposition that it was reused (BPI 38, 1913, 58–60).

NUORO. A few bits of Roman material were found inside a domus (Cart. arch. 194, II SE, 14).

SANTU LUSSURGIU. A number of domus was reused in the Roman period (NSc. 1915, 116).

SASSARI. A domus in the region La Dana di Lu Mazzoni included republican material (RSP 23, 1968, 429) as did the domus at Marinaru and at Ponte Secco near Monte d'Accodi between Sassari and Porto Torres (SS 12/13, 1952/4, 27–51, passim).

SU CRUCIFISSU. Imperial remains were found inside domus (NSc. 1965, 317, n. 1).

SETZU. The Domu S'Orcu included Roman remains (NSc. 1940, 242) along with other fragments *'di tutti i tempi.'*

TONARA. A domus with three cells included fragments of Roman ceramics (NSc. 1911, 387). Another reused domus seems to have existed near the nuraghe Perdas Lobadas (BAS 10, 1864, 73 f.).

2. Giants' Tombs (Pl. IX. 16)

ABBASANTA. A giants' tomb at Su Pranu included Roman ceramics (Cart. arch. 206, II NO, 20); another at Suei may have been continuously in use to the Roman period (Ibid., 35), while one at Su Serrau de is Arrius showed *'traccie di rioccupazione'* in the Roman period (Ibid., 56). The giants' tombs at Su Canaru and at Perda Crappida (Ibid., 60 a), near the nuraghe Perda Crappida, yielded only Roman ceramics (Ibid., 58). Another similar tomb near Su Pranu, showed reutilization in the Roman age (Ibid., 61).

ARBUS. A giants' tomb, built in traditional style, but showing signs of having been influenced by Punic construction techniques – hence, of relatively late date –, seems to have been used continuously to the time of Commodus or later (NSc. 1927, 360–6).

BOLOTANA. A giants' tomb contained various Roman ceramic remains (Cart. arch. 207, IV NO, 18).

BONARCADO. A tomb near the nuraghe Argioledda contained Roman material, including imperial coins (Cart. arch. 206, III NE, 41).

BORTIGALI. The giants' tomb near the nuraghe Berre, although not yielding any Roman material, seems to have undergone some refurbishing in the Roman period; at any rate, its *'capezzale'* was Roman (Cart. arch. 206, I NE, 60 a.).

CAGLIARI. A curious imitation of a giants' tomb is reported as a tomb *„a parallelogrammo coperto con massi a guisa delle sepolture di giganti;"* it contained some carbonized wood, bones, fragments of pottery and of glass along with *„una gran diota di forma etrusca"* (Scop. 1869, 12).

DORGALI. The giants' tombs of Biristeddi were used in Roman times, as is attested by ceramic remains (NSc. 1933, 360 f.).

GENONI. On a slope of Monte S. Antine, west of the town, was a tomb in the form of a giants' tomb which was constructed in the late Punic or Roman period, containing Punico-roman material (Mon. Ant. 18, 1907, 84, n. 1).

LOIRI. In the tomb Su Monte de s'Ape was found evidence of continued utilization until the fourth century A. D. (BPI 77, 1968, 8 – 89, passim).

SUNI. A giants' tomb yielded Roman vessels and coins (Cart. arch. 206, IV NO, 4).

TINNURA. A giants' tomb, only ten meters from the nuraghe Tres Bias, contained both nuragic and Roman material (Cart. arch. 206, IV NO, 18 a, b).

3. Tombs *'a tafoni'*

Another prehistoric type is that of tombs *'a tafoni'*, but they are found only at three sites in Gallura; these are fully described and analyzed by M. L. FERRARESE CERUTI in BPI 77, 1968, 119 – 54, who concluded that the use of these tombs *„si è protratto dai tempi nuragici fino a quelli moderni, probabilmente senza soluzione di continuità."*

4. Burials *ad enkytrismos* (distribution map on fig. 32)

There are actually two different types of burials which are included under this rubric: burials, usually of infants but occasionally of adults, in amphoras, a practice clearly of Punic inspiration; burials of one or more individuals in large storage jars (*'ziri'* or *'dolii'*). There is a possibility that the former influenced the latter; but, given the prevalence of *enkytrismos* burials in prehistoric Anatolia, Sicily, Spain, and elsewhere, the likelihood of prehistoric continuity into the Roman period must remain open. Inhumation is the rule, with incinceration rare.

BITHIA. A 'copious' number of burials, especially of infants' bodies, in amphoras was found; the description seems to imply that at least some of the amphoras contained remains of adults (BArte, 1933, 289).

BOLOTANA. Roman materials included *„grandi vasi, forse per inumazione di cadaveri di bambini"* (Cart. arch. 207, IV NO, 29); without more specific details, however, it would seem better to consider these to have more likely been storage jars.

BUDDUSO. There is a report of a single example of a possible burial in a large *'ziro'* (NSc. 1964, 311).

CAGLIARI. Included in a group of ten tombs *'a cappuccina'* were the remains of an infant in an *'anforona'* (SS 7, 1947, 255); earlier, TARAMELLI had referred to numerous examples, not only of infants, but also of adults buried in amphoras in the Punic necropolis of S. Avendrace (Mon. Ant. 21, 1912/3, 76 f.).

CARBONIA. An unspecified number of burials in amphoras is reported; a single coin of Domitian gives an indication of their date (NSc. 1947, 317 f.).

CASTELSARDO. The skeletons of six adults were found, each in its own amphora, possibly (from verbal descriptions of coins which had been found earlier) to be dated to the late empire (NSc. 1881, 30) (fig. 13).

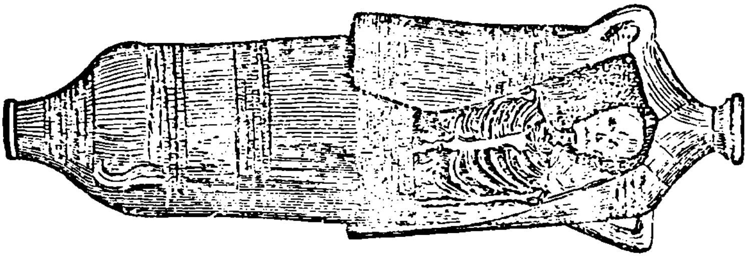


Fig. 13. CASTELSARDO: Burial *ad enkytrismos*

COLLINAS. A tomb *'a fossa'* contained a skeleton inside an *'orcio'* some two meters long, with the head toward the mouth of the vessel; ceramic material dates the burial to the Roman period (SS 8, 1948, 422 f.).

CORNUS. Some burials are described as being *'in grosse giare deposte in fosse'* (Enc. dell'arte antica, 2. 861).

DECIMO. There is reference to an unstated number of infants' burials in amphoras (NSc. 1881, 30).

FLORINAS. An entire (small) necropolis of burials in *'ziri'* was systematically explored and described by MAETZKE (figg. 14, 15); the ceramic materials associated with these burials date from the second century B. C. to the first century A. D. (NSc. 1964, 280 – 302).

GALTELLI. An amphora containing the remains of a child of about ten years of age was reported, as well as an analogous one discovered years earlier (SS 8, 1948, 428).

ITTIRI. A large *'giara'*, similar to those found at Florinas, contained the remains of more than one individual; associated material included a *timiaterion* (SS 11, 1964, 303).

MONTE RIZZU. A necropolis of six burials in *'ziri'* along with one in an amphora was examined by MAETZKE; the form of the *'ziri'* was analogous to those found at Florinas, and the mouths of the jars in both places pointed

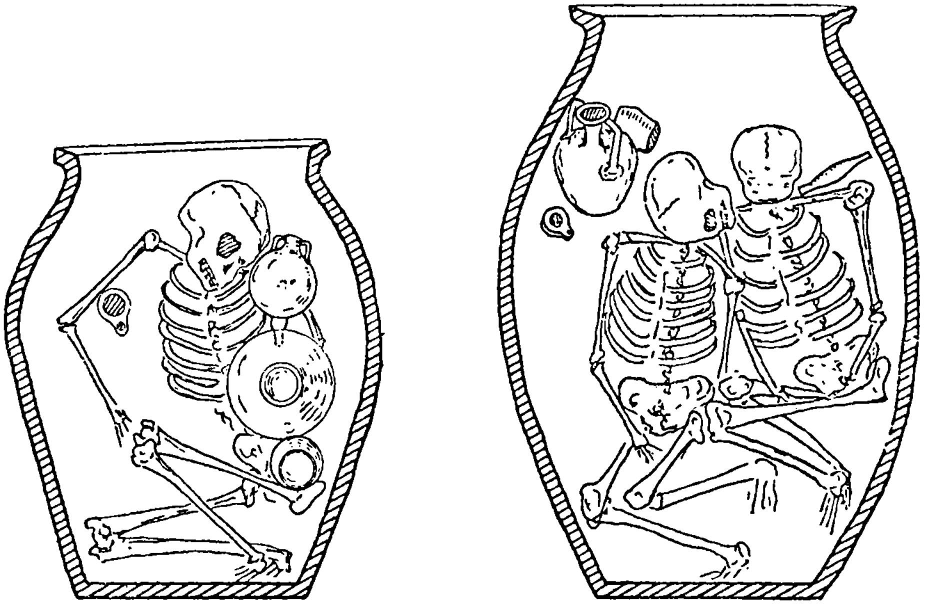


Fig. 14. FLORINAS: Burials *ad enkytrismos*

to the west. These burials seem to belong to the first century A. D. Other similar burials were found a few kilometers to the west, at Petra Niedda (NSc. 1964, 303–9).

MORES. A number of *'dolii'* containing skeletons was described as having been found in the region Montiju de Conzos; one had a skeleton and ceramic material, four smaller ones had infants' bones, and five large ones arranged in a line, each with one skeleton and ceramic materials. In the region Santa Maria de Sole were found twelve large *'dolii'* arranged in a line, each containing *'corredo funebre'* although skeletons are not mentioned (ASS 2, 1906, 318 f.). Earlier, a *'dolio'* had been described as containing *'ossa umane combuste'* (ASS 1, 1905, 141).

NARCAO. In at least one of an unspecified number of tombs, cremated bones were collected into an amphora, perhaps under the influence of inhumations in amphoras (SS 8, 1948, 425).

NORA. Fifteen of forty-two burials described were of infants within amphoras, and one was of an adult partly covered by pieces of an amphora. The last example was dated by coins of Gallienus; although none of the infants' burials included coins, the entire complex seems to date from the middle of the second century A. D. to the middle of the third (NSc. 1901, 371–5; cf. Mon. Ant. 14, 1904, 166, 168).

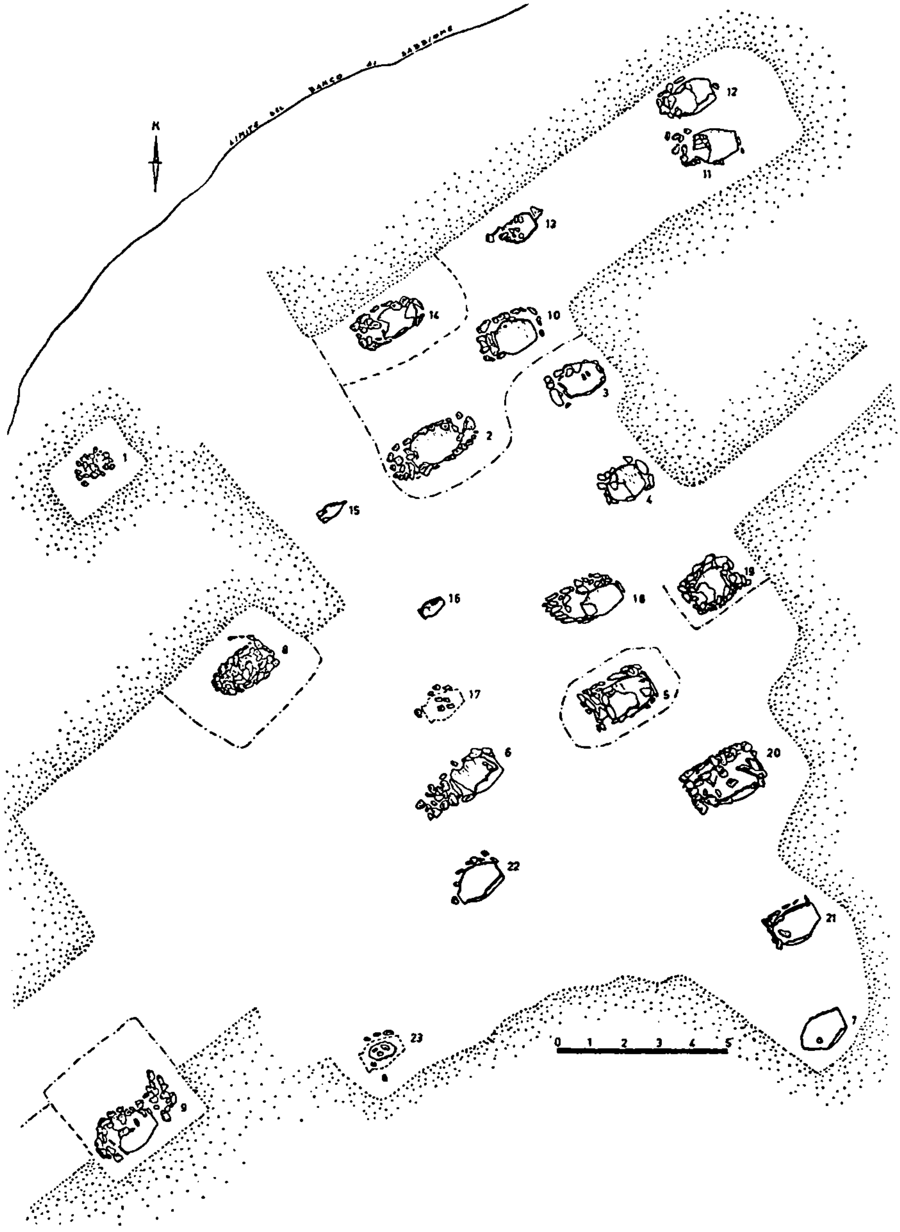

LIMITE DEL BANCO DI SABBIONE
N
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
0 1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 15. FLORINAS: Necropolis *ad enkytrismos*

OLBIA. A large *'dolio'* was found containing bones (PANEDDA, 109, nr. 33). A group of nineteen burials included eighteen in amphoras similar to those at Castelsardo (NSc. 1892, 216).

OSSI. A single burial in a *'ziro,'* similar to those at Florinas and dated to the second half of the first century B. C., has been reported, but not fully analyzed (NSc. 1966, 366 f.).

S. TERESA DI GALLURA. Five burials in amphoras were found, arranged almost in a line (NSc. 1892, 252).

SENIS. One amphora was found containing human bones (SS 9, 1949, 507).

SERRAMANNA. One of a number of burials *'a cappuccina'* was of an amphora containing human bones (SS 9, 1949, 516).

SETTIMO S. PIETRO. Around the nuraghe Su Nuraxi were various burials, some *'a tettucio'* others of amphoras with skeletons, most, but not all, of infants; coins are of the third century A. D. and of the Byzantine period (NSc. 1888, 68 f.).

SORGONO. There is a brief description of a single *'ziro'* which included the remains of one adult and material, possibly of the second century A. D. (NSc. 1964, 312).

TERTENIA. A large *'dolio'* is reported to have been found containing various fragments of human bones (V. M. CANNAS, I nuraghi Aleri e Nastasi . . ., Cagliari, n. d. [1972?], 54).

TISSI. Large *'ziri'* with bones are reported (NSc. 1964, 311).

TONARA. Large *'ziri'* are described, but, without any evidence that they were used for burials, we must assume that they were storage jars (NSc. 1911, 385). On the other hand, Tonara's proximity to Sorgono might lead one to suppose that the same funeral rite was practised in both places.

URI. One *'ziro'*, probably of the first century B. C., was discovered in the region Pezzu Maria (NSc. 1964, 309 f.).

5. Crude stele (distribution map on fig. 33)

A particularly noteworthy accessory to some burials in Sardinia is the appearance of human representations, generally crude faces, carved on stele of late republican or early imperial date; to S. MOSCATI (Problematica della civiltà fenicia, Rome, 1974, 99), these stele *„riflettono gli ultimi sviluppi, talmente autonomi da apparire inconsci, del genere punico nel territorio sardo.“* Many of them have recently been examined in detail by G. TORE, Su alcune stele funerarie sarde di età punico-romana, Latomus 34, 1975, 293 – 318, who provides data and illustrations which can, in consequence, be omitted here.

ALGHERO. In the region of Porto Conte, in a necropolis which was in use from the second century B. C. to the second century A. D., was one stele of obvious Punic inspiration (SS 8, 1948, 325, with tav. I, II b); another similar one is briefly described by TORE, 316.

BORTIGALI. An unspecified number of funeral *cippi*, associated with sarcophagus burials, is reported; these stones were frequently *'in forma di botte,'* and some of them *„hanno scolpito rozzamente di ritratto del defunto a mezzo busto“* (Scop. 1868, 26 f.).

CASTELSARDO. Five tombs were found having these stele; a lamp dates them to the last quarter of the first century A. D. (NSc. 1961, 419–27).

CHEREMULE. Some seventeen petroglyphs representing human forms found within the *'tomba della cava'* are thought by E. CONTU to be possibly of the Roman period and to be related to the crude stele described here (BPI 74, 1965, 118).

CORNUS. In the region S'ala de Porcu, at the nuraghe Majore (also called Sa Perda Longa) were found pieces of *„pietre lavorate aventi scolpite parti di figure“* which are perhaps to be included here (NSc. 1887, 47).

ESPORLATU. A tomb which included some gold objects and a long iron sword was covered with a large stone slab on which were *'alcune sculture rozze ma inintelligibili;'* however, a coin of Constantius II probably indicates a date too late for these crude carvings to be associated with the ones described here (BAS 3, 1857, 155).

LAGO BARAZZA. An entire necropolis (of unstated size) of similar stele found in the fields near the lake was destroyed, apparently before receiving scholarly attention (G. PESCE, Sardegna punica, Cagliari, 1961, 48, 90).

NULVI. The necropolis at the nuraghe Alvu had *„incise rozze figurazioni di defunti; quelle che ricordano donne portano un'ampolla ben disegnata, nel cui centro due piccoli circoli concentrici e, nel mezzo, un punto“* (Guida, 344).

ORISTANO. A single example is recorded as having been found here (TORE, 303).

PAU. A stele was reported, without context, described as having *„la parte superiore sagomata in forma di testa umana stilizzata“* (SS 9, 1949, 504).

PAULILATINO. The covering of a tomb *'a fossa'* was *„a forma di botte . . . su una faccia è incisa una faccia umana“* (Scop. 1869, 26).

PLOAGHE. A giants' tomb at the nuraghe Fiorosu had a stele on which was sculpted a *'rozza figura umana,'* illustrated as being slightly more than a bust (BAS 4, 1858, 14).

S. ANTIOCO. Some of the stele edited by LILLIU (Mon. Ant. 40, 1944, tav. X h, cf. c) were found here (TORE, 296).

SAMUGHEO. Two tombstones similar to those found at Bortigali are reported as having been discovered at the site called Planu de Lacos (*lacos* = '*sarcofagi*'); these have inscriptions (CIL 10. 7867, 7869), but faces are not mentioned. Another similar one was found some distance away, likewise with an inscription (CIL 10. 7868) and no mention of a face (BAS 6, 1860, 118 – 21).

SEDILO. A stele discovered in 1958 (but subsequently destroyed) near a nuraghe '*a corridoio*' was thought to have been a variant of those included here (G. SANNA in Frontiera 1, 1968, 228 – 230). However, SANNA's photographs, especially fig. 4 (on p. 228) which shows the monument in profile, bears a much closer resemblance to statue menhirs long known in Corsica and recently found in Sardinia (cf. G. LILLIU, Dal betilo aniconico alla statuaria nuragica, Sassari, 1977, tav. III). However, that the Sedilo monument was Roman is not to be excluded.

SIDDI. One of a number of tombs was covered with a slab, on which was sculpted a crude human figure '*molto schematica e primitiva.*' Ceramic material found in the tomb is to be dated to the second century A. D. (NSc. 1940, 252 f.).

SINIS. Seven stele from Sinis are catalogued by TORE (Latomus 34, 1975, 301 – 3, 314 f.). We may perhaps add another found in front of a tomb at Tharros (Scop. 1875, 17 f., with tav. XVI). Nearby, at San Salvatore, between Tharros and Oristano on the peninsula of Sinis, were found stele *„nelle quali rozzamente erano tracciate figure umane“* which led to the discovery of many tombs, some of which included coins of Vespasian, of Antoninus Pius and of M. Aurelius – but it is not at all clear whether or not all of the tombs are to be associated with the stele (Scop. 1873, 13 f.).

SORSO. Some similar stele are reported as coming from here (SS 16, 1858/9, 738).

TERGU. Stele with crude human representations were found in situ; the tombs associated with them included a coin of Nero (FA 14, 1959, 2609; SS 16, 1958/9, 738, with tav. VII. 3).

URAS. One similar stele has been reported (TORE, 295, n. 4).

VALLEDORIA. One example of a stele with a figure '*a specchio*' has been reported (BArte, 1967, 207, with fig. 29).

VIDDALBA. A number of incineration burials was discovered, thirteen of which had stele on which were carved *„l'immagine del defunto schematizzata a forma di specchio.“* One also had an inscription, presumably part of a name, – *gianus* (FA 14, 1959, 2630, with fig. 60; SS 16, 1958/9, 737 f., with tav. VII. 1, 2).

6. Sarcophagi (distribution map on fig. 34)

Most of the figured sarcophagi which have survived in Sardinia, plus several which are only described, are thoroughly studied and analyzed by PESCE, Sarc. Some are of exquisite workmanship, others are quite crude; some (e. g., at Fordongianus) were equipped with sumptuous and luxurious funeral *'corredo,'* others were totally empty or included only skeletal remains. The pattern of distribution is particularly interesting: almost all of the sarcophagi come from lowlying agricultural areas; those found elsewhere are all of the simple, unfigured type.

BIORA. Five sarcophagi were discovered, without any decoration, of a type found elsewhere in Sardinia; only one included any *'corredo'* – of bronze, amber, and copper (SS 7, 1947, 97–101).

BONORVA. Among a group of burials composed of five tombs *'a tettuccio'* was a single sarcophagus, which has already been violated when discovered (NSc. 1881, 71).

BORTIGALI. An olive grove is described as being full of *„sepolture di sarcofagi, monoliti conici e di cippi funerari"* (Scop. 1868, 26 f.); perhaps they were really tombs *'a cassa'* (cf. Cart. arch. 206, I NE, 59).

CAGLIARI. Most of the sarcophagi from Cagliari are analyzed and described in detail in PESCE, Sarc. nr. 2, 3, 4, 15(?), 16, 24, 27 (= PL. XV. 27), 28 (= PL. XV. 28), 29, 30, 31(?), 32, 34(?) (= PL. XVI. 29), 35(?), 36(?), 37(?), 38(?), 39(?), 40(?), 41(?), 42(?), 43(?), 44(?), 45(?), 46, 47(?), 72, 75. In addition, a mausoleum had a wall in front of the entrance that had *„nel centro un arco a tutto sesto che dava base ad un sarcofago construtto di mattoni"* (BAS 9, 1863, 85). Another marble sarcophagus, found in Bonaria, had the inscription

L. AURELIO GRAPTO

(CIL 10. 7630). A tomb is reported to have contained a sarcophagus, which has moved to the church of San Saturno (Pl. XVI. 30, but is not otherwise described (SS 7, 1947, 255).

CORNUS. A number of tombs of the first and second centuries A. D. which included glass ware were *„certe arche di pietre in forma di sarcofagi coperte di lastroni"* (BAS 6, 1860, 150 f.); similar ones were described later (Scop. 1867, 34 f.; 1876, 32; NSc. 1887, 47 f.). A number of *'sarcofagi anaglifi'* were discovered in 1955 (Enc. dell'arte antica, 2. 861).

CUGLIERI: PESCE, Sarc. nr. 50.

DECIMOMANNU: PESCE, Sarc., nr. 20, found along with an undecorated sarcophagus. Another was reported to have been found in the site Binghias Beccias, with the representation of a centaur carrying off a woman; the zone was said to have been rich in sarcophagi (BAS 7, 1861, 93 f.; cf. 5, 1859, 14; 8, 1862, 79; Scop. 1865, 32).

DECIMOPUTZU. A sandstone sarcophagus, which perhaps included a glass object, was reported (SS 16, 1958/9, 324); another similar one contained objects of the Roman period (Ibid., 325).

DOLIANOVA. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 49.

FORDONGIANUS. A marble sarcophagus, which contained gold and silver objects, is referred to in a document of 1365 (BAS 6, 1860, 163). SPANO also reports seeing many simple stone sarcophagi used as '*abbeveratoi*' (Ibid., n. 1).

GESICO. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 21 (a '*sarcofago dorato*'), with a color photograph as frontispiece.

GONNOSFANADIGA. There is a report of '*loculi o sarcofagi semplici*' from which lamps and various vessels were extracted (Scop. 1867, 39).

GUASILA. A small stone sarcophagus bore the inscription recorded by SPANO as

RUTILIA AMETIS CHESOE

(Scop. 1871, 8) and

RUTILIA C.F. AMETGHESA

in CIL 10. 7699 (where it is attributed to Cagliari).

NEAPOLIS. Finds included '*sarcophagi di tufo*' (BAS 5, 1859, 131).

NORA. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 48(?).

NORGHIDDO. The only Roman find recorded here is a '*sarcofago ben lavorato di trachite rossa*' (Scop. 1873, 31).

NURAGUS. A sarcophagus of '*trachite rossastra*' included a coin of Philip; on the lid was inscribed

ANTONIA URRI FILIA

(NSc. 1903, 535 f.).

OLBIA. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 17, 64 – 9, 73. There is also a lead sarcophagus which was recently discovered (NSc. 1964, 319 f.).

ORISTANO. *Pesce*, Sarc. nr. 12, 76.

PADRIA. Finds included „*un sarcofago o semplice loculo di pietra arenaria, o calcarea in cui era collocato il cadavero, dello stesso modo come si trovano in Cornus*“ (Scop. 1866, 19).

PAULI GERREI. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 70.

PIRRI. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 19.

PLOAGHE. There is a report of '*sarcofagi di calcare o arenaria*' (Scop. 1866, 19).

PORTO TORRES. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 54, 56–63, 71(?), 77.

RIOLA. Some cinerary urns of the late empire were placed within '*semplici sarcofagi di pietre*' (Scop. 1874, 18).

S. ANTIOCO. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 78.

S. BASILIO. There was discovered a small sarcophagus of stone, containing '*ossa bruciate*' (Scop. 1868, 28).

S. SPERATE. A '*gran sarcofago semplice*' found in 1842 contained many gold objects (BAS 4, 1858, 32); many other simple sarcophagi were discovered with both Punic and Roman (mostly early imperial) coins; not a few of these also contained gold and silver objects (Scop. 1876, 47).

SAMUGEHO. A number of sarcophagi is reported to have been found in the region Planu de Lacos (*lacos* = '*sarcofagi*') (BAS 6, 1860, 119).

SASSARI. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 52, 55(?).

SEDILO. A number of '*rozzi sarcofagi di trachite rossa*' is reported (Scop. 1876, 34).

SERRAMANNA. A granite sarcophagus was found with Roman '*corredo*' (SS 16, 1958/9, 334 f.).

SETZU. A single tomb was described as being „*a fossa, scavata per accogliere un cassone quasi un sarcofago rudimentale*“ (NSc. 1943, 188).

THARROS. LILLIU reported seeing a sarcophagus '*nell'ambito dell'abitato*' (SS 7, 1947, 97, n. 130).

TISSI. A lead sarcophagus, apparently of a young girl, is dated by a glass bottle to the fourth century (NSc. 1964, 315–9).

TORRALBA. A simple sarcophagus of '*calcare,*' containing at least two skeletons and ceramic material, dated to the fourth or fifth century, was found about sixty-five meters from the nuraghe Santu Antine (FA 13, 1958, 7072).

USELLUS. In the spring of 1974, I saw in the town simple sarcophagi used as watering troughs.

USSANA. PESCE, Sarc. nr. 51(?).

X. Mines

(distribution map on fig. 35)

In addition to its strategic importance and agricultural wealth, Sardinia was noted in antiquity for its mineral resources, particularly copper and argentiferous lead. One could perhaps add the quarries at Capo Testa and at Teulada. Although it is impossible in every case to be certain that a particular mine or mineral resource was worked by the Romans or to know for certain how long into the empire they were worked, still it is quite evident that the Romans exploited these resources to a high degree.

ARBUS. Some tombs, about twenty km. from Montevecchio, included various miners' implements as well as *'blocchetti'* of argentiferous lead naturally leading to the conclusion that the tombs were of miners; many of the pits of the mines at Montevecchio showed traces (including lamps and vases) of utilization in the Roman period (NSc. 1927, 365).

ARGENTIERA. Roman tombs have frequently been found along with traces of mine works in the argentiferous lead seams (NSc. 1925, 328 – 31).

BALLAO. Numerous Roman tombs and building remains in the area around the modern town testify to extensive occupation of the zone; traces of ancient working of the mines of argentiferous galena lead one to suppose, without absolute proof, that these were exploited by the Romans (NSc. 1919, 183).

CALANGIANUS. Remains of ancient smelting works for treating the *'ferro oligisto'* from the nearby mountains lead to the supposition, although without proof, that the furnaces were Roman (Cart. arch. 181/2, I SO, 6).

CAPOTERRA. TARAMELLI claims, without stating on what grounds, that the iron mines of S. Leone *„furono in parte tocche dal piccone romano"* (NSc. 1928, 129).

FLUMINIMAGGIORE. Coins of Gordian, Constantius, and Valens were found in some ancient mines (Scop. 1875, 16f.). In the mine Gutturu Pala were found two ancient furnaces in the form of a horseshoe used for the calcination of lead ore (Scop. 1867, 40f.). Two lamps were found in the Monte Poni mine, one near the surface, the other at a depth of two hundred meters; the latter was *'d'una forma molto arcaica'* (Ibid., 40). At the site called Colombera, about two km. from a mine, were extensive traces of a large smelting operation (Scop. 1870, 20f.).

GESSA. Various tombs from which were extracted lamps and coins (including one of M. Agrippa), together with a great quantity of *'scorie,'* indicate that the Romans exploited the mineral wealth of the area (Scop. 1865, 37f.).

GONNESA. Many Roman burials were found near the mine of San Benedetto (Scop. 1873, 10). Nearby, Monte S. Giovanni was described as being *'tutta forata di antichi pozzi'* for extracting minerals, probably from the Roman period, if not earlier (SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 56f.).

GRUGUA. Ancient mine pits have been discovered along with utensils (of stone), coins from Augustus to the late empire, and abundant *'scorie;'* one gallery (Su Presoni) had iron rings implanted in its walls (C. MELONI, Metalla, Cagliari, s. d. [ca. 1965], 10–3; NSc. 1913, 89–92). Lamps of the second century A. D. were found in a pit twelve to fifteen meters deep (Scop. 1873, 9) as well as some tools (Ibid., 10).

GUSPINI. SPANO refers to an ancient mine shaft (Scop. 1865, 46), and TARAMELLI adds the existence of traces of Roman smelting works along with *'scorie'* and *'resti di pani di piombo'* (BPI 49, 1923, 71).

IGLESIAS. A Roman lamp of the second century was reported to have been found in a shaft of the Montecani mine (BAS 9, 1863, 53); another report adds that lamps and vessels along with some coins were often found in the ancient pits (Scop. 1868, 25; cf. SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 62; ANGIUS in CASALIS, 5. 244).

ISILI. A small mortar, thought perhaps to be Roman, was found in a copper mine (BAS 9, 1863, 53).

LULA. An area rich in mines gave evidence of Roman occupation (Scop. 1871, 13), including a bronze statuette of Asclepius found near the traces of Roman mines (Scop. 1870, 29).

NABELLA (Nurage). Near the nuraghe, which exhibited Roman remains, is the mine Sos Enatos, *'forse coltivata al tempo romano'* (Scop. 1871, 13).

NARCAO. In a brief notice about the temple of Demeter, TIRONI notes that the zone is rich in both agricultural and mineral resources, implying that the latter were utilized by the Romans (Frontiera 4, 1971, 826 f.).

ONANI. Remains of buildings from the Roman period were thought by TARAMELLI to attest *„caserme o ricoveri per gli scavatori schiavi delle miniere situate nei dintorni di Lula e di Onani“* (Cart. arch. 195, III NO, 10).

SINISCOLA. Near S. Giuseppe, a gallery in *opus coementicium* possibly attests activity by Roman miners (SS 3, 1937, 15 f.).

VILLACIDRO. The mountains above the town have numerous traces of Roman mining: mines, smelting works, and *'scorie'* (F. CHERCHI PABA, Villacidro e Guspini, Cagliari, 1969, 16).

XI. Rural Settlements

(distribution map, fig. 36)

Under this heading are included only those localities for which, for the most part, evidence for buildings has been reported. Burials, for example, presuppose habitation; but, with only a couple of exceptions, sites which are only of burials have been excluded. The sections on baths (above, pp. 742–758), mosaics (above, pp. 758–767), and nuraghi (above, pp. 767–785) present additional material. In the area of rural settlements, more than in any other considered here, an enormous amount of work remains to be done, not only in collecting data, but also in sifting and analyzing them. It will be many years, certainly until after the completion of a comprehensive *carta archeologica,* before a proper history of rural Sardinia can be attempted. One important fact is clear, however, even from this very preliminary survey: during the high empire, when the *pax Romana* brought security to the countryside (cf. R. J. ROWLAND, JR., Numismatics and the Military History of Roman Sardinia, Akten des XI. internationalen Limeskongresses, Székesfehérvár, 30. 8.–6. 9. 1976, Budapest, 1977, 91–94), Sardinia was covered with rustic hamlets, villages, and free-standing farms, all on a scale not to be seen again until quite recent times.

ABBASANTA. The village around the Nuraghe Losa continued into the Roman period (ASS 11, 1915, 225); included among the material found were various parts of millstones and the base of an olive oil press (NSc. 1916, 247, with fig. 7).

AIDOMAGGIORE. The discovery of '*numerose tombe e iscrizioni*' allows the suggestion that this was the site of a rustic *pagus* (Guida, 281).

ALGHERO. In the region Taulera, about 2½ km. NNW from the city, were found various tombs which probably testify to the existence of a rustic population (SS 7, 1947, 260 f.).

ANELA. In the plain east of the town, in the region Charchinargiu (= '*calcinaccio*'), were remains of Roman buildings, perhaps of an agricultural village (Scop. 1873, 25; Atti Accad. Torino 9, 1874, p. 7 of extract).

ARBUS. Near the nuraghe Punta Cugui, among other objects (including late imperial coins) were '*due mole granarie*' and a block of limestone (53 × 9 cm.) „*con scanalature oblique e con foro nella parte centrale con residui di piombo fuso*“ (SS 8, 1948, 422).

ASSEMINI. Remains of building materials and tombs frequently found in the country-side around the village testify to an extensive rural population (NSc. 1906, 200–202; 1919, 161–8).

BALLAO. In the region Villa Clara, at the site of a natural spring, were traces of a building or buildings, ceramic fragments, many Roman coins, and '*macine*' (CASALIS, 2. 41; cf. NSc. 1919, 171). Elsewhere, two necropolises attest the existence of '*qualche villagio romano,*' probably of '*popolazioni rurali assai povere*' (NSc. 1879, 164).

BARADILI. Among the remains found in the region Santa Maria, south of the town, were '*macine*' both of '*lava basaltica*' and of '*roccia granitale,*' along with a fragment of a *catillus* (CABRAS, Materiale . . ., 5), perhaps pre-Roman (ID., 6).

BARESSA. Not very far (*'a poca distanza'*) from remains of ancient furnaces for smelting lead, but of imprecise date, were *'numerosi ruderi'* of ancient *'casolari;'* the zone is at present heavily cultivated and many have been so in antiquity as well (NSc. 1904, 240).

BARUMINI. In the region Riu Zirigus as well as at the nuraghe of the same name were found roof-tiles, traces of walls, and various implements such as basins and millstones (NSc. 1939, 375 f.). About 2 km. to the SW, in the region Riu Tuvulu, 500 meters east of the nuraghe Bruncu Margianis, was the foundation of a trapezoidal building of the Punico-roman period, some architectural remains, and basins (Ibid., 376 f.). About one km. north of Riu Zirigus may have been another village; tombs show a settlement lasting some three centuries; and, near the region Serra Omus (from *domus* = *'case'*), were found Roman roof-tiles (NSc. 1943, 186). The *'casetta'* (fig. 15 a) around the nuraghe Marfudi has been mentioned above. Traces of a village have also been found around the later church of Santu Luxori, but no architectural features have been preserved (NSc. 1946, 202).

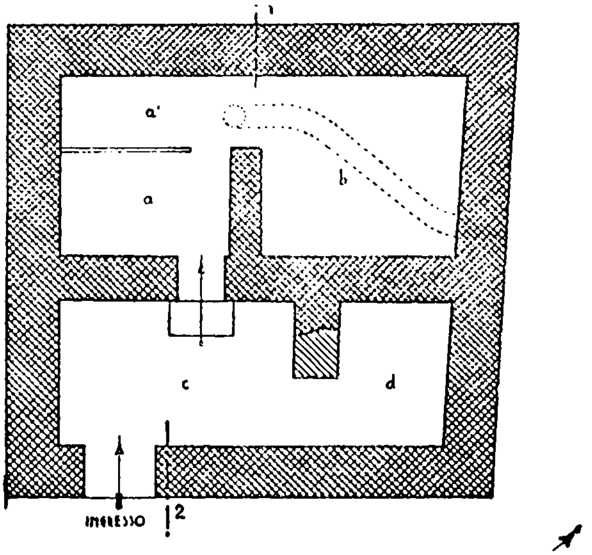


Fig. 15a. BARUMINI: *'Casetta'*

BERCHIDDA. Remains of bricks and of foundations attest the existence of a village (Casalis, 2. 251).

BIORA. In the nineteenth century, Spano reported the discovery of many houses, constructed of local volcanic rock; some dwellings yielded urns full of carbonized olives, beans, *'ed altro'* (BAS 1, 1855, 133). Lilliu's excavation

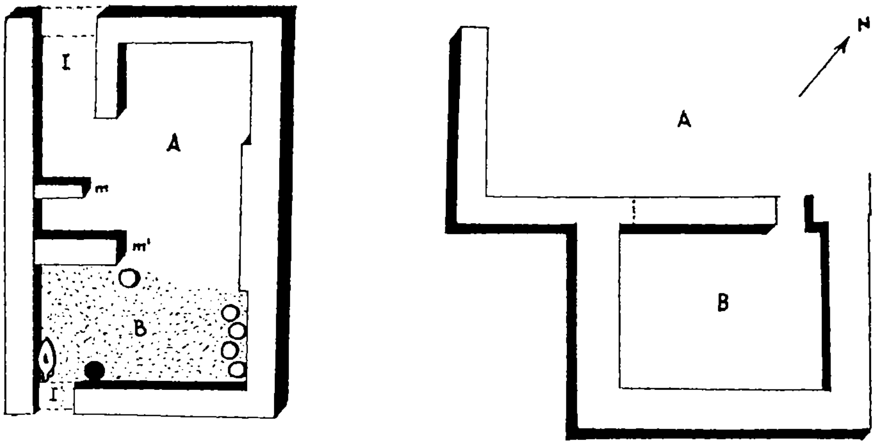


Fig. 15b. BIORA: Remains of two buildings

produced numerous rustic remains, including remains of two buildings and various architectural fragments (fig. 15 b; SS 7, 1947, 57 – 104).

BITTI. Numerous remains and foundations of buildings were reported as having been discovered in the region Giovanni Pala (Scop. 1868, 23). Wall fragments were visible in the region Serra Sa Icu (Cart. Arch. 194, I SO, 17); at Campu Sa Pattada, apparently on both sides of the Roman road, were some traces of buildings (Ibid., 18). In the region Punta Carreri were some traces of '*muratura a secco,*' thought to be Roman, not very far from both the nuraghe Seris and the nuragic fountain of Poddi Arvu (Ibid., 21 – 23). Nearer the Tirso, at Tuturchi and at Solle were various remains of buildings, possibly part of Caput Tyrsi (Cart. Arch. 194, I SE, 8, 11). Roman bricks and roof-tiles have also been reported at Siddi, Dure, and Juanna Pala (Ibid., 194, II NE, 2, 8, 12). The national 'Elenco degli edifici monumentali,' LXIX, 74, records remains of a '*tempio*' of the Roman period in the region Luvunneri; whether or not it was a temple, it probably indicates a rural settlement in the region.

BOLOTANA. Tombs as well as '*ruderi*' attest the existence of a number of small settlements (Scop. 1868, 21; Cart. Arch. 207, IV NO, 15 – 16, 18, 25 – 26, 29).

BONORVA. Remains of Roman bricks and other material along with '*piante di edifizi*' have been reported near Santa Maria de Cunzadu (CASALIS, 2. 439). Tombs, ceramics, and traces of buildings have also been found in the region S. Lucia (NSc. 1881, 71 f.).

BORTIGALI. Millstones and remains of buildings have been reported in the region Molaria (Scop. 1870, 31; Cart. Arch. 206, I NO, 28).

BORTIGIADAS. Roman remains have been found at Spirito Santo and Sa Menta; at the latter site, the remains are perhaps of a building along a Roman road near the bridge over the Coghinas (Cart. Arch. 181/2, IV SO, 10 – 11).

BUDDUSO. Traces of a wall, roof-tiles, and bricks at Corru Chervinu, along with ceramic material, indicate a habitation (Cart. Arch. 194, I SO, 11). Similar (perhaps more extensive) material has been reported at Sos Muros (Ibid., 16).

CABU DE SPIGA. In this locality, not far from Sassari, in addition to some tombs, have been found '*numerosi grandi blocchi regolarmente squadrate,*' probably parts of ancient constructions „*di cui alcuni elementi ancora in posto affiorano qua e là*;" there are also some fragments of bricks and of ceramics (NSc. 1965, 315 – 7).

CALANGIANUS. In the region Ruzzucciu, some fragments of a Roman wall attest a habitation, thought by TARAMELLI to be a (military) watchtower (Cart. Arch. 181/2, IV SE, 8). Later discoveries in the same region (but at a different site?) revealed a trapezoidal '*casetta,*' (8. 4m. × 7.4 /6. 2 m.) along with roof-tiles and ceramics (SS 9, 1949, 551). Other finds, not far away, included a meandering wall, the total preserved length of which is 42 m. (Ibid.).

CAMPANASISSA. There are some indications of a Roman habitation, preceeded by a Punic one (BARRECA, Monte Sirai III, 160 – 1).

CAPO MERIDIONALE. In addition to a variety of material remains, including coins of the Gordians, there were once visible foundations of houses (Scop. 1872, 19).

CARBIA. In the site Santa Maria de Calvia, remains of ancient habitations were visible (BAS 2, 1856, 20).

CARBONARA. In the region Castiadas have been found various Roman '*ruderi,*' perhaps indications of a habitation (BAS 1, 1855, 174).

CHEREMULE. Within the nuraghe Maiore were found millstones along with lamps 'of the Christian period' (Cart. Arch. 193, III NE, 63).

COLLINAS. Four different habitation sites of the Roman period have been identified, but no systematic or detailed exploration has been done: at Genna Maria and Nuraxi Apidu (each about 80 are), Nurazzolu (60 are), and Sarta e Cresia (1 ha.) (SS 8, 1948, 422 f.).

STAGNO DI COLOSTRAI. The entire region around the '*stagno*' is rich in '*ruderi*;' in the region S. Maria are the remains of a Roman 'temple' (BARRECA, Monte Sirai, IV, 111 – 3).

CORONGIU. In a fertile plain south of Iglesias was a site, with a circumference of about a mile, „*pieno di antichi ruderi di massi squadrati,* *fondamenta di case, e di muri laterizi.*" The ground was covered with various fragments, including fragments of bricks and other architectural items (Spano, Emend. ed agg., 63).

COROS. In the time of Angius, remains of ancient buildings were visible, perhaps, in part, of a rustic habitation (Casalis, 5. 441).

COSSOINE. Taramelli described remains of a Roman building, „*formati da tronconi di mura in mattoni e massi legati con durissima malta,*" in the region Sas Prisonas; however, the site has not been excavated (Cart. Arch. 193, III NE 24 a).

CUCCURU FREBISI. Fragments of bricks and roof-tiles spread over an area of some two and one half hectares attest the existence of a rural *vicus* (NSc. 1949, 284, n. 1).

DECIMOPUTZU. A. Diana has identified eight probable rural habitations in the area; there are some foundations of buildings described, but no plans are given (SS 16, 1958/9 324–8).

DORGALI. In the locality S. Bartolomeo, along with some coins, one of which was of Diocletian, were traces of foundations of walls, parts of milling implements, and ceramic material (SS 8, 1948, 428).

ELMAS. In the region Santa Caterina or Santa Simbelia were found remains of a Roman building; nearby, in the region Su Linnarbu, various tombs and buildings had previously been discovered (SS 9, 1949, 498–500).

ESCALAPLANO. There is an imprecise report of the existence of remains of a Roman village called Sa Rauta (Elenco, LXVIII, 108).

ESCOLCA. The church of Nostra Signora de is Grazias occupies part of the area of a '*modestissimo nucleo rustico romano,*' attested by fragments of roof-tiles and pottery (SS 7, 1947, 49, n. 36), probably the *vicus* claimed for the area ('*documentato da vari rinvenimenti*:' Guida, 248). Also, in the region Corti Procus, were some „*blocchi di pietra delle strutture delle casette e tegoli rossi e bianchi del tetto delle stesse*" (SS, loc. cit., n. 37).

FLUMENTORGIU. Spano reports the existence of remains of Roman buildings (BAS 2, 1856, 18).

FONNI. In addition to the remains of what was probably a military station at Sorabile, Roman remains have been found in the site called Masiloi, possibly evidence for '*qualche antico pago romano nella strada*' (BAS 4, 1858, 124).

FURTEI. Seven different areas within the territory have given evidence of Roman settlements, ranging in size from only 20 are to 3 hectares (SS 8, 1948, 423).

GALTELLI. In the region Sa Turritta were remains of a '*villaggetto romano*' – bricks and worked stones – along with a hoard of imperial coins

(NSc. 1949, 286 – 301). At Settile there were some undefined remains of Roman buildings, mostly stretches of walls standing in the now swampy plain near the Cedrino (Cart. arch. 195, III SE, 53).

GERGEI. Abundant traces of the Romans, including bricks, were visible in the site Truppa 'e Turri (BAS 10, 1864, 75 f.); there are also traces of settlements at Mesoni Coa, Mesoni Eranu, and Surdelli (NSc. 1947, 327 – 30).

GIAVE. Remains of one ancient building, which is not described, contained, inter alia, a fragment of a *catillus* and some late imperial coins (SS 8, 1948, 429).

GONNESA. Some remains of ancient buildings have been reported around which were pottery fragments and some coins, including one bronze of Hadrian (NSc. 1891, 419).

GONNOSFANADIGA. Four *'aggregati minuscoli'* of rural habitation sites have been identified, ranging in size from 100 × 60 m to 700 × 90 m. (SS 8, 1948, 423).

GUASILA. There is a report of a structure in *opus mixtum* at Sa Cresia di Santa Nastasia (SS 7, 1947, 88, n. 103).

GUSPINI. Thirty-two separate habitation sites have been identified in the territory, some only by pottery fragments on the surface, others pottery along with building stones and bricks, three by the same plus fountains and cisterns, and one by fragments of millstones and traces of an acqueduct (SS 8, 1948, 423 – 5; cf. F. CHERCHI PABA, Villacidro e Guspini, Cagliari, 1969, 48).

IERZU. The national 'Elenco degli edifici monumentali,' LXVIII, 121, records the existence of circular constructions, thought (on what grounds?) to be Roman, in the region Corongiu.

IGLESIAS. Traces of Roman buildings are said to have been frequently found at the foot of M. Santu Miali (NSc. 1916, 187).

ISILI. Part of the foundation of a rectangular building has been reported (SS 7, 1947, 58, n. 60); elsewhere, at Funtana Cavalleri, fragments of walls, bricks, pottery, and a millstone attest the existence of a *vicus* (Ibid., 54, n. 50). Traces of rectangular structures of modest dimensions were also visible at Cracaxi (Ibid., 53, n. 49).

ITIREDDU. A *'gran muchio'* of carbonized grain was found together with Roman coins, including one of Antoninus, in the region Castello di Monte Zuighe (Scop. 1872, 30).

LAS PLASSAS. Surface finds indicate the existence of three rural settlements, ranging in size from about 20 are to one hectare (NSc. 1949, 284, n. 1).

LEI. The foundations of many Roman houses, arranged in a village shaped like an amphitheater, have been discovered along with coins, bricks, etc. (Scop. 1868, 28 f.). Other building foundations have been excavated in the site Nodu Biancu (Scop. 1871, 15 f.).

LUNAMATRONA. In the region Sitzamus, a small village is attested by surface finds of pottery and bricks (NSc. 1943, 176). Similar finds attest the existence of seven other villages, ranging in size from 50 are to four hectares (SS 8, 1948, 428).

MACOMER. Near the town, in the site called Cunventu'e Bangius, many Roman bricks were found, at least one with the inscription

VAL. L/UCIL. Z (= *F*?)

(Scop. 1874, 38). Near the churches of Itria and of Soccorso were visible remains of Roman pavements and ceramic fragments. There also were discovered '*dei mucchi*' of carbonized grain (SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 133).

MARA ARBAREI. Remains of ancient buildings and '*stoviglie di ogni genere*' found in the region Santa Crosa attest the existence of a Roman village (Scop. 1867, 42).

MARTIS. Remains of ancient buildings were visible on the slopes of M. Francu along with Roman coins of every period (Scop. 1869, 26).

MAZZACARA. Remains of ancient habitations have been reported (BAS 3, 1856, 17).

MEANA. The national 'Elenco,' LXVIII, 133, attests the existence of '*resti*' of a Roman *oppidum* in the region Genna Sa Pira.

MEDAU PIREDDA. Remains of a rectangular structure surrounded by a wall and smaller structures seem to attest a Punic farm which survived into the Roman period (BARRECA, Monte Sirai III, 149).

MOLARA. To the north of the island, opposite Tavolara island, were remains of foundations '*come di un castello*' with large amounts of stone (SPANO, Emend. ed agg. 169).

MONTELEONE. Among the ruins of the medieval church of S. Maria in Badde Porsighes were fragments of Roman bricks (Cart. Arch. 193, III NO, 26). Elsewhere, at the church of S. Elia were some ancient walls along with Roman roof-tiles, ceramics, and jars (Ibid., 30). The walls of the modern village were said to be medieval, but the „*molte cisterne ed altre opere ... sono positivamente opere romane*" (Scop. 1866, 33).

MONTE PELAU. Roman constructions were reported '*di tanto in tanto*' (BAS 2, 1856, 48).

MONTI. Finds of tiles and bricks near the bed of the Roman road indicate a habitation, thought by TARAMELLI to be '*caserme o posti di guardia*'

(Cart. Arch. 181 – 2, I SO, 1). In the district Binzalvino were found, among other objects, *'frammenti di rocchi di colonne granitiche'* (SS 9, 1949, 552).

MORES. In the area around the church of S. Elia were numerous fragments of plaster, bricks, and roof-tiles (BAS 3, 1857, 162 f.). In the region S. Maria, at the foot of the hill Montigu de Conzos, were traces of a small village, including remains of two *case*, one brick of which had the stamp

CAESAR

(NSc. 1880, 408 f.; ASS 2, 1906, 317). Remains of Roman buildings were also visible at Caschettanos and Giannarone (ASS 1, 1905, 140), Campanaju (ASS 2, 1906, 321), San Salvatore (Ibid., 322), Badde Aini, and Lizos (Ibid., 323).

MULARGIA. Numerous remains of foundations have been reported (CASALIS, 11. 557).

MUSEI. In a site called Arruinalis, near the village, were foundations of Roman buildings as well as many well-worked stones, some of which were joined with lead cramps (SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 69).

NUGHEDU. In the region Su Soldanu were *'notevoli vestigie'* of Roman habitations: many worked stones, foundations of houses, and traces of an aqueduct (CASALIS, 12. 627).

NUORO. There is an imprecise report of Roman foundations (CASALIS, 12. 702).

NURA. SPANO has a report, but no details, of remains of Roman *'fabbriche'* in the region Barace (BAS 2, 1856, 20).

NURRA. In the locality Badde Rebuddu were some remains of a construction of the Roman period which included a *'cella granaria'* and some evidence for the production of oil (NSc. 1930, 265 – 7).

NURALLAO. Building fragments, ceramics, and a utensile of *'lava basaltica ben lavorato'* indicate the existence of a village in the region Su Cannedu (NSc. 1949, 302).

OLZAI. In the region Ghedderai was found a large quantity of tiles, bricks, and ceramic fragments, included among which was a coin of Maximianus (NSc. 1884, 434). Similar finds have been reported in the regions Sa Tiria (Cart. Arch. 207, IV SO, 24) and S. Angelo (Ibid., IV SE, 9).

ONANI. Some remains of Roman buildings were thought by TARAMELLI to have been *„caserme o ricoveri per gli scavatori schiavi delle miniere"* (Cart. Arch. 195, III NO, 10).

ONIFERI. *'Rovine romane'* are attested as being visible in the area between Oniferi and Orotelli (Guida, 401).

ORANI. A large quantity of ruins was discovered about 3 km. from the town; they included worked stones, bricks, and entire millstones (Scop. 1873, 27 f.).

ORGOSOLO. In the midst of *'ruderi antichi'* was a number of cinerary urns with Roman coins, in the region Pipilloddi (Scop. 1866, 36). Roman ceramics and coins have been found among the ruins of a village long destroyed in the region Locoe, perhaps originally a Roman habitation (Cart. Arch. 207, I SE, 15).

ORISTANO. Roman remains have frequently been reported around the city, especially in the region of San Martino (BAS 2, 1856, 19).

OROSEI. Part of a Roman wall has been reported in the region Settile (NSc. 1949, 288, n. 2).

ORTUERI. Among other Roman materials found in the region Trigacori were well-worked slabs of trachite (Cart. Arch. 207, III SO, 25). In the locality Carrasale have been found fragments of bricks, ornamented terracottas, and pottery (SS 9, 1949, 542).

ORUNE. In the locality Dolusorre, the foundations of a later church were thought to have belonged to a village which had previously occupied the site; among the remains of the ancient buildings was a brick with the stamp

FUSERIVIVAS

(NSc. 1880, 110). Other Roman buildings have been identified in the Region Fila-Fila along the Roman road from Sorabile to Caput Tyrsi (Cart. Arch. 194, II NO, 11) and at S. Efisio along the same road (Ibid., 16). Other remains of Roman buildings, both foundations and architectural remains, as well as of millstones have been found in seven other localities in the territory (SS 14/15, 1955/7, 268 – 70).

OSIDDA. Surface finds indicate the existence of a settlement on the lower slope of the hill of S. Paolo and the adjacent plain (Scop. 1871, 15); later discoveries included an entire mill *'di pietra trachitica fina'* (Scop. 1874, 39).

OSINI. Remains of ancient constructions, which included Roman materials, have been found in the site called Su Casteddu (Guida, 446).

OSSI. About one km. from the town were, in addition to many worked stones, bricks, and roof-tiles, traces of an ancient building; remains of *'un vasto torcularium'* over some 250 m.^{2} justify the name of the region, Su laccu ezzu (*'l'antico molino'*). In a neighboring field, Borgo Midda, other traces of ancient constructions along with Severan coins have been found (NSc. 1881, 222 f.). Undefined traces of a Roman habitation are referred to in the region Monte Mammas (AC 12, 1960, 96).

OZIERI. Ceramics and tiles as well as coins of the second century have been reported in the region Baldose (SS 7, 1947, 261).

PANTALEO. Remains of Punic buildings in the region Figurera, of rectangular shape and with walls *'a telaio'* continued into the Roman period (BARRECA, Monte Sirai, III, 163 f.).

PAULI ARBAREI. Four localities have yielded traces of habitations, ranging in size from about 50 are to 1 – 1½ hectares (SS 8, 1948, 426).

PAULILATINO. In the site Pussu 'e torru has been found much debris of the Roman period, probably indicating a settlement (Scop. 1866, 34).

PERFUGAS. *'Vari ritrovamenti'* demonstrate that the locality has been inhabited since antiquity (Guida, 347), but there are no certain traces of the settlement.

PIRRI. Various traces of *'fabbriche,'* including *'tegole di terra biancastra'* have been identified (NSc. 1884, 199).

POSADA. Numerous finds of traces of walls and of architectural fragments, "wherever one digs," indicate a fairly substantial habitation (Cart. Arch. 182, III NE, 2; III SE, 2).

PRANU FAAS. Remains of stones, bricks, tiles, and fragments of a mill and of a basin indicate the existence of a rustic habitation (NSc. 1949, 302, n. 1).

PULA. Architectural fragments, including pieces of marble, and a brick *'cuniculo'* in the region Cala d'Ostia indicate a Roman occupation, perhaps a *villa rustica* (NSc. 1890, 197).

REBECCU. The numerous Roman remains in the area (BAS 2, 1856, 47) have been attributed to a *statio* on the Roman road (Guida, 141); they could, however, belong to a hamlet which grew up along the road.

SU CONVENTU. Some Roman coins, from the high empire to the fourth century, were found *'attorno ad un imponente edifizio'* which may have been a villa (Scop. 1871, 16).

S. GAVINO MONREALE. Sparce traces of a village, some 200 – 300 meters from a necropolis datable to the first three centuries of the empire, have been identified (NSc. 1949, 282 f.). Surface finds have indicated the existence of villages in four other locations (SS 8, 1948, 426 f.).

S. PIETRO DI SILIQUA. The medieval church of S. Pietro, some 2.5 km. NW of Siliqua, was constructed over Roman remains (BARRECA, Monte Sirai, III 152).

S. TEODORO. Roman remains have been observed in the vicinity of the modern village (BAS 1, 1855, 176).

S. VERO MILIS. Foundations of buildings, not otherwise defined, were found along with fragments of marble in the locality Pontizoppu (SS 9, 1949, 506).

S. VITO. Foundations of a few buildings were fortuituously brought to light, but no details are preserved other than that they were Roman (SS 9, 1949, 506).

SAMASSI. Traces of Roman villages have been identified by surface finds in thirteen different localities, one (at Sa Uga) covering some ten hectares, another (at Sant'Anna) covering some five hectares (SS 16, 1958/9, 329–32).

SAMUGHEO. In the nineteenth century, two different sites still showed remains of Roman buildings: Planu de Lacos and Trabi, both apparently villages of some size (BAS 6, 1860, 118–22).

SANLURI. Twenty-five different rustic habitation sites have been identified, ranging in size from 40 are to 2½ hectares (SS 8, 1948, 426f.).

SARDARA. Six different rustic villages have been identified, the largest being some 3 hectares in area (SS 8, 1948, 427). Traces of some buildings have been identified, but not described (NSc. 1909, 335, n. 1).

SARULE. Remains of bricks and tiles have been found on Colle Incabaddu (Cart. Arch. 207, IV SE, 17).

SASSARI. In the region Giuncheddu were remains of a cistern of the Roman period (SS 9, 1949, 556).

SCANO. Within the present day village SPANO reported seeing pavements and foundations of buildings of the Roman period (Emend. ed agg., 115).

SELEGAS. SPANO mentions remains of ancient habitations (BAS 7, 1861, 155); and a structure in *opus mixtum* is referred to by LILLIU (SS 7, 1947, 88, n. 103).

SEMESTENE. Remains of Roman buildings were once visible near the church of S. Nicolo di Trullas some two km. from the modern village (Cart. Arch. 193, II SO, 34a).

SENORBI. In the area around Santu Teru were numerous remains of Roman buildings (Scop. 1868, 18). Other dwellings have been identified elsewhere in the territory (Scop. 1872, 19; SS 7, 1947, 88, n. 103).

SERRAMANNA. Twenty different villages have been identified in the territory, one as large as ten hectares (SS 16, 1958/9, 332–9).

SERRENTI. Three small villages, all attested to only by surface finds, have been identified (SS 16, 1958/9, 339–40).

SERRI. Eight different habitations have been identified within the territory, mostly from surface finds, but with some more substantial remains, especially a group of rustic dwellings at Su Cungiau di sa Staria (SS 9, 1949, 549, with tav. I; cf. SS 7, 1947, 48, 50–52, 55).

SESTU. Remains of buildings, otherwise undefined, have been found in the region Corraxu (Scop. 1867, 32).

SETTIMO. Some bases and capitals, along with parts of columns, possibly of a *villa rustica,* have been found (SPANO, Emend. ed agg., 29).

SILANUS. In the modern village, SPANO saw *'pietre di antichi edifizi,'* but there is no indication of exactly where they originated (Scop. 1868, 21). He later observed *'pietre di costruzione'* north of the town (Emend. ed agg., 139).

SINIS. According to SPANO, the ground in the region Matta Sterri was covered with building stones among which was a mill *„simile a quelle che si trovano in Pompeii"* (Scop. 1872, 21).

SINISCOLA. Remains of mills and constructions have been reported at Caletta and S. Lucia (NSc. 1941, 170).

SINNAI. In 1858 the owner of a villa in the neighborhood discovered a Roman farmhouse which had been destroyed by fire; excavating it, he discovered a number of iron agricultural implements, including a type of hoe or mattock, and a large quantity of carbonized grain (BAS 4, 1858, 159).

TALANA. Near a hoard of nearly seven hundred bronze coins of the second and third centuries were remains of ancient buildings, perhaps *„qualche fattoria o mansio lungo o presso al percorso di un diverticolo stradale"* (NSc. 1921, 499 f.).

TELTI. Traces of Roman constructions have been observed at various points in the territory (NSc. 1890, 22, 337; 1892, 490 f.).

TEMPIO. About a dozen different localities have yielded some traces of Roman constructions, mostly undifferentiated, several along the road, and one or two possibly of villages (Cart. Arch. 181–2, NE, 3, 14; I SE, 9–10 a, 15; IV SE, 10–11, 13, 15–6; NSc. 1892, 367; SS 9, 1949, 557).

TERTENIA. Near Sa Foxi Manna ruins of ancient buildings and a long stretch of wall along with Punic and Roman pottery have been identified (BARRECA, Monte Sirai, IV. 116–8). Other traces of habitations, some including mills, have been found at Sa Murta Urei, Su Concali, Abba Perdu, and elsewhere (CANNAS, Tertenia, 52–55).

TISSI. Building foundations have been identified in the locality Monte Attentu (SS 9, 1949, 557).

TONARA. Remains of ancient buildings have been observed; a nearby tomb yielded a gold coin of Theodosius (BAS 6, 1860, 107). TARAMELLI later described the territory as being *'sparso di abitati:'* only three sites, however, have provided traces of dwellings, one of which was thought to have been *„una villa di qualche signore di età romana“* (NSc. 1911, 384–6).

TORTOLI. In the region Pisana were many foundations of houses (BAS 7, 1861, 60). Other traces of a habitation site have recently been found (Nuov. test. arch. Sard. sett.-cent., Sassari, 1976, 105 f.).

VALENZA. LILLIU notes the existence of some traces of Roman walls and believes that many modern enclosure walls have been made from stones from Roman buildings; brick, tile, and pottery fragments abound on the ground (SS 7, 1947, 43).

VILLAMAR. Surface finds in four different areas indicate the existence of villages ranging in size from 60 are to 1 hectare (SS 8, 1948, 427).

VILLANOVAFORRU. Surface finds in six different areas indicate the existence of villages ranging in size from 60 are to 2 hectares (SS 8, 1948, 427).

VILLASOR. Ten different Roman villages have been identified in the territory; the area of none is provided, but they were all apparently quite small (SS 16, 1958/9, 340–9).

Addenda

Introduction (p. 740). A significant amount of material has been made available in the years since this survey was completed, much of it due to the efforts first of FRANCESCO NICOSIA, then of FULVIA LO SCHIAVO, as Soprintendenti alle Antichità of Sassari and Nuoro. New finds of Roman objects and sites have been reported in the following collective volumes: 'Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-orientale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico' (Sassari, 1978 = NTASCO); 'Nuove testimonianze archeologiche della Sardegna centro-settentrionale dal neolitico alla fine del mondo antico' (Sassari, 1976 = NTASCS); 'Dorgali, Documenti archeologici' (Sassari, 1980); 'Contributi su Giovanni Spano' (Sassari, 1979); F. GALLI, 'Archeologia del territorio: il comune di Ittireddu' (Sassari, 1983). F. AMADU has surveyed the finds from Ozieri in 'Ozieri e il suo territorio dal neolitico all'età romana' (Cagliari, 1979), and C. PUXEDDU has given much detailed information on Roman finds in 'La romanizzazione,' in: La Diocesi di Ales-Usellus-Terralba, aspetti e valori' (Cagliari, 1975). A. MASTINO has published a splendid survey of 'Cornus nella storia degli Studi' (Cagliari, 1979). Prof. MASTINO has informed me of two volumes which I have not yet seen: 'Ricerche archeologiche nel territorio di Sanluri' (Sanluri, 1982) and 'Villasimius, Prime testimonianze archeologiche nel territorio' (Cagliari, 1982). L. PANI ERMINI briefly surveys 'Antichità cristiana e alto Medio Evo in Sardegna attraverso le più recenti scoperte archeologiche' in: 'La Cultura in Italia fra tardo antico e alto Medioevo' (Rome, 1981) 2. 903–911; together with M. MARINONE she has also prepared a useful 'Catalogo dei materiali paleocristiani e altomedioevali, Museo archeologico nazionale di Cagliari' (Rome, 1981). C. TRONCHETTI provides a synthesis of Roman cities and I have done the same for the Roman countryside in M. S. BALMUTH and R. J. ROWLAND, JR., 'Studies in Sardinian Archaeology' (Ann Arbor, 1984). G. LILLIU et AL. have published a survey of preroman and Roman remains in Ogliastra, SS 24 (1975/77), 739–59. R. J. A. WILSON, 'Sardinia and Sicily during the Roman Empire,' Kokalos 26/27 (1980–81), part 1, 219–242, makes a number of important observations, especially about baths, mosaics, and architecture (cf. ID., Towns of Sicily during the Roman Empire, above in this same volume [ANRW II 11,1], 90–206). C. FINZI, 'Le città sepolte della Sardegna' (Rome, 1982), presents an extremely well illustrated and well informed survey of preroman and Roman Sardinia.

Baths (pp. 742–758). Remains of Roman baths have been identified near the nuraghe Nuraxi and in the region Bangiu near the Leni river, both in the territory of Villacidro (PUXEDDU, 216); and a '*vasca balneare*' in stucco was discovered at Bonorcili-Mogoro (PUXEDDU, 197). Still unpublished baths have been found in Viale Trieste, near the Piazza Carmine, in Cagliari, and near the Cixerri river in the territory of Villaspeciosa, these latter with well preserved mosaics (described by TRONCHETTI).

Mosaics (pp. 758–767). S. ANGIOLILLO has published an extemely valuable volume, 'Mosaici antichi in Italia: Sardegna' (Rome, 1981).

Nuraghi (pp. 767–785). All of the collective studies noted above, along with GALLI, AMADU, PUXEDDU, and LILLIU et AL., have new data on Roman materials found at nuraghi.

Statues (pp. 785–793). A marble statue of young Dionysus was found among the remains of the baths at Viale Trieste-Cagliari. A fragment of an unspecified statue of the imperial age was found at Goni (RSP 32. 356), and a number of unspecified '*statuine*' (*timiateria*?) was found in a well in the locality Coddu Damas-Terralba (PUXEDDU, 211). A large number of *timiateria* was found in the nuraghe Sa Turricula-Muros (RSP 33. 444), and a still unpublished example was found early in 1981 in the Grotta del Carmelo-Ozieri. C. VISMARA has published many of these figurines in 'Sarda Ceres; busti fittili di divinità femminile della Sardegna romana' (Sassari, 1980). E. EQUINI SCHNEIDER has published a useful 'Catalogo delle sculture romane del museo nazionale „G. A. Sanna“ di Sassari e del comune di Porto Torres' (Sassari, 1979). Other pertinent recent studies are: S. ANGIOLILLO, 'Due ritratti al museo nazionale archeologico di Cagliari,' Mitt. deutsch. Arch. Inst., Röm. Abt. 78 (1971), 115–124; ID., 'Una galleria di ritratti Giulioclaudi da Sulci,' SS 24 (1975/77), 157–170; M. A. MINUTOLA, 'Ritratto frammentario di Ottavia (?) da Tharros,' SS 24 (1975/77), 171–177; C. TRONCHETTI, 'Un Διόνυσος ταῦρος da Bosa,' SS 24 (1975/77), 179–182; C. SALETTI, 'Nota sul ritratto di Traiano del museo nazionale di Cagliari,' Athen. 57 (1979), 116–125.

Gold and silver objects (pp. 795–802). Mention must be made of a silver ear-ring in a tomb at Baressa (PUXEDDU, 189); a silver necklace in a tomb at Santu Simioni-Mogoro (PUXEDDU, 198); silver rings in tombs at Ossi (NTASCS 79–96) and at Ozieri (AMADU, 7).

Bronze and other jewelry (pp. 803–816). Among noteworthy finds are a bronze dagger and some coral in two different localities at Ales (PUXEDDU, 188); part of a bronze necklace at the nuraghe Norgoe-Irgoli, along with coins from Domitian to Theodosius (NTASCO 193–195); three bronze surgeon's implements from Lanusei (NTASCO 142–143); a bronze *fibula* in a tomb at Palas de Litteras-Mogoro (PUXEDDU, 199); bronze figurines from Orgosolo (NTASCO 171–172); bronze bracelets and rings in a tomb at Ossi (NTASCS 79–96); various bronze objects in the territory of Ozieri (AMADU, 7, 197, 261); and an '*ago*' and two *fibulae* from Siniscola (NTASCO 203–206; RSP 33. 452).

Glass (pp. 817–824). Glass objects were found with the surgeon's implements (above), in tombs at Lunamatrona (PUXEDDU, 197), Masula (PUXEDDU, 197, 210), Sini (PUXEDDU, 210), in a sarcophagus at Setzu (PUXEDDU, 205), in various localities in the territory of Ozieri (AMADU, 3, 7, 197), and at Siniscola (RSP 33. 452).

Burials (pp. 824–835). L. PANI ERMINI, Catalogo cit., p. xiii, discusses the Ostian provenience of PESCE's sarcophagus nr. 17; M. MINUTOLA published and analyzed 'Due sarcofagi di fabbrica urbana provenienti da Sa Tribuna,' SS 25 (1978/80), 11–27. G. KOCH, 'Römische Sarkophage' (Munich, 1982), succinctly discusses urban and locally made imitation sarcophagi. Summarizing the results of her re-excavation of Cornus, L. PANI ERMINI, 'Antichità cristiana,' cit., p. 908, notes the existence there of burials in amphoras, '*a cappuccina*', '*a tumolo*' covered with plaster, and (the majority) in crude sarcophagi of the local limestone. Crude sarcophagi have been found at Mogoro (PUXEDDU, 199), Morgongiori (PUXEDDU, 200), and Setzu (above). Crude stele, similar to those found at Viddalba, Tergu, and elsewhere, were found at Nurri (NTASCO 197).

Rural Settlements (pp. 837–850). As is the case for the nuraghi, new material on rural settlements is included in the volumes listed in the introduction, and continues to be found and published in relative abundance, frequently in the most unexpected places; for example, DAVID TRUMP's important study of the Sardinian neolithic, 'La grotta di Filiestru a Bonu Ighinu, Mara' (Sassari, 1983), includes brief notices of Roman remains (e. g., p. 35 f., 57), and G. LILLIU, 'Monumenti antichi barbaricini' (Sassari, 1981), reports Roman pottery at Orrui, Cradedda, and Domusnovas, all in the territory of Fonni (p. 130). An extensive dossier of these remains can be found in my 'I ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna' (Rome, 1981; cf. A. MASTINO, 'A proposito di continuità culturale nella Sardegna romana,' Quaderni Sardi di Storia 3 [1981–1983], 189–218), to which the following addenda should be made:

p. 12 ALGHERO: SS 17, 656 – 8;
p. 15 ARZANA: SS 24, 742;
p. 17 BARISARDO: SS 24, 743;
p. 19 BAUNEI: SS 24, 744;
p. 22 BONORVA: SS 24, 215 – 8;
p. 24 CABRAS: SS 24, 121 – 2;
p. 35 CASTELSARDO: RSP 34. 332;
p. 36 CODRONGIANUS: Spano in Itin. 515, n. 2;
p. 40 DECIMOMANNU: BARTE 1937, 205;
p. 47 FURTEI: SS 12/13. 216, n. 206;
p. 48 GEREMEAS: SS 24. 219 – 21;
p. 50 GIRASOLE: SS 24. 746;
p. 52 GUSPINI: BARTE 1937, 206;
p. 53 IERZU: SS 24. 748;
p. 54 ILBONO: SS 24. 749;
p. 56 ITTIRI: SS 17. 661;
p. 57 LANUSEI: SS 24. 750;
p. 58 LOCULI: BAS 7. 94;
LOTZORAI: SS 24. 752;
LULA: BARTE 1937, 198;
p. 62 MAZZACARA: BAS 4. 59;
MOGORO: SS 17. 219, 24. 221 – 3;
p. 64 MONASTIR: SS 14/15. 75, 17. 117;
p. 65 MORES: ASS 4. 230 – 2;
p. 70 MUSEI: BAS 4. 125;
p. 77 NURRA: MA 11. 97;
p. 78 OLBIA: RSF 7. 42, 45 – 8; 8. 71 – 7;
p. 89 OLOLLAI: Spano in Itin. 431, n. 4;
OLZAI: Ibid.;
p. 92 OSCHIRI: MA 11. 129;
p. 93 OSINI: SS 24. 753;
p. 99 PERFUGAS: RSP 34. 341;
p. 100 PIRRI: SS 14/15. 94;
PLOAGHE: SS 17. 654, 661;
p. 105 QUARTU S. ELENA: SS 14/15. 12011;
p. 106 S. ANDREA FRIUS: BARTE 1937, 205;
p. 107 S. ANTIOCO: BARTE 1937, 205 – 6;
p. 116 SAMUGHEO: BARTE 1937, 205;
p. 118 SARROK: SS 14/15. 125 – 6;
p. 119 SASSARI: SS 9. 449;
p. 120 SCANO: add '*fondamenta di un vasto edificio*' at the beginning of line 2;
SEDILO: SS 24. 88 – 9;
p. 122 SENORBI: NSc. 1931, 78;
SENARIOLO: Lilliu 1961, 81;
p. 125 SESTU: SS 14/15, 88;

p. 126 SETTIMO S. PIETRO: SS 14/15. 96, 100–1, 110–1;
p. 129 SINISCOLA: NTASCO 87, nr. 6–7; SE 46. 592;
SINNAI: SS 14/15. 128;
p. 132 TALANA: SS 24. 754;
p. 133 TEMPIO: SS 9. 461;
p. 137 THARROS: RSF 7. 49–124; 8. 79–87, 99–110, 127–36;
p. 142 TORPE: NSc. 1892, 61; AIIN 25 (1978) 231–5;
TORRALBA: ASS 4. 230–2;
TORTOLI: SS 24. 755;
p. 143 TRINITA D'AGULTU: SS 17. 661;
p. 144 ULASSAI: SS 24. 756–7;
p. 145 URZULEI: SS 24. 758;
p. 147 VALLERMOSA: AIIN 26 (1979) 269–74.

A few additional sites may be found passim in: F. CHERCHI PABA, 'Evoluzione storica dell'attività industriale agricola caccia e pesca in Sardegna,' vol. 1 (Cagliari, 1974), 265–452. MS. LENORE GALLIN has kindly informed me that in the summer of 1982 she found Roman pottery at the nuraghe Ruju-Pozzomaggiore and (black glazed and local imitation arretine wares) at the nuraghe S. Barbara-Sindia.

It will be useful to record here the identifiable Roman pottery I collected in the territory of Serramanna in the summer of 1980 (cf. AJA 86 [1982], 282); I express my deepest gratitude to Prof. BARRECA, who gave me permission to bring samples home for study, to my student Ms. KATHRYN PAYNE, to my colleague Prof. KATHLEEN WARNER SLANE, and to her student Ms. SARAH CHAMBERLAIN, who checked the identifications. At S. Maria di Monserrato were 1) a handle of a Tripolitanian amphora, mid 1st to early 3d century AD; 2) an amphora body sherd of fabric and technique related to late Roman *spatheia*; 3) a hole mouth amphora or *dolium* rim with the Graffito V; 4) a body sherd of a *spatheion* or related amphora, 4th–6th century; 5) a Hellenistic or early Roman cooking-pot sherd; 6) an inturned cooking pot rim with spout or shoulder; 7) a body sherd of an amphora (Kelleia type/Ballana type 6): Syrian or Egyptian, end 4th to 6th century. At S. Angius a bowl rim, probably an imitation of AFRS HAYES form 6, 2d century A. D. At S. Luxeria, pieces of an amphora, mid 1st to mid 3d century. At these and other sites were also nuragic and undistinguishable Roman common ware.

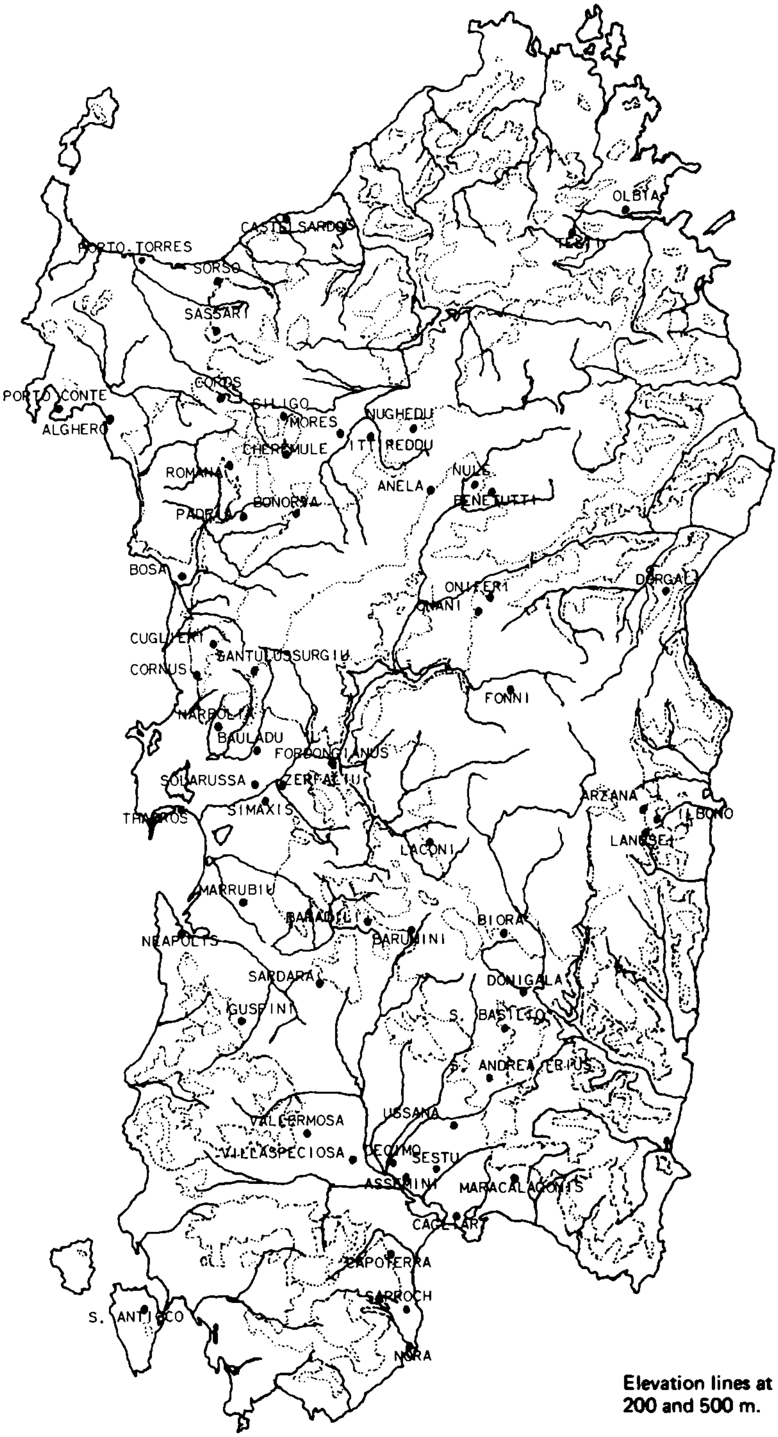
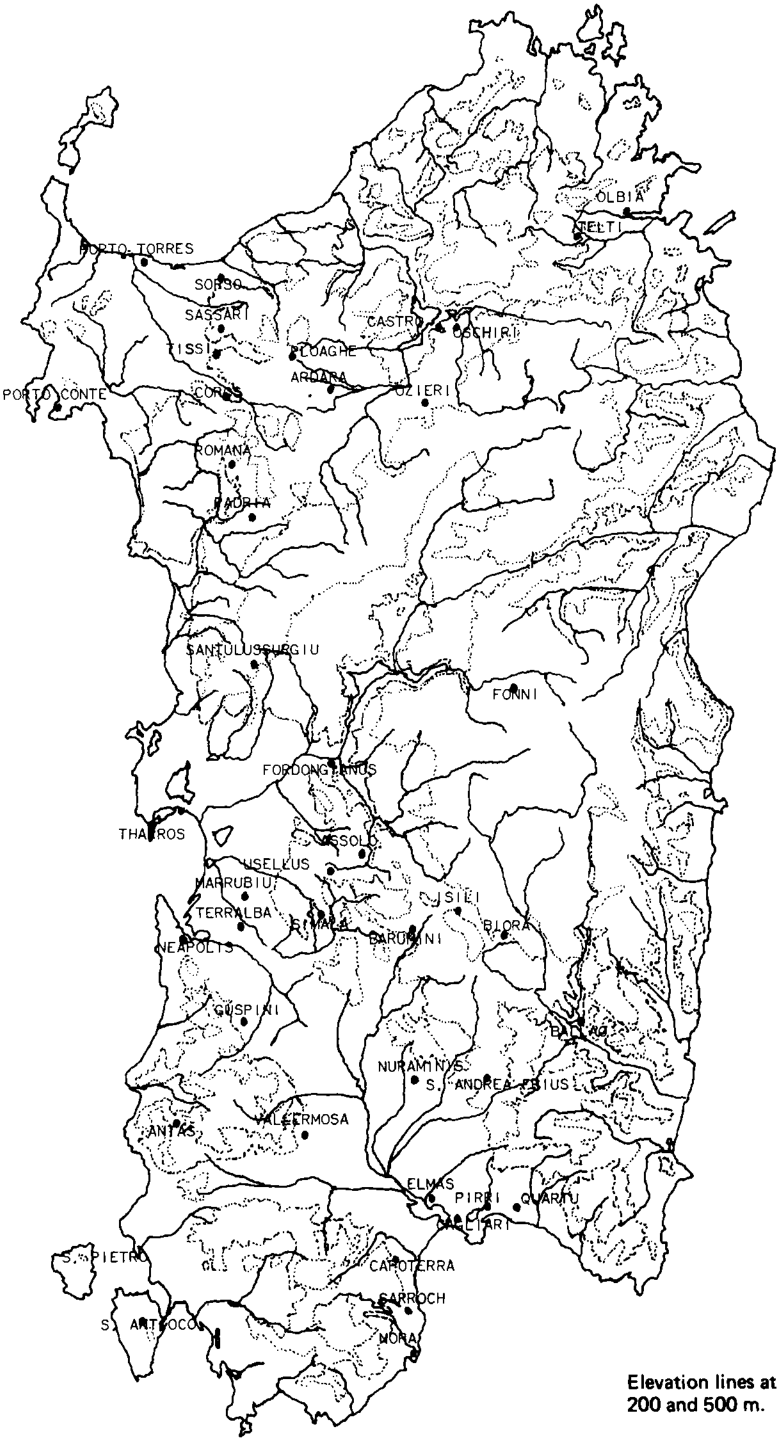
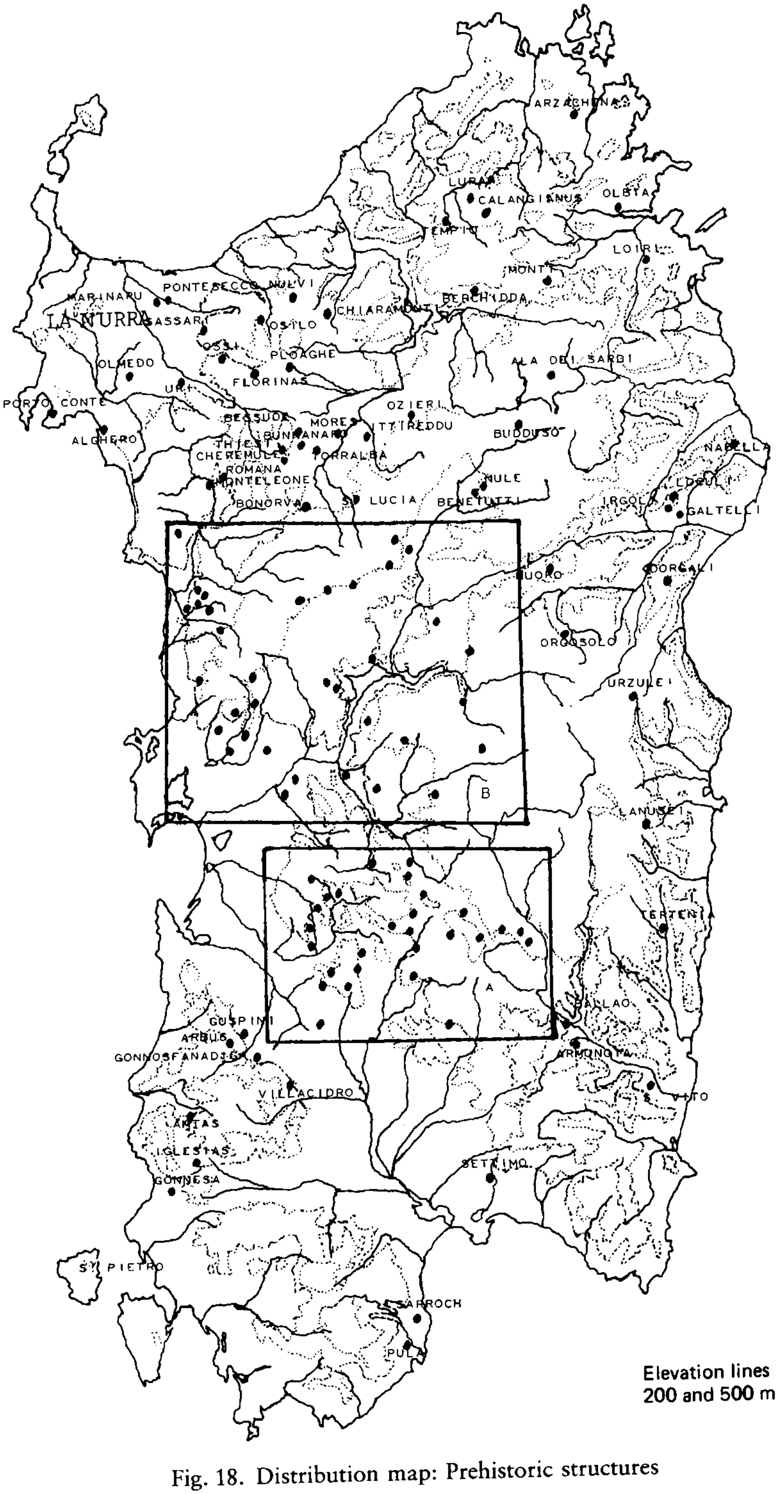

OLBIA
TERTI
CASTELSARDO
PORTO TORRES
SORSO
SASSARI
CORDS
PORTO CONTE
ALGHERO
SILIGO
MORES
NUGHEDU
ITTIREDDU
CHEREMULE
ROMANA
NULE
ANELA
BENETUTTI
BONORVA
PADRIA
BOSA
ONIFERI
ORANI
DORGALI
CUGLIERI
SANTULUSSURGIU
CORNUS
NARBOLIA
BAULADU
FORDONGIANUS
SOLARUSSA
ZERFALIU
SIMAXIS
THARROS
FONNI
ARZANA
ILBONO
LANUSEI
LACONI
MARRUBIU
BARADILI
BARUMINI
BIORA
NEAPOLIS
SARDARA
DONIGALA
GUSPINI
S. BASILIO
S. ANDREA FRIUS
USSANA
VALLERMOSA
VILLASPECIOSA
DECIMO
SESTU
ASSEMINI
MARACALAGONIS
CAGLIARI
CAPOTERRA
SARROCH
S. ANTIOCO
NORA
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 16. Distribution map: Baths


OLBIA
TELTI
PORTO TORRES
SORSO
SASSARI
CASTRO
OSCHIRI
TISSI
PLOAGHE
ARDARA
OZIERI
PORTO CONTE
CORAS
ROMANA
PADRIA
SANTULUSSURGIU
FONNI
FORDONGIANUS
THARROS
ASSOLO
USELLUS
MARRUBIU
TERRALBA
SIMALA
BARUMINI
ISILI
BIORA
NEAPOLIS
GUSPINI
BALLAO
NURAMINIS
S. ANDREA FRIUS
ANTAS
VALLERMOSA
ELMAS
PIRRI
QUARTU
CAGLIARI
S. PIETRO
CAPOTERRA
SARROCH
S. ANTIOCO
NORA

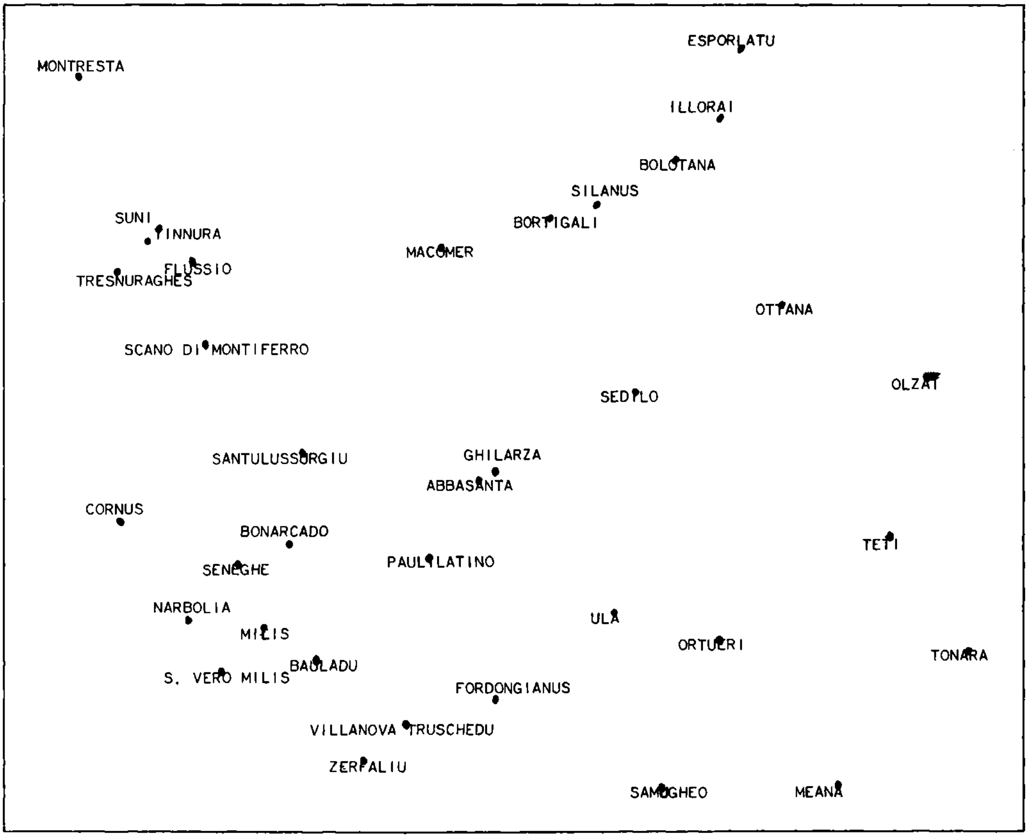
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 17. Distribution map: Mosaics

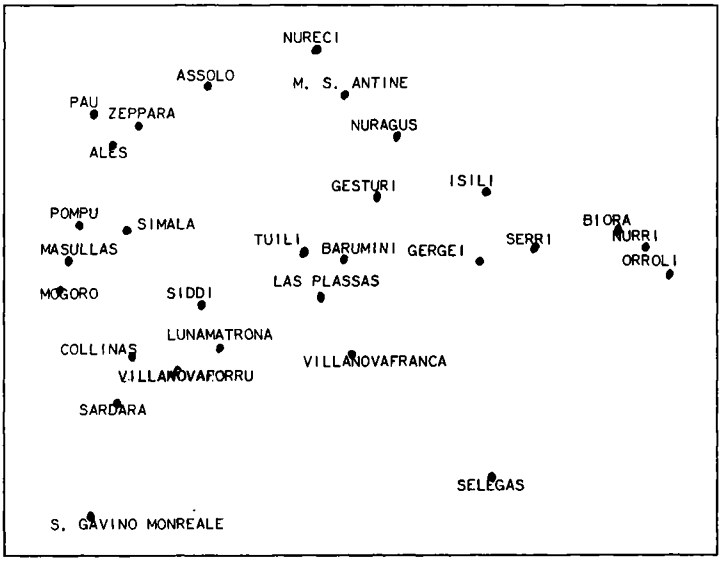

ARZACHENA
LURAS
CALANGIANUS
OLBIA
TEMPIO
LOIRI
MONTI
BERCHIDDA
PONTESECCO
NULVI
MARINARU
CHIARAMONTI
LA NURRA
SASSARI
OSILO
OSSI
PLOAGHE
FLORINAS
OLMEDO
ALA DEI SARDI
URI
PORTO CONTE
OZIERI
ALGHERO
BESSUDE
MORES
ITTIREDDU
BUDDUSO
THIESI
BUNNANARO
CHEREMULE
TORRALBA
ROMANA
MONTELEONE
NAPELLA
NULE
LOCULI
BONORVA
S. LUCIA
BENETUTTI
IRGOLI
GALTELLI
NUORO
DORGALI
OROSOLO
URZULEI
B
LANUSEI
TERTENIA
A
BALLAO
GUSPINI
ARBUS
GONNOSFANADIGA
ARMUNGIA
S. VITO
VILLACIDRO
ANTAS
IGLESIAS
GONNESA
SETTIMO
S. PIETRO
SARROCH
PULA

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 18. Distribution map: Prehistoric structures


ESPORLATU
MONTRESTA
ILLORAI
BOLOTANA
SILANUS
SUNI
BORTIGALI
TINNURA
MACOMER
FLUSSIO
TRESNURAGHES
OTTANA
SCANO DI MONTIFERRO
OLZAI
SEDILO
GHILARZA
SANTULUSSURGIU
ABBASANTA
CORNUS
BONARCADO
TETI
PAULILATINO
SENEGHE
NARBOLIA
ULA
MILIS
ORTUERI
TONARA
BAULADU
S. VERO MILIS
FORDONGIANUS
VILLANOVA TRUSCHEDU
ZERFALIU
SAMUGHEO
MEANA

Insert b to fig. 18


NURECI
ASSOLO
M. S. ANTINE
PAU
ZEPPARA
NURAGUS
ALES
GESTURI
ISILI
POMPU
SIMALA
BIORA
NURRI
TUILI
BARUMINI
GERGEI
SERRI
MASULLAS
ORROLI
LAS PLASSAS
MOGORO
SIDDI
LUNAMATRONA
COLLINAS
VILLANOVAFRANCA
VILLANOVAFORRU
SARDARA
SELEGAS
S. GAVINO MONREALE

Insert a to fig. 18

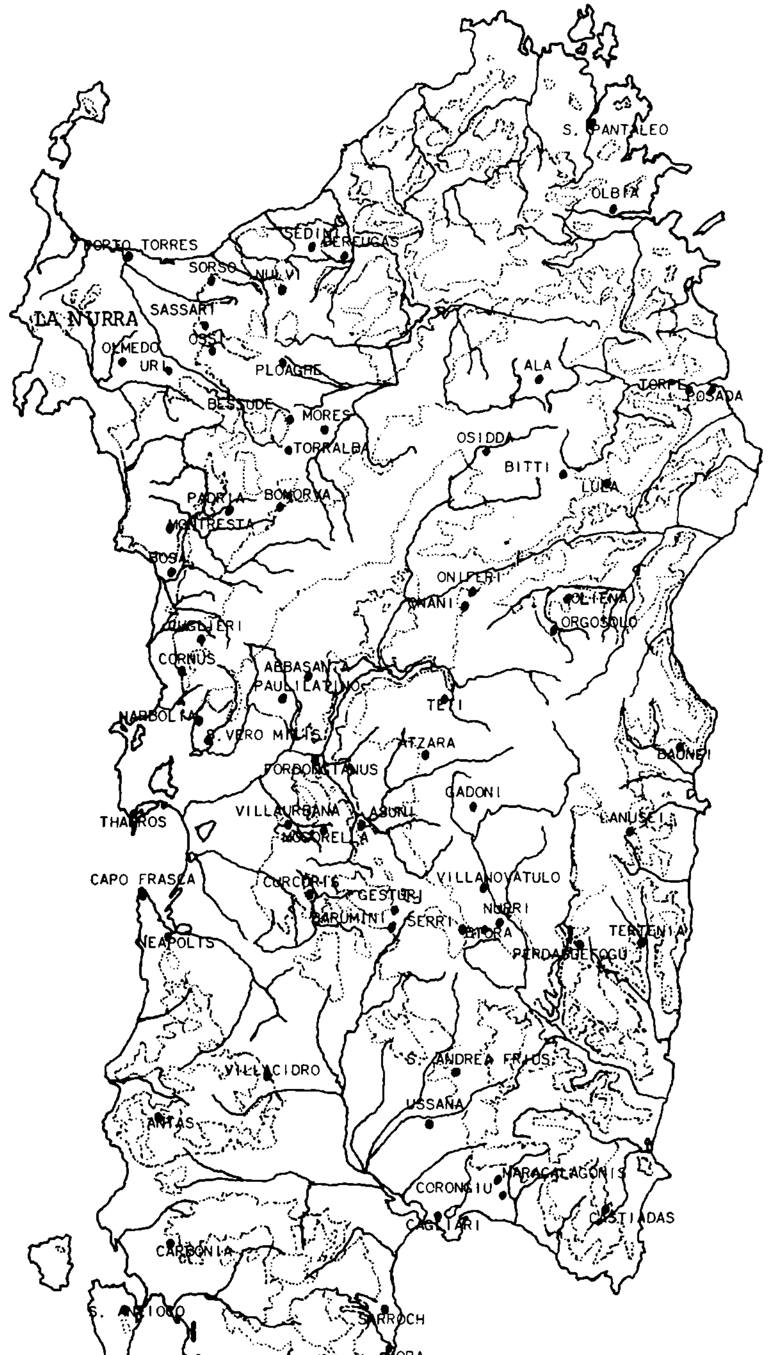

S. PANTALEO
OLBIA
SEDINI
PERFUGAS
PORTO TORRES
SORSO
NULVI
SASSARI
LA NURRA
OSSI
OLMEDO
URI
PLOAGHE
ALA
TORPE
POSADA
BESSUDE
MORES
TORRALBA
OSIDDA
BITTI
LULA
PADRIA
BONORVA
MONTRESTA
BOSA
ONIFERI
ORANI
OLIENA
ORGOSOLO
CUGLIERI
CORNUS
ABBASANTA
PAULILATINO
TETI
NARBOLIA
S. VERO MILIS
ATZARA
BAUNEI
FORDONGIANUS
GADONI
LANUSEI
THARROS
VILLAURBANA
ASUNI
MOGORELLA
CAPO FRASCA
CURCURIS
GESTURI
VILLANOVATULO
NURRI
BARUMINI
SERRI
BIORA
TERTENIA
PERDASDEFOGU
NEAPOLIS
VILLACIDRO
S. ANDREA FRIUS
USSANA
ANTAS
MARACALAGONIS
CORONGIU
CASTIADAS
CAGLIARI
CARBONIA
S. ANTIOCO
SARROCH
NORA
BITHIA
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 19. Distribution map: Statues

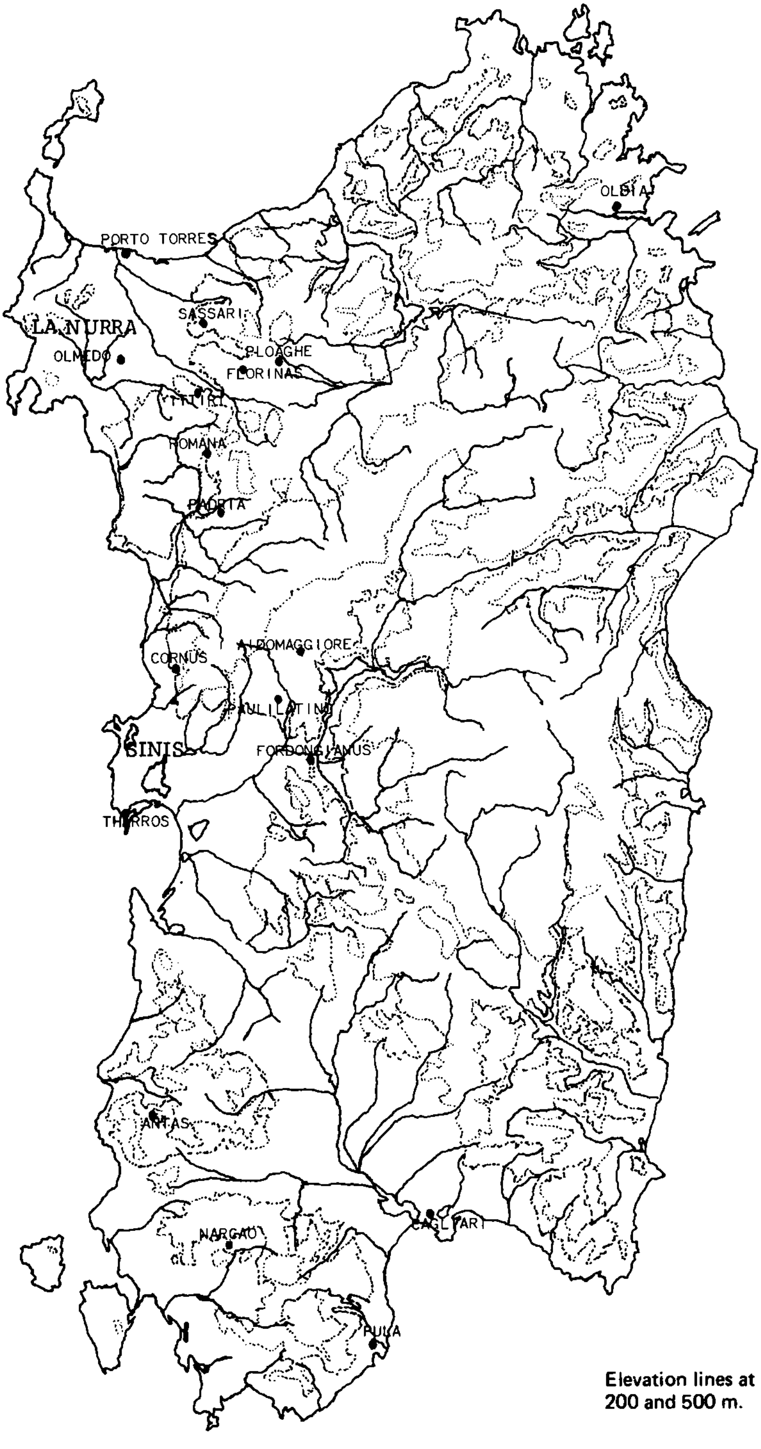

OLBIA
PORTO TORRES
SASSARI
LA NURRA
OLMEDO
PLOAGHE
FLORINAS
ITTIRI
ROMANA
PADRIA
ALDOMAGGIORE
CORNUS
PAULILATINO
SINIS
FORDONGIANUS
THARROS
ANTAS
NARCAO
CAGLIARI
PULA
Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 20. Distribution map: *Timiateria*

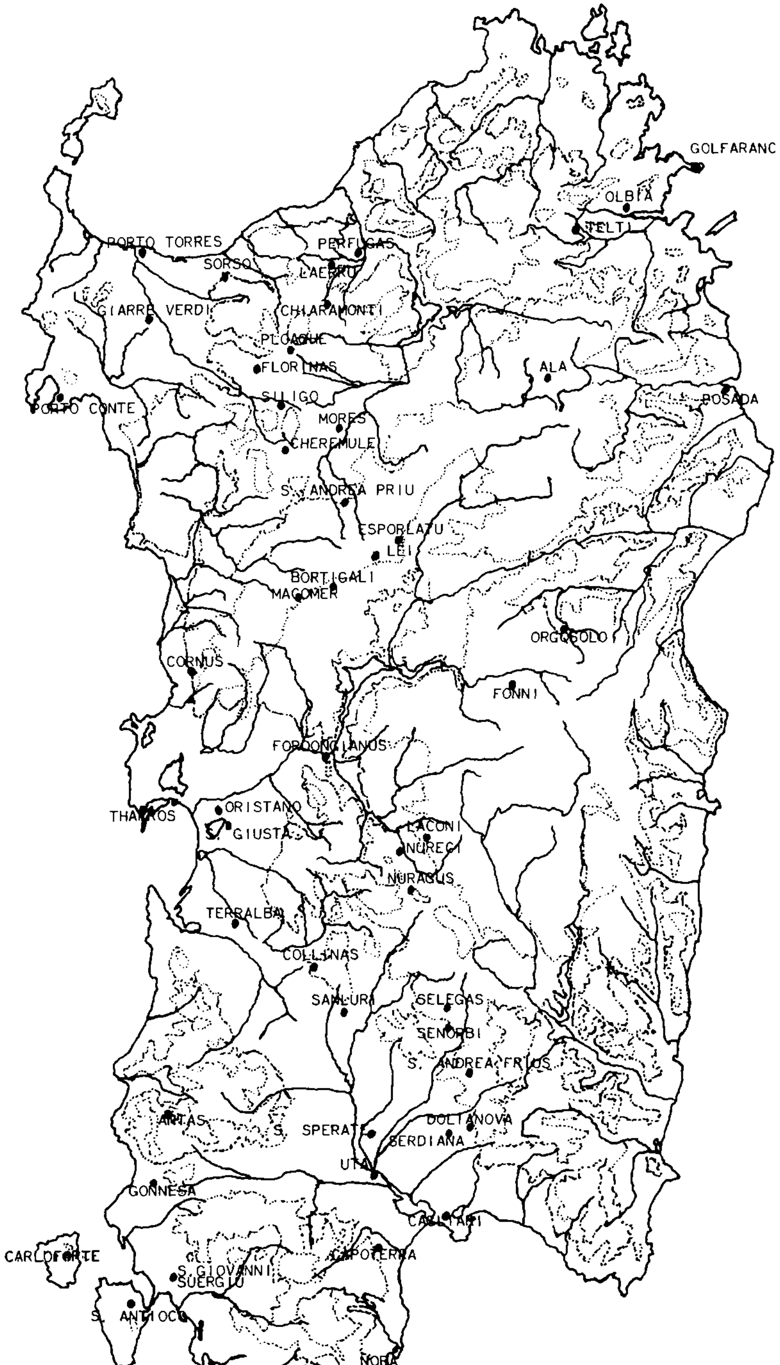
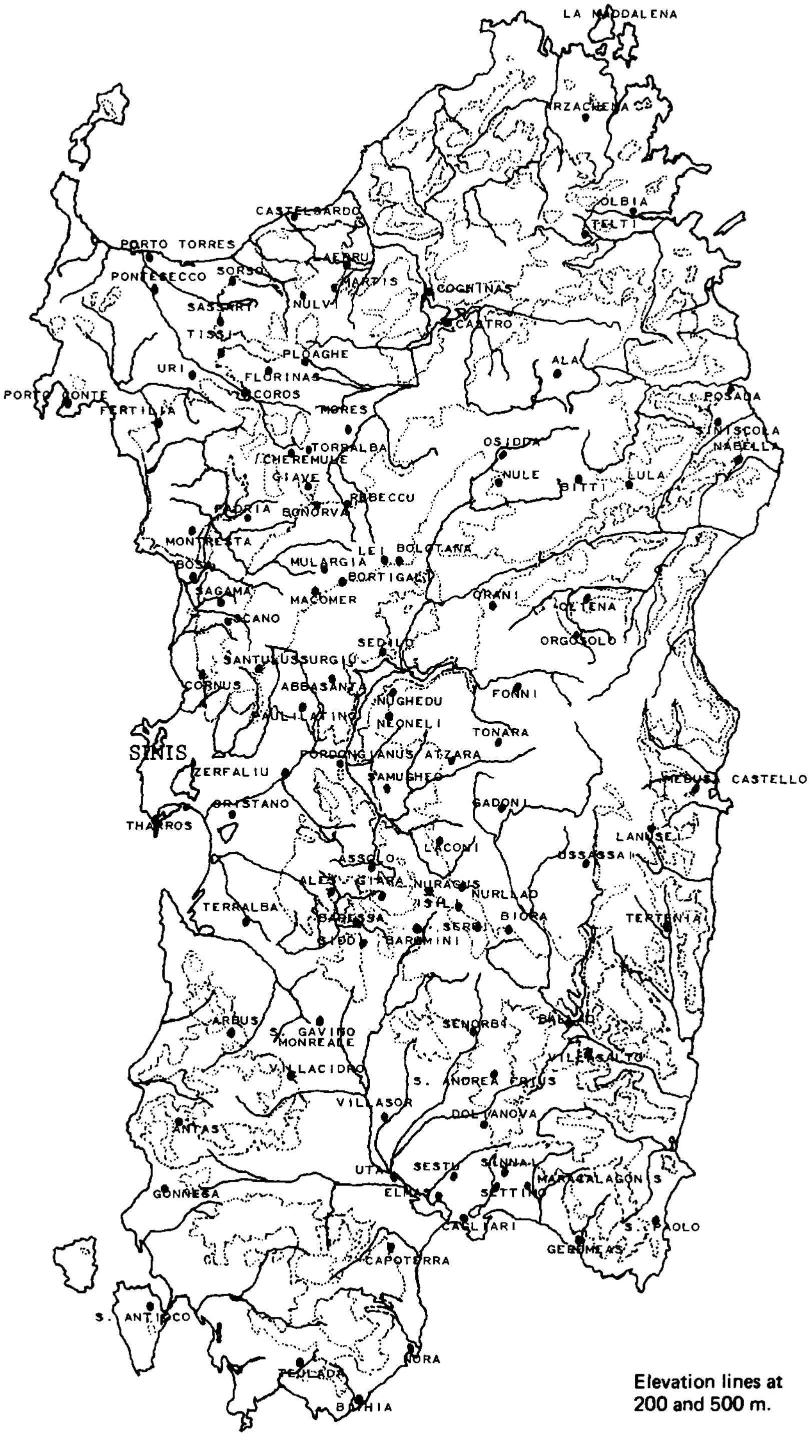
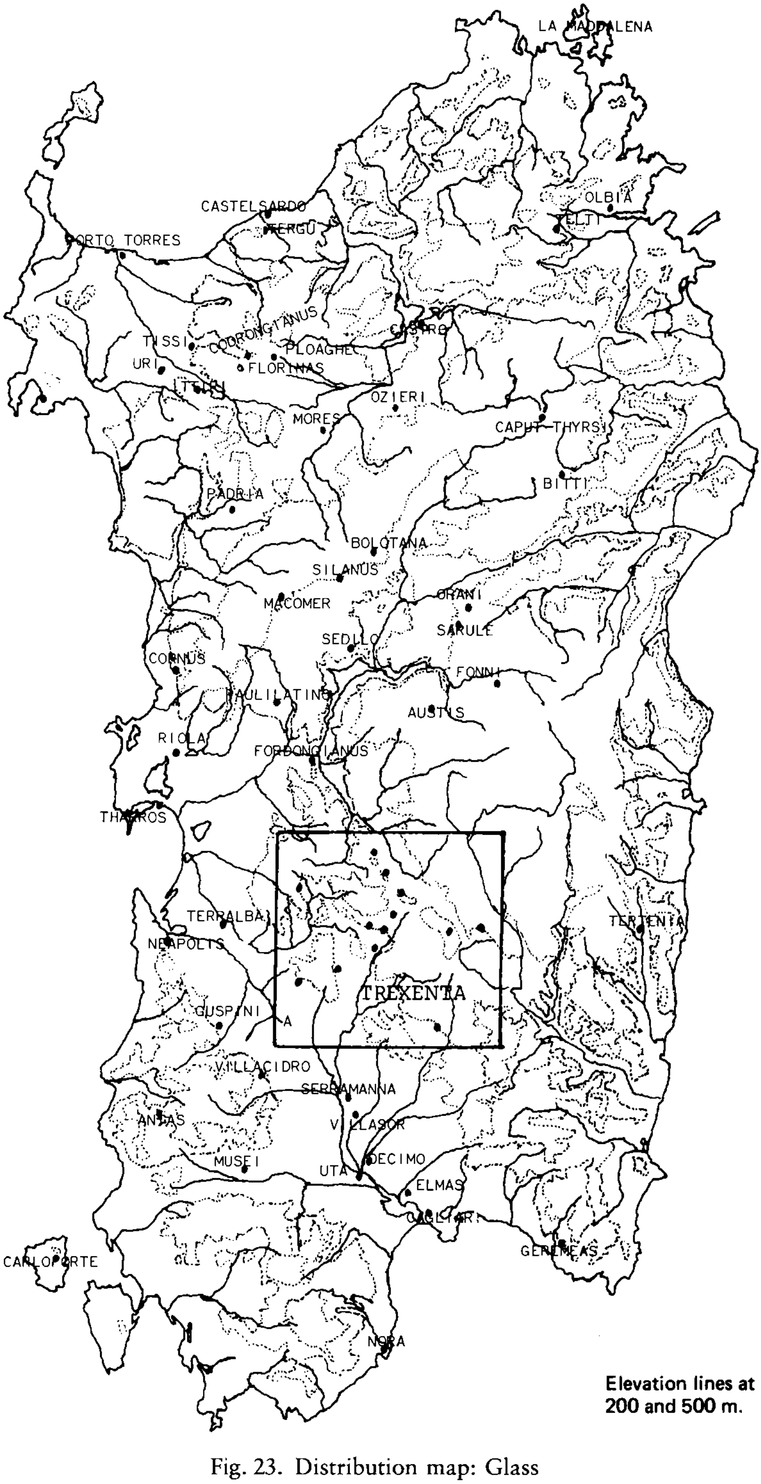

GOLFARANCI
OLBIA
TELTI
PORTO TORRES
SORSO
PERFUGAS
LAERRU
GIARRE VERDI
CHIARAMONTI
PLOAGHE
FLORINAS
SILIGO
MORES
CHEREMULE
PORTO CONTE
ALA
POSADA
S. ANDREA PRIU
ESPORLATU
LEI
BORTIGALI
MACOMER
ORGOSOLO
CORNUS
FONNI
FORDONGIANUS
ORISTANO
S. GIUSTA
THARROS
LACONI
NURECI
NURAGUS
TERRALBA
COLLINAS
SANLURI
SELEGAS
SENORBI
S. ANDREA FRIUS
DOLIANOVA
SERDIANA
ARTAS
S. SPERATE
UTA
GONNESA
CAGLIARI
CARLOFORTE
S. GIOVANNI SUERGIU
CAPOTERRA
S. ANTIOCO
NORA
BITHIA
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 21. Distribution map: Gold and silver objects


LA MADDALENA
ARZACHENA
OLBIA
TELTI
CASTELSARDO
PORTO TORRES
PONTESECCO
SORSO
LAERRU
MARTIS
NULVI
COGHINAS
SASSARI
CASTRO
TISSI
PLOAGHE
URI
FLORINAS
ALA
PORTO CONTE
COROS
FERTILIA
MORES
POSADA
SINISCOLA
NABELLA
OSIDDA
TORRALBA
CHEREMULE
NULE
BITTI
LULA
GIAVE
REBECCU
FLORIA
BONORVA
MONTRESTA
LEI
BOLOTANA
MULARGIA
BORTIGALI
BOSA
SAGAMA
MACOMER
ORANI
OLIENA
SCANO
SEDILO
ORGOSOLO
SANTU LUSSURGIU
CORNUS
ABBASANTA
NUGHEDU
FONNI
PAULILATINO
NEONELI
TONARA
SINIS
FORDONGIANUS
ATZARA
ZERFALIU
SAMUGHEO
MEDUSA
CASTELLO
ORISTANO
GADONI
THARROS
LANUSEI
LACONI
USSASSAI
ASSOLO
ALES
GIARA
NURAGUS
NURALLAO
ISILI
BIORA
TERTENIA
TERRALBA
BARESSA
SERRI
SIDDI
BARUMINI
ARBUS
S. GAVINO MONREALE
SENORBI
BALLAO
VILLASALTO
VILLACIDRO
S. ANDREA FRIUS
VILLASOR
DOLIANOVA
ANTAS
SINNAI
UTA
SESTU
MARACALAGONIS
GONNESA
ELMAS
SETTIMO
S. PAOLO
CAGLIARI
GEREMEAS
CAPOTERRA
S. ANTIOCO
NORA
TEULADA
BITHIA

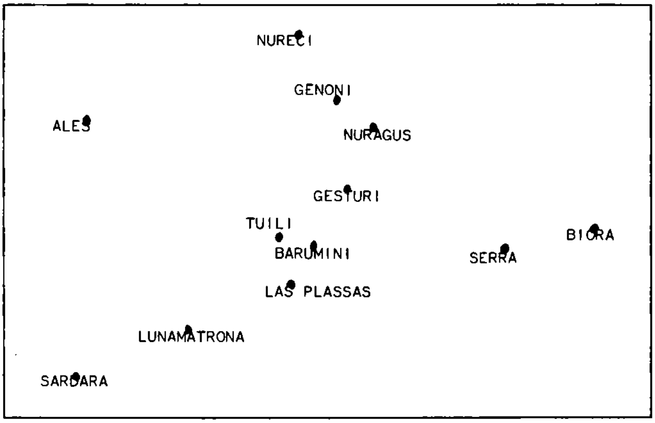
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 22. Distribution map: Bronze and other jewelry

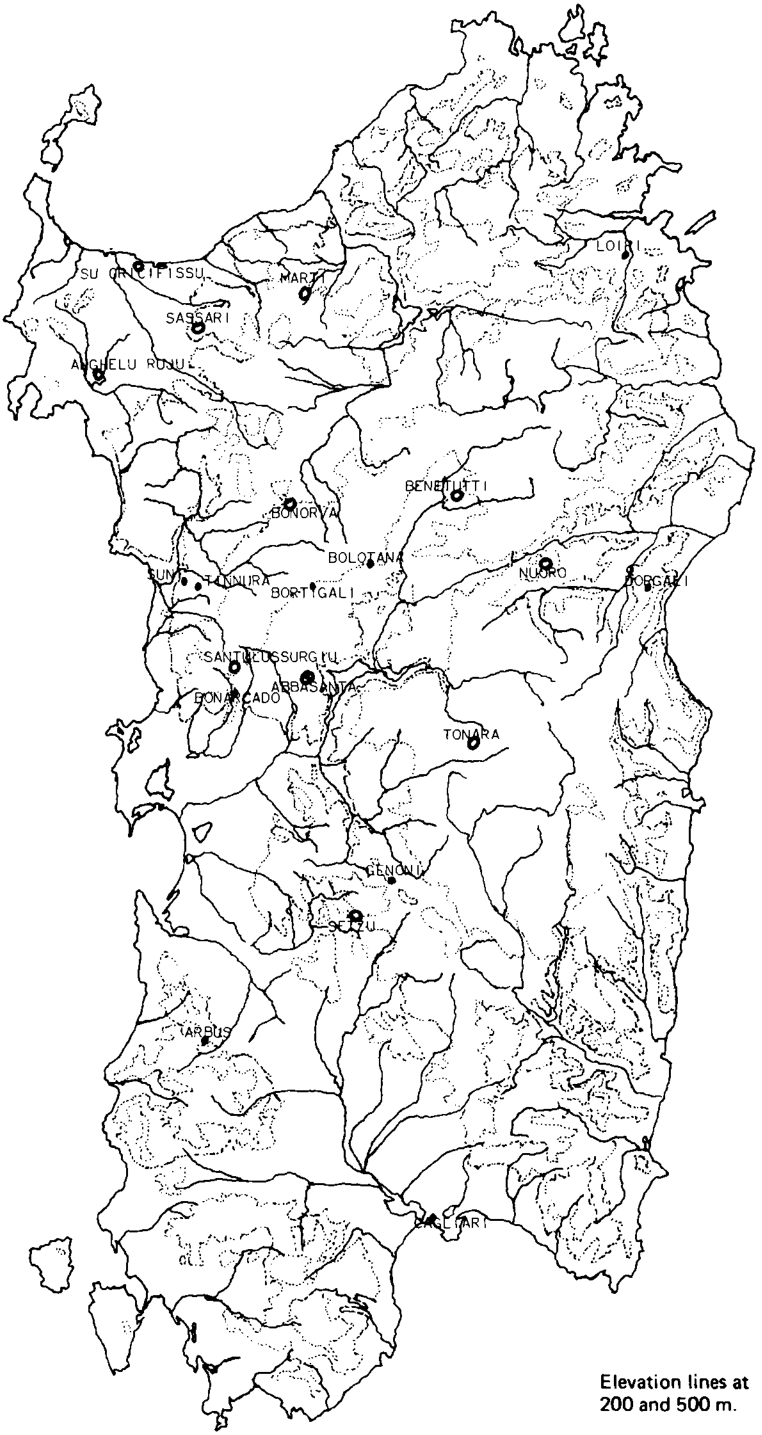


LA MADDALENA
OLBIA
FELTI
CASTELSARDO
TERGU
PORTO TORRES
CODRONGIANUS
CASTRO
TISSI
PLOAGHE
URI
FLORINAS
ITTIRI
OZIERI
MORES
CAPUT-THYRSI
PADRIA
BITTI
BOLOTANA
SILANUS
MACOMER
ORANI
SEDILO
SARULE
CORNUS
FONNI
PAULILATINO
AUSTIS
RIOLA
FORDONGIANUS
THARROS
TERRALBA
TERTENIA
NEAPOLIS
TREXENTA
GUSPINI
A
VILLACIDRO
SERRAMANNA
ANTAS
VILLASOR
MUSEI
UTA
DECIMO
ELMAS
CAGLIARI
GEREMEAS
CARLOFORTE
NORA
Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 23. Distribution map: Glass


NURECI
GENONI
ALES
NURAGUS
GESTURI
TUILI
BARUMINI
SERRA
BIORA
LAS PLASSAS
LUNAMATRONA
SARDARA

Insert to fig. 23


LOIRI
SU CRUCIFISSU
MARTI
SASSARI
ANGHELU RUJU
BENETUTTI
BONORVA
BOLOTANA
NUORO
DORGALI
SUNI
TINNURA
BORTIGALI
SANTULUSSURGIU
ABBASANTA
BONARCADO
TONARA
GENONI
SETZU
ARBUS
CAGLIARI

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 24. Distribution map: Domus de janas (o), giants' tombs (●)

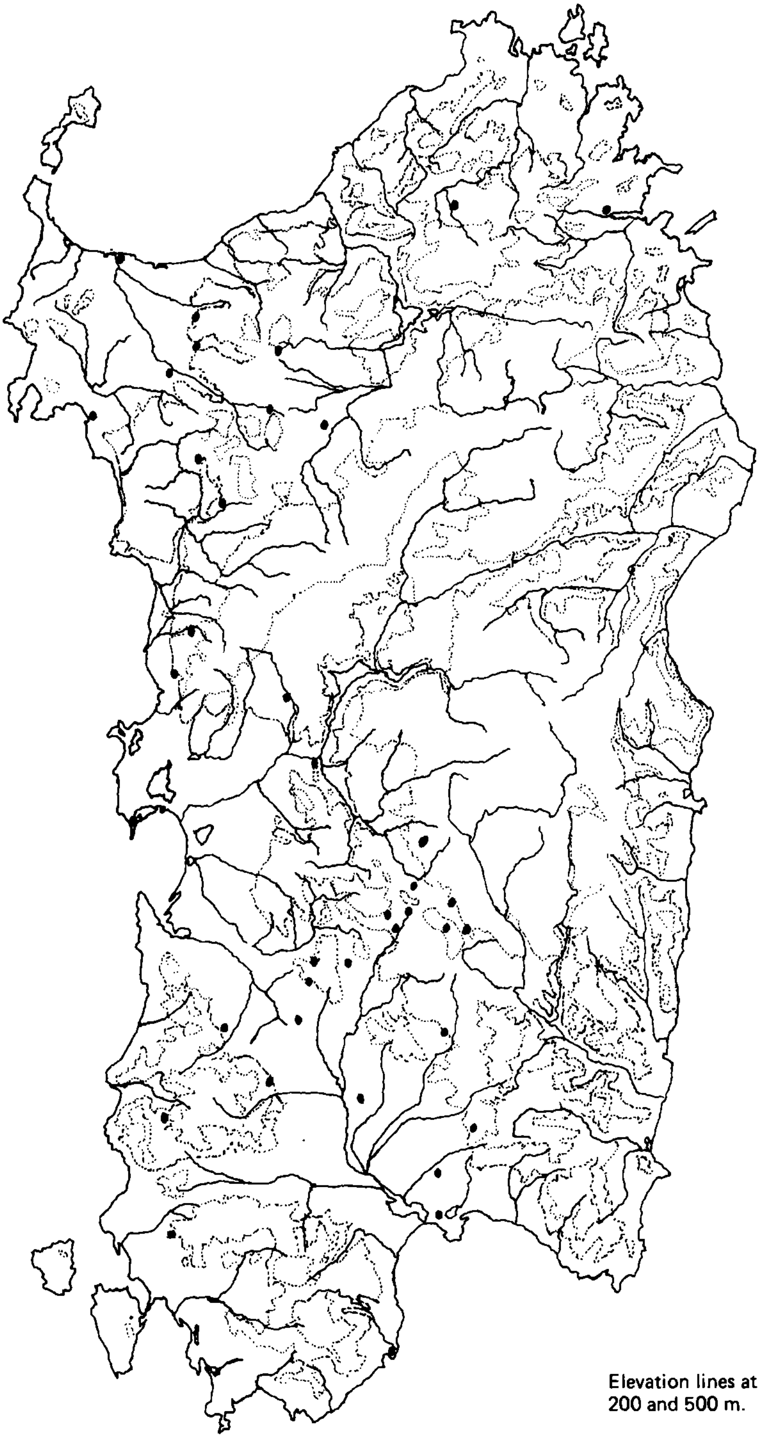

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 25. Distribution map: Tombs *'a fossa'*

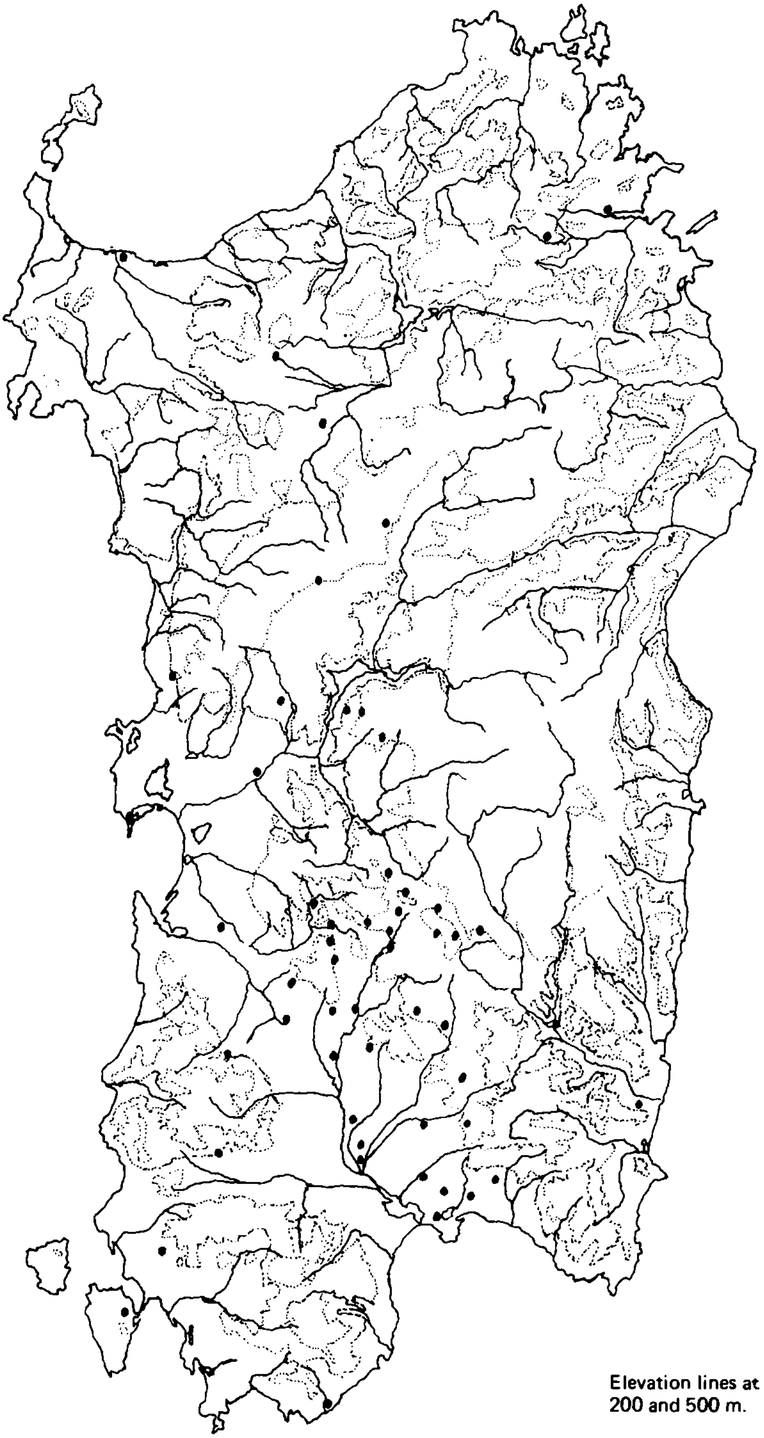

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 26. Distribution map: Tombs '*a cassa*' or '*a cassone*'

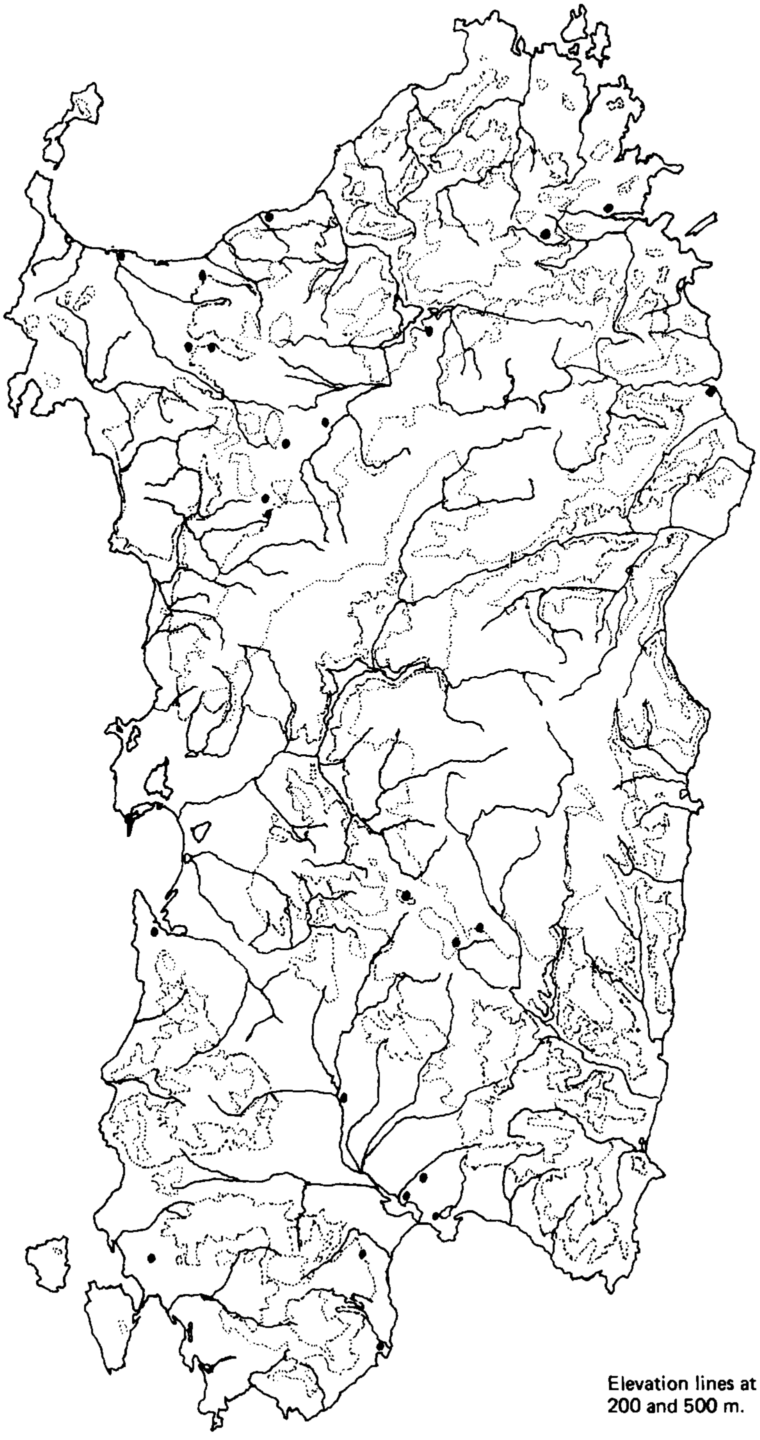

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 27. Distribution map: Tombs *'a cappuccina'*

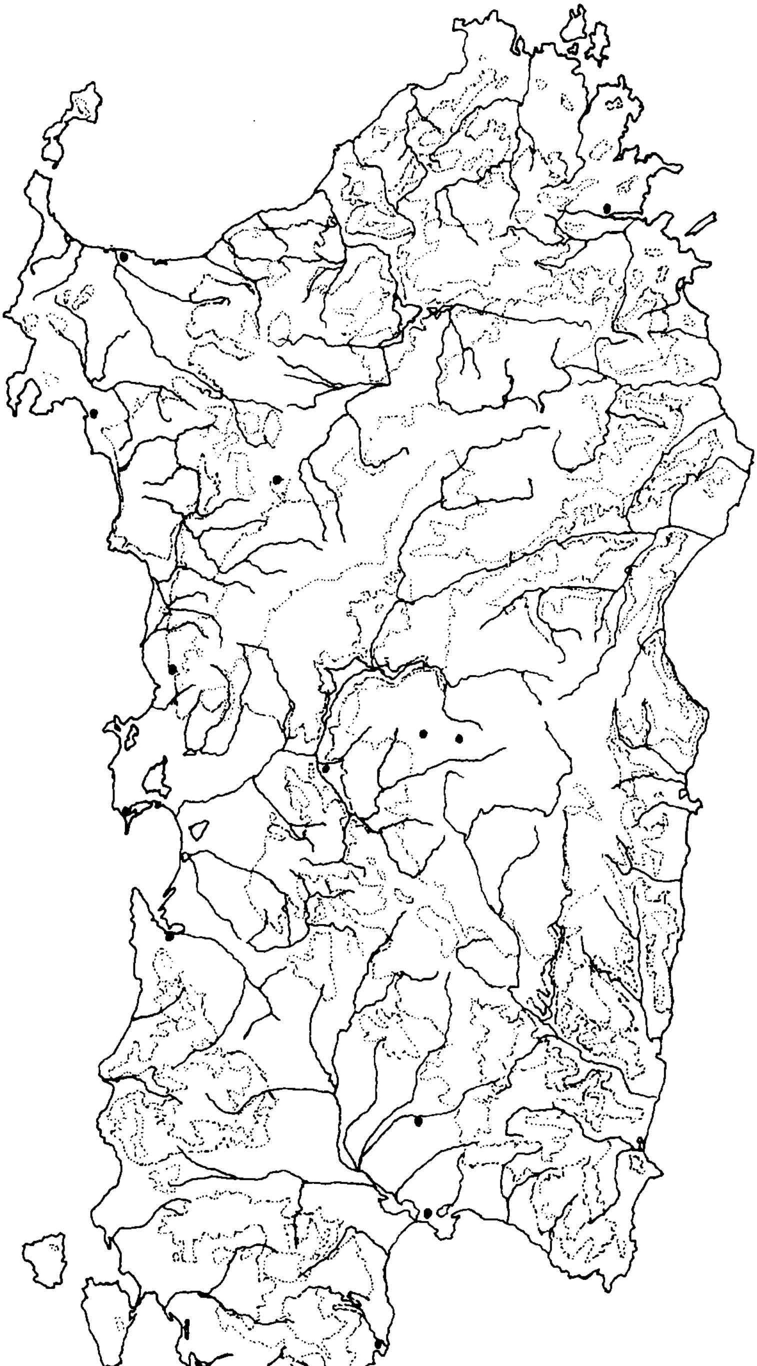

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 28. Distribution map: Tombs *'a camera'*

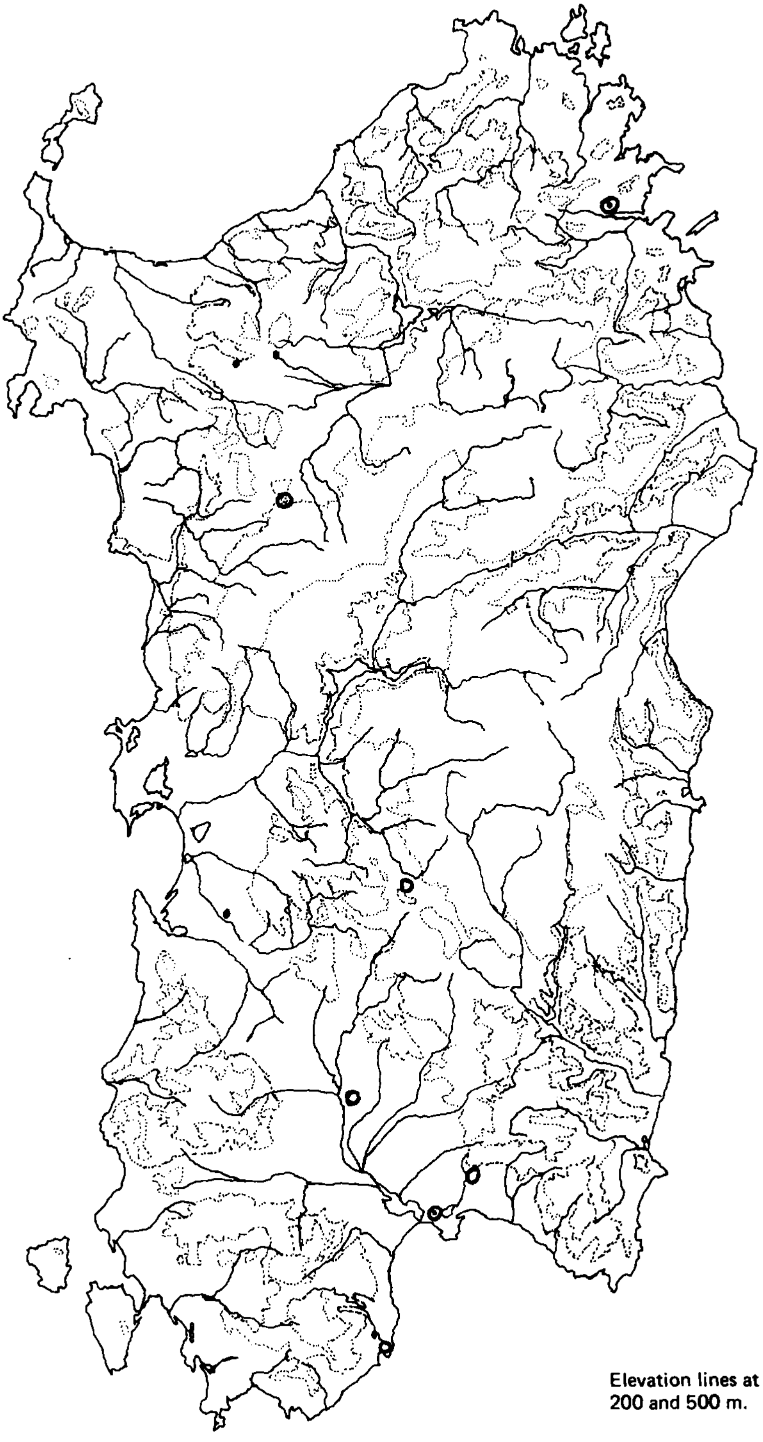

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 29. Distribution map: Tombs '*a tettuccio*' (○) and '*a tettoia*' (●)

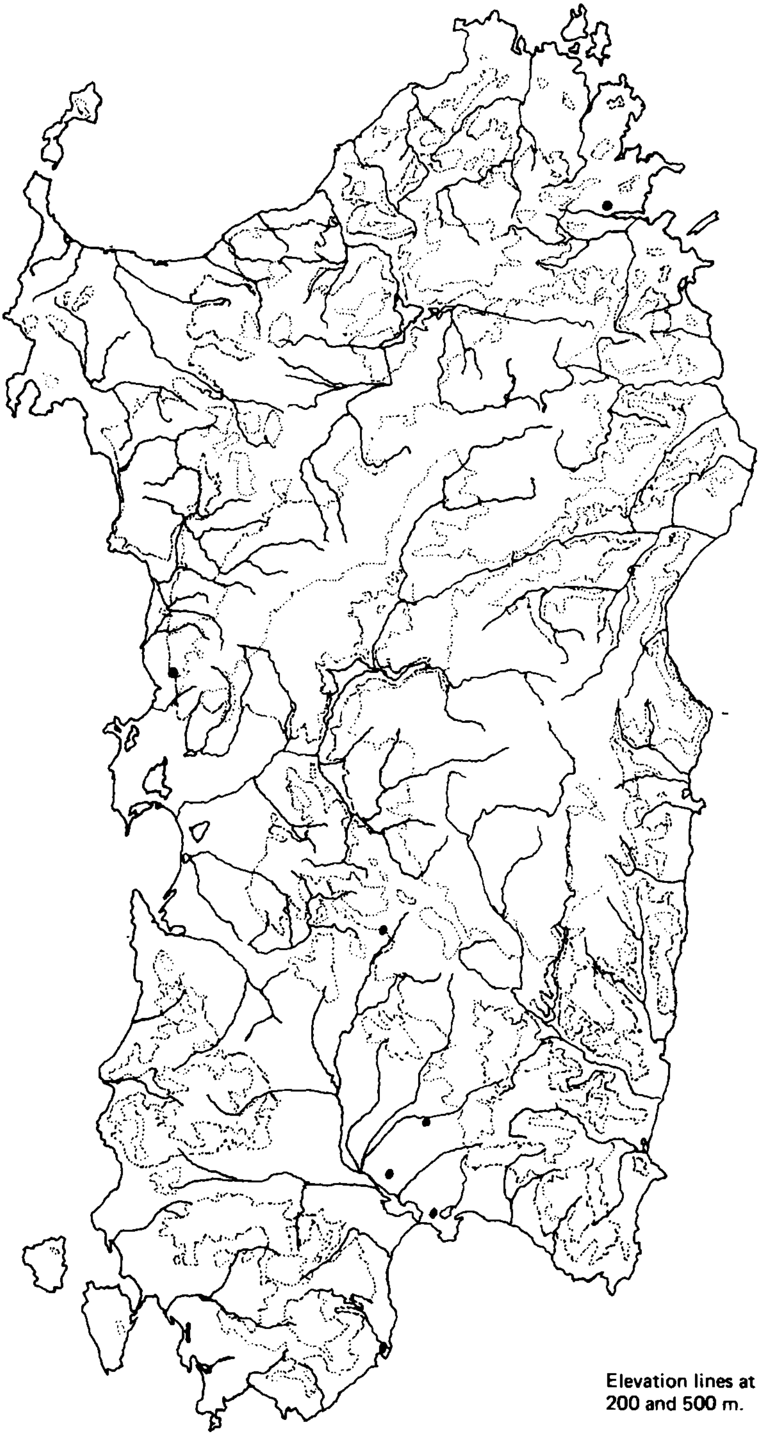

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 30. Distribution map: Burials *'a pozzetto'*

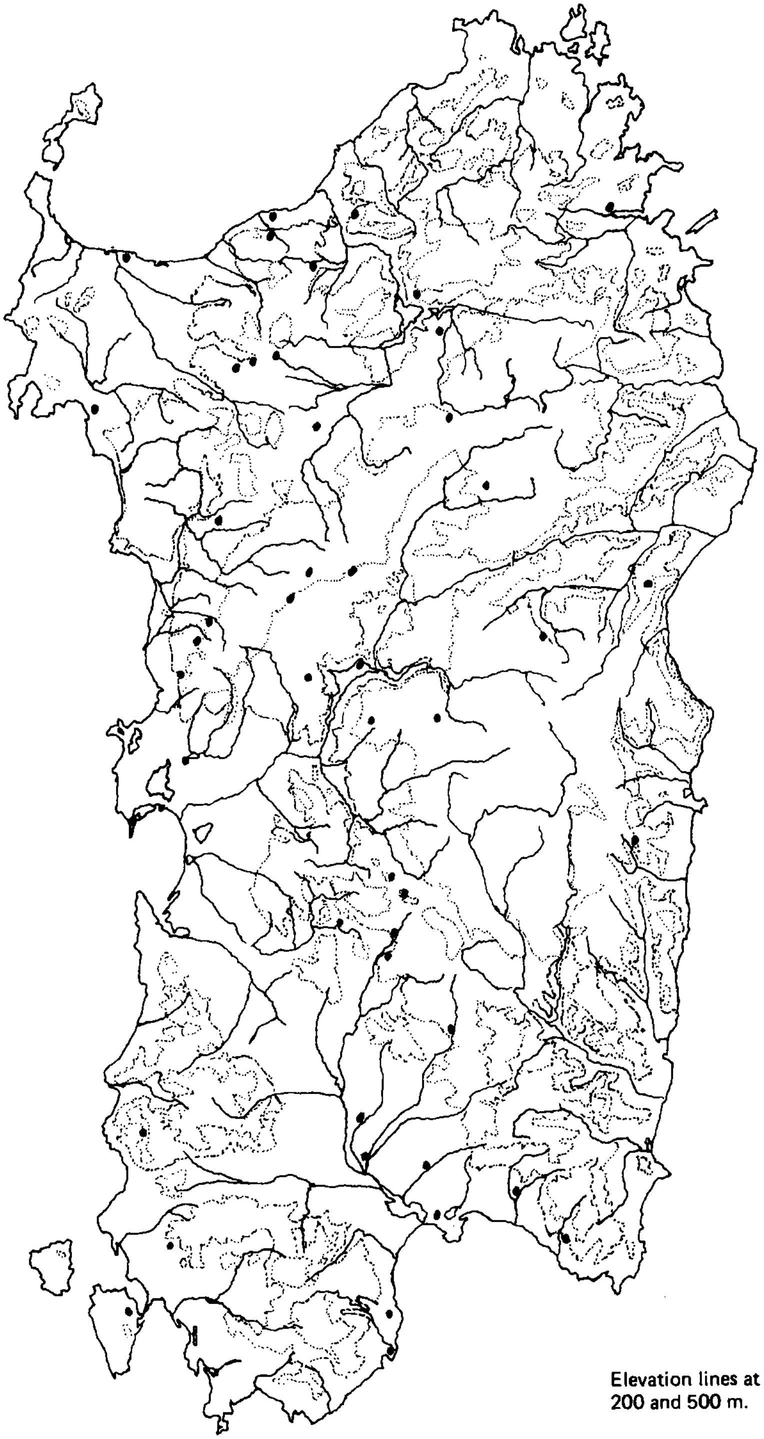
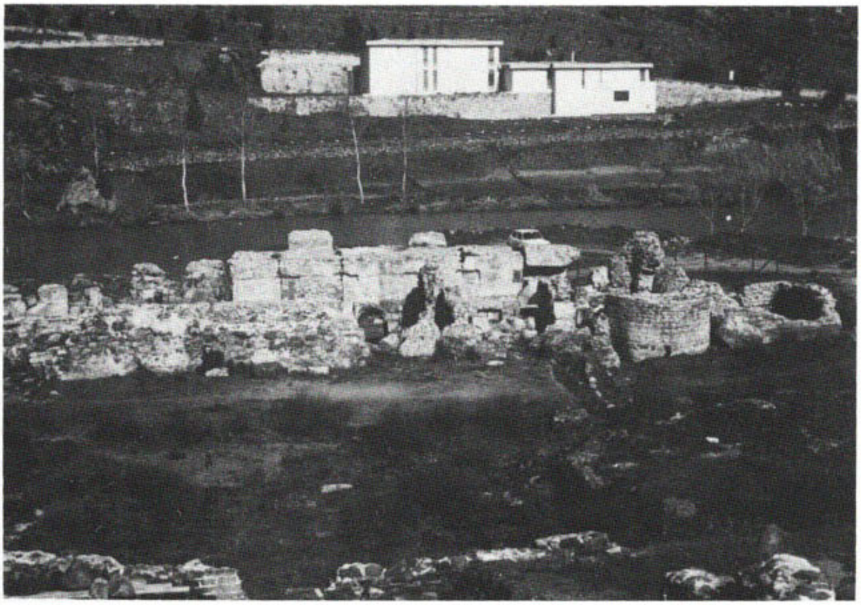
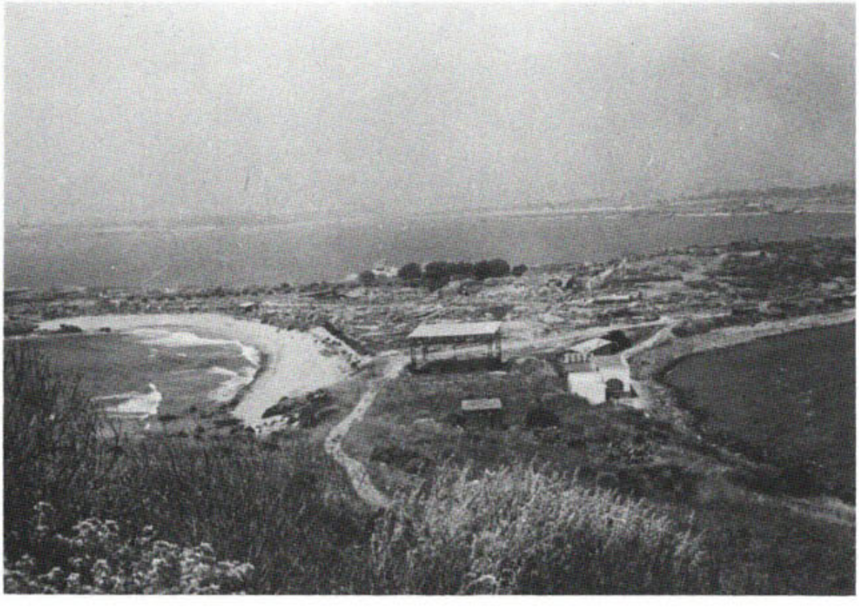

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

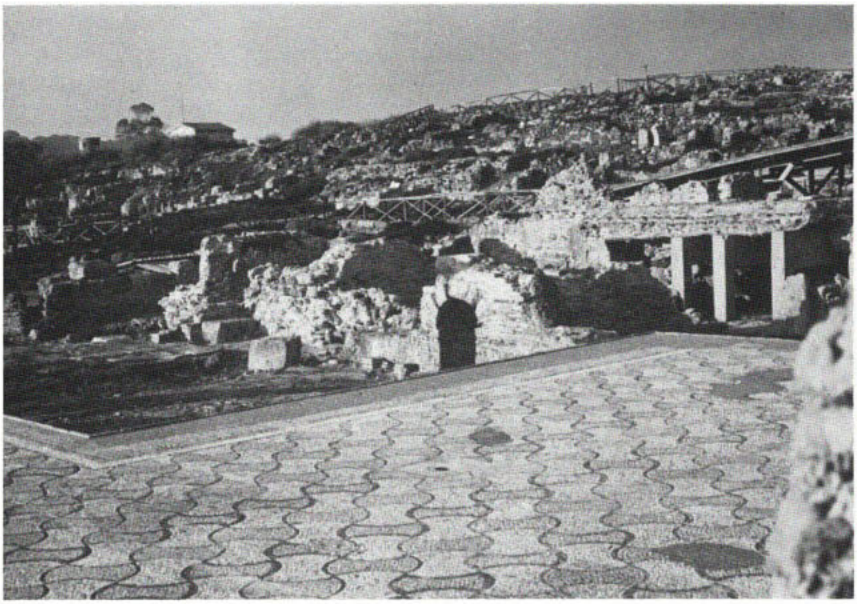
Fig. 31. Distribution map: Incineration burials



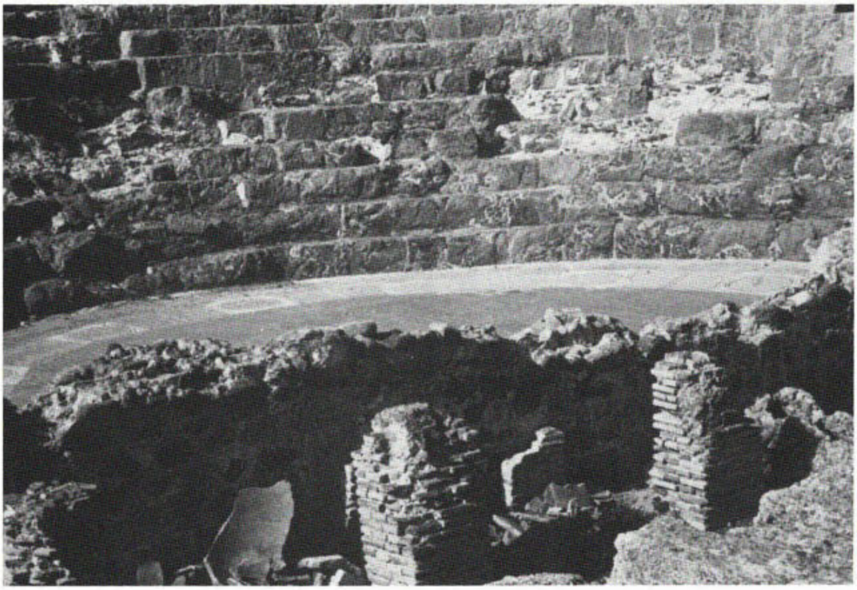
1. FORDONGIANUS: Baths



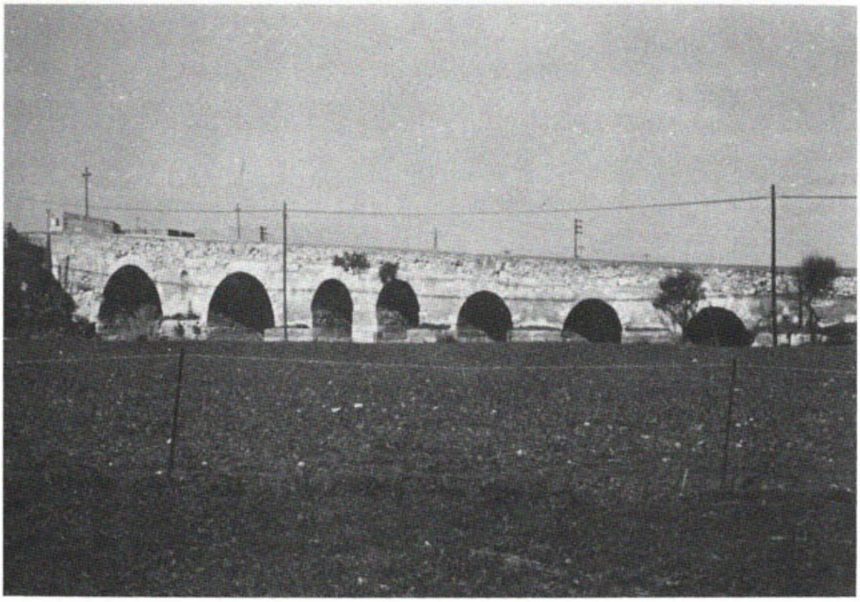
2. NORA: Panorama from the east



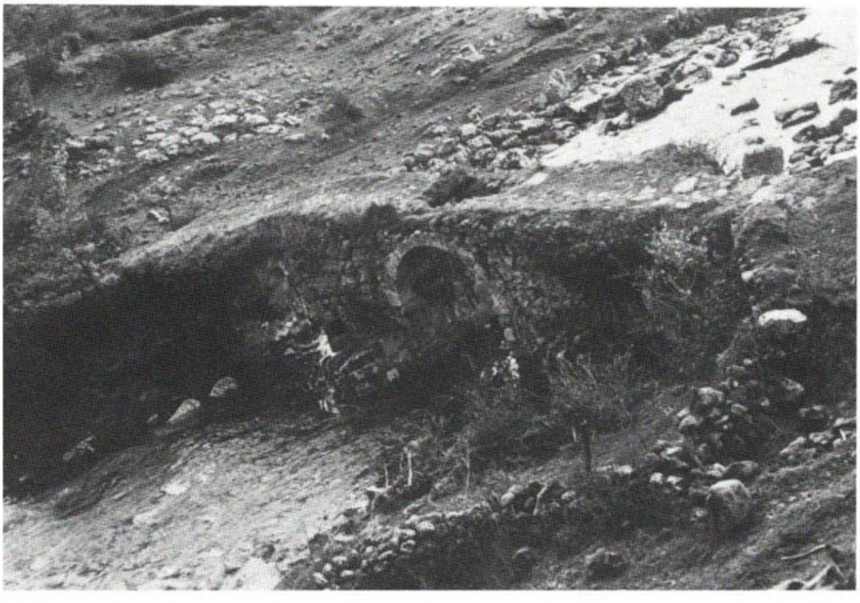
3. NORA: Central baths and mosaic floor of the *frigidarium*



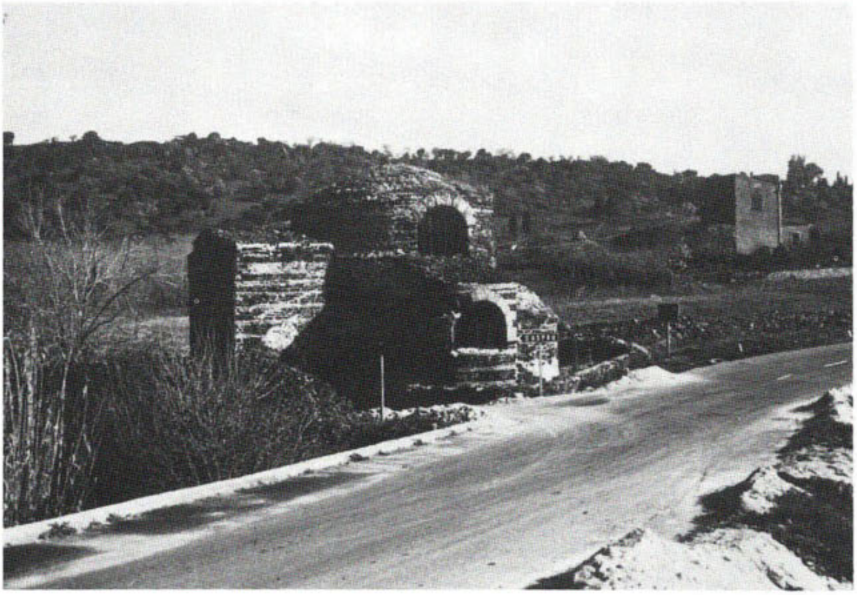
4. NORA: Theater



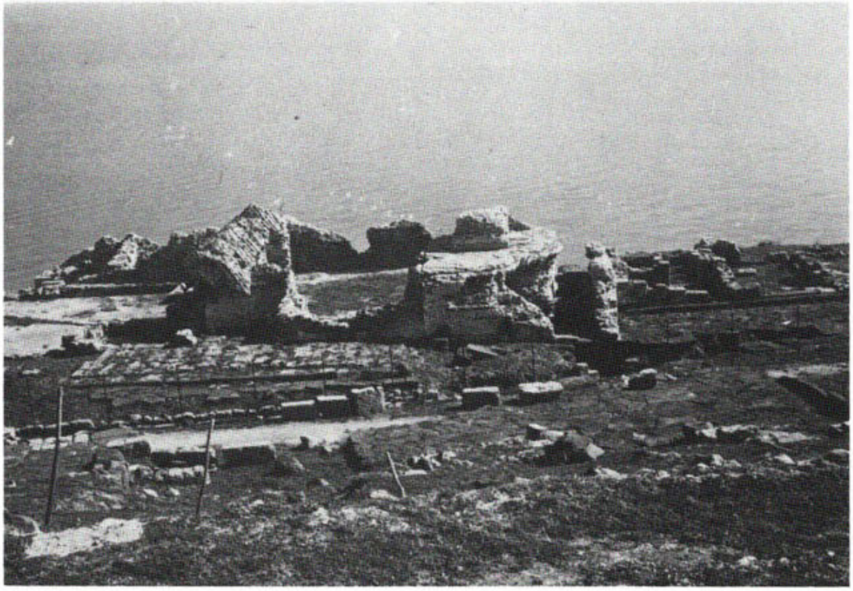
5. PORTO TORRES: Roman bridge



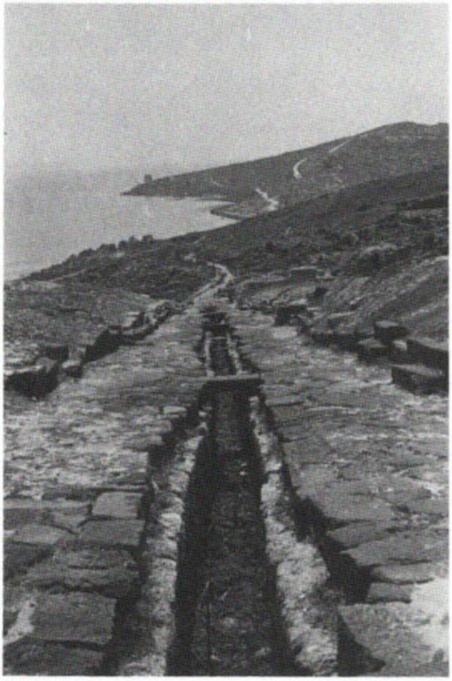
5a. CAMPEDA: Roman bridge



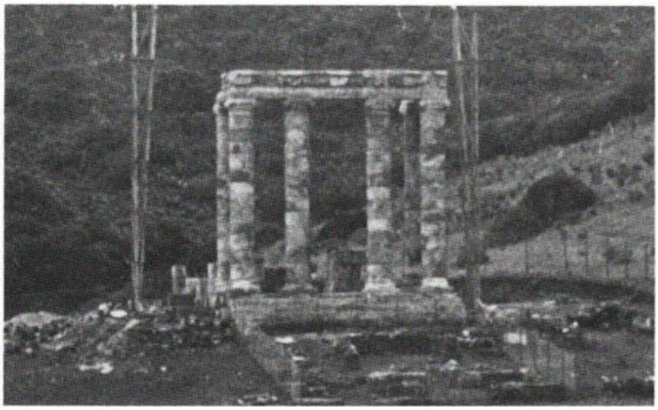
6. SILIGO: Church of Nostra Signora di Mesumundu



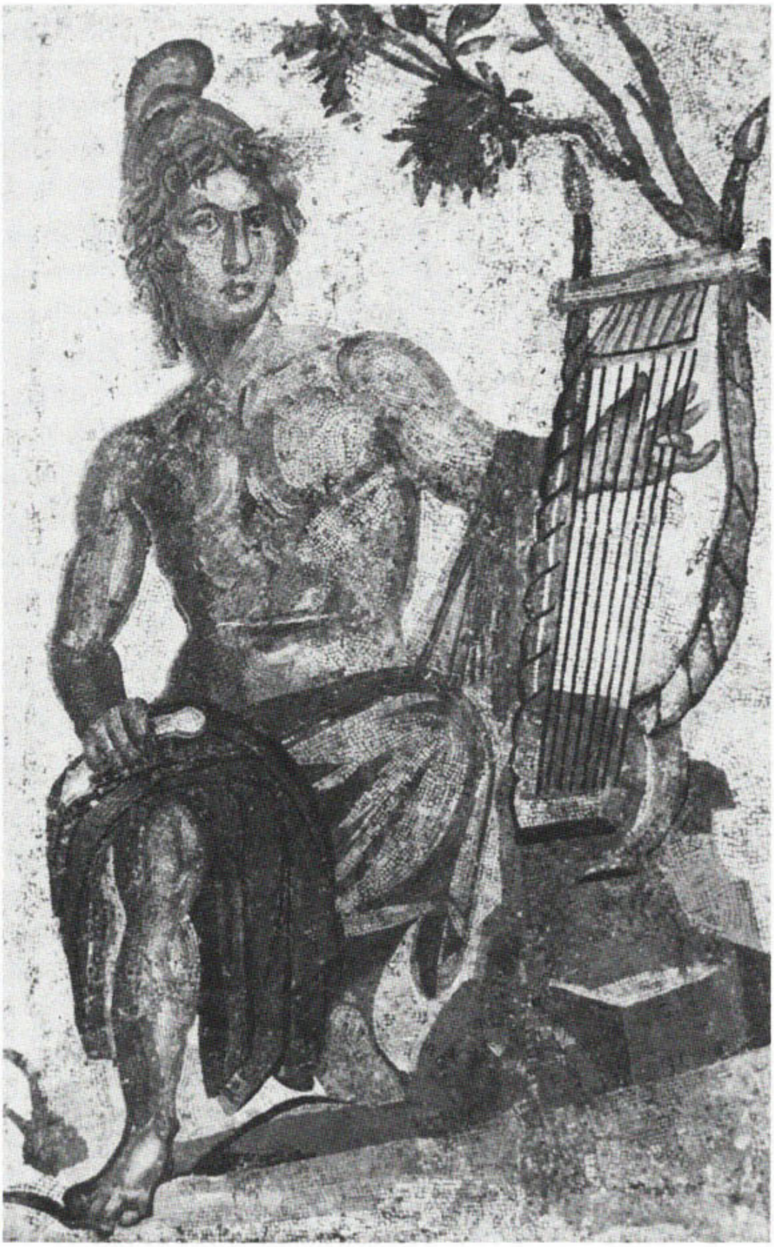
7. THARROS: Terme Convento Vecchio



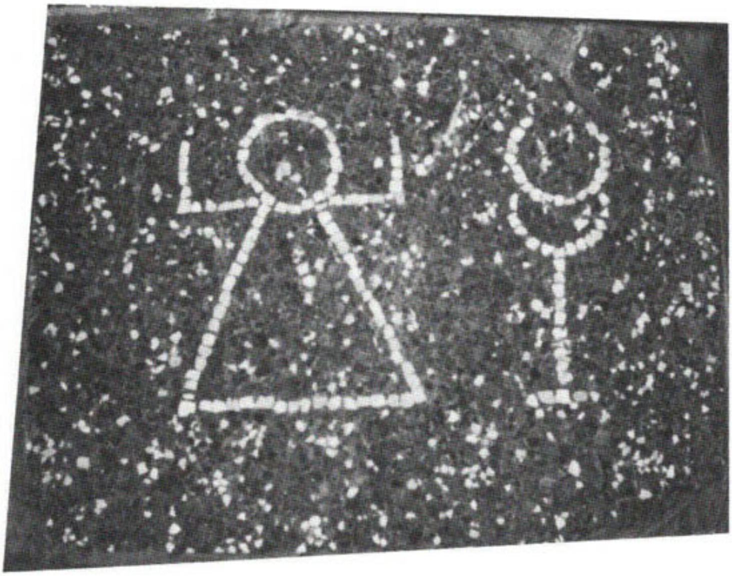
8. THARROS: Roman street



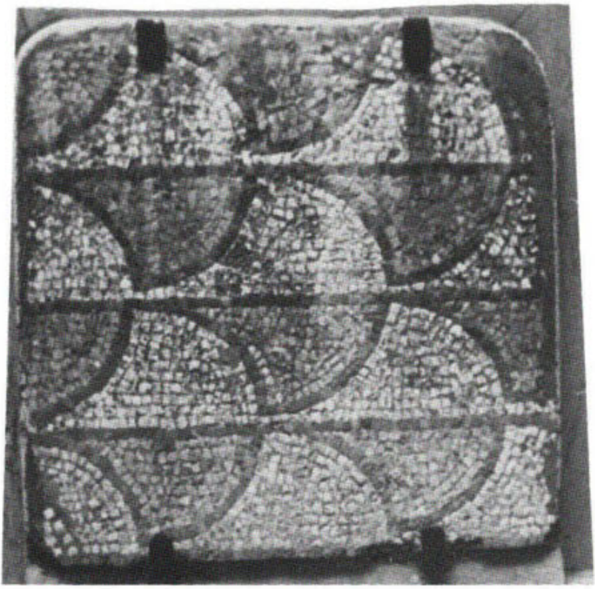
9. ANTAS: Temple of Sardus Pater



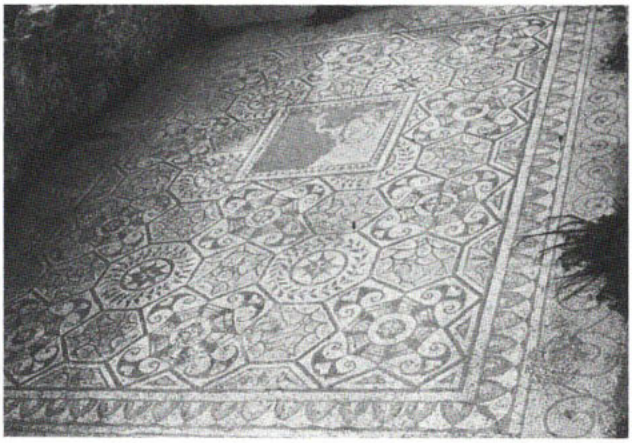
10. CAGLIARI: Central part of Orpheus mosaic, now in Turin



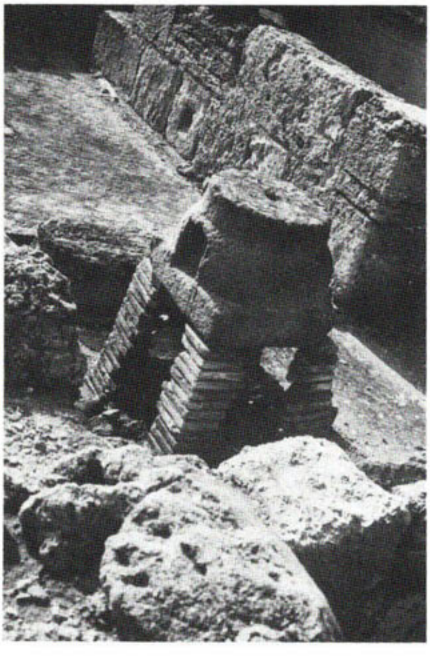
11. CAGLIARI: Punico-Roman mosaic



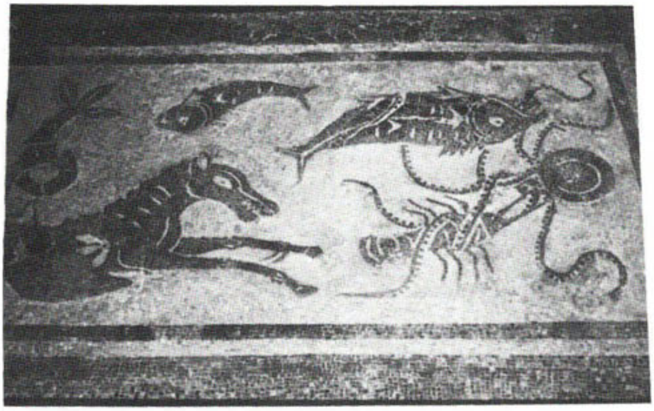
12. CAGLIARI: Mosaic, on display in the entranceway at the old University building



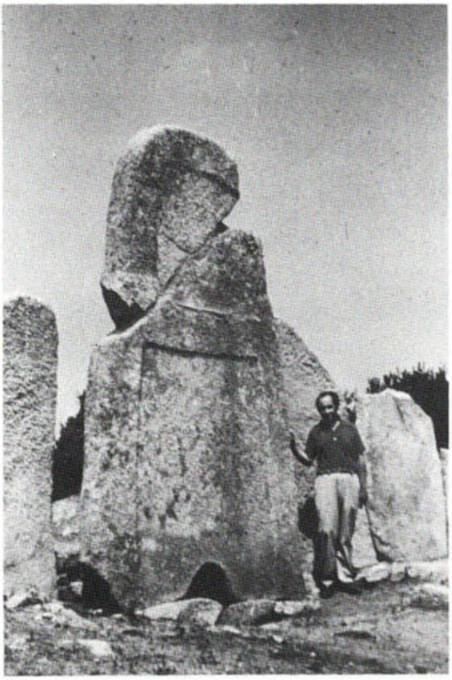
13. NORA: Mosaic floor, in the house with the tetrastyle atrium



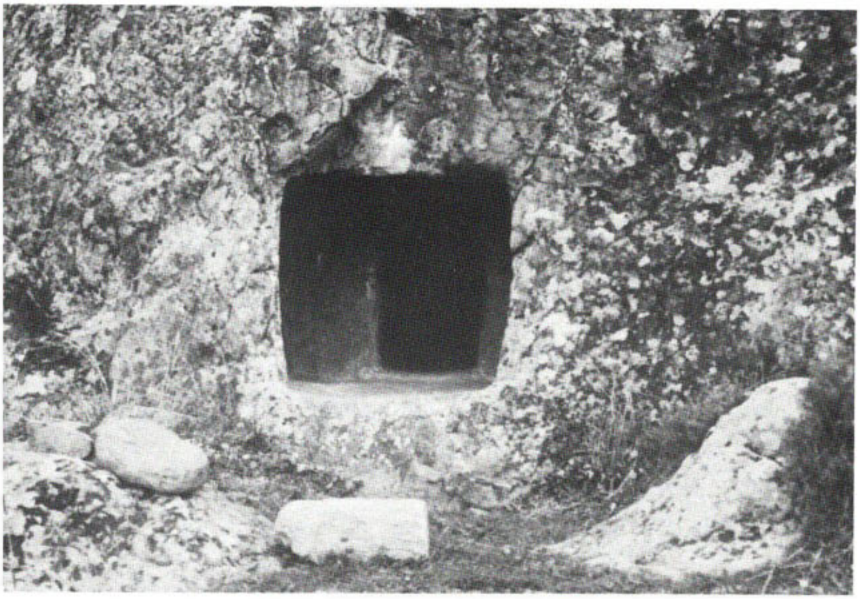
14. NORA: Glass furnace; in the background, right, a *'cocciopisto'* floor, on the left, a floor in *opus figlinum*



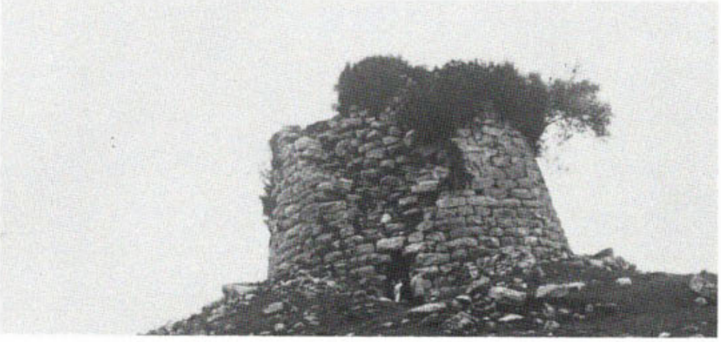
15. PORTO TORRES: Mosaic floor, now in the Sassari Museum



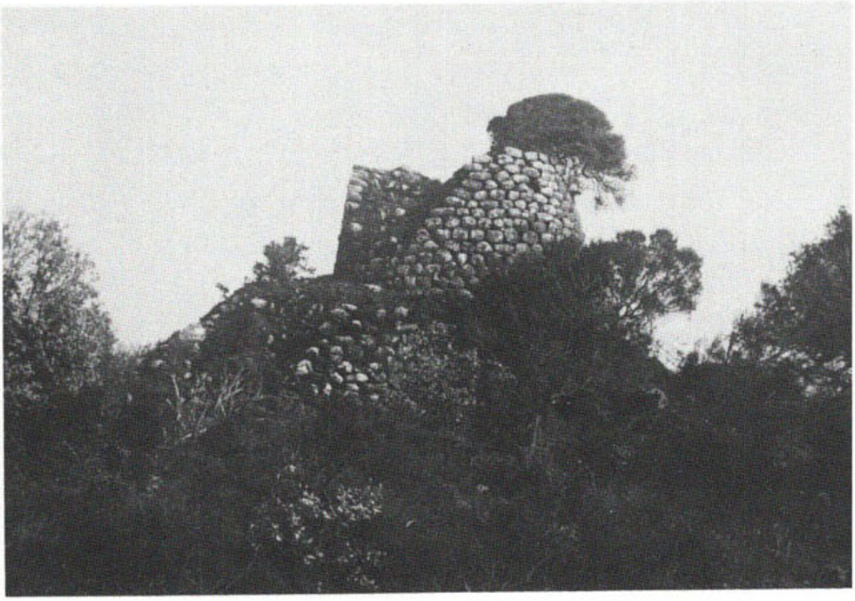
16. Giants' tomb, near LI MURI



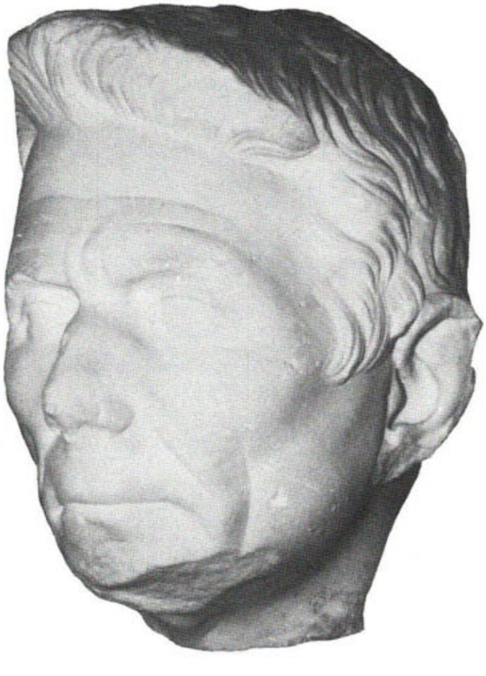
17. Domus de janas, near SILANUS



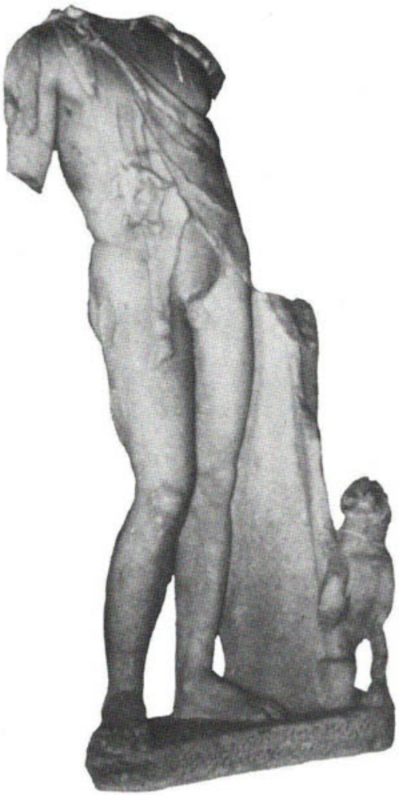
18. ISILI: Nuraghe Is Paras



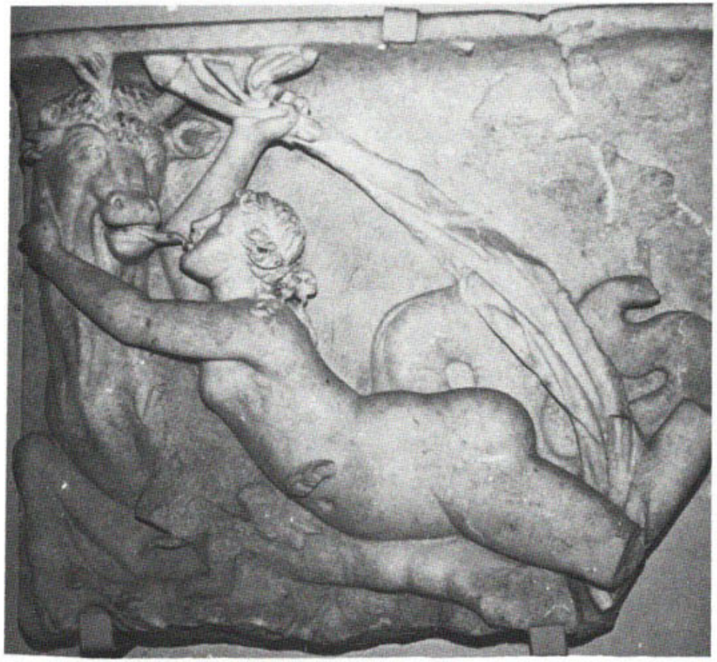
19. PAULILATINO: Nuraghe Lugherras



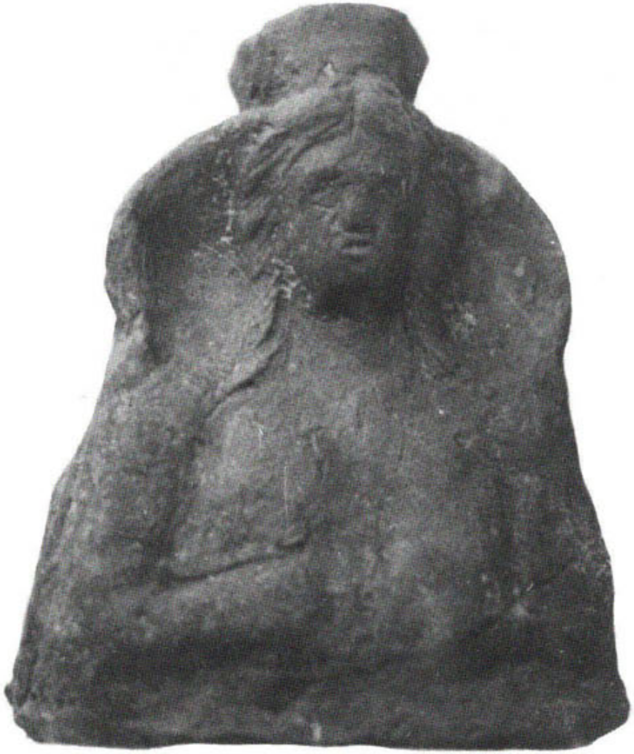
20. CAGLIARI: Unidentified male



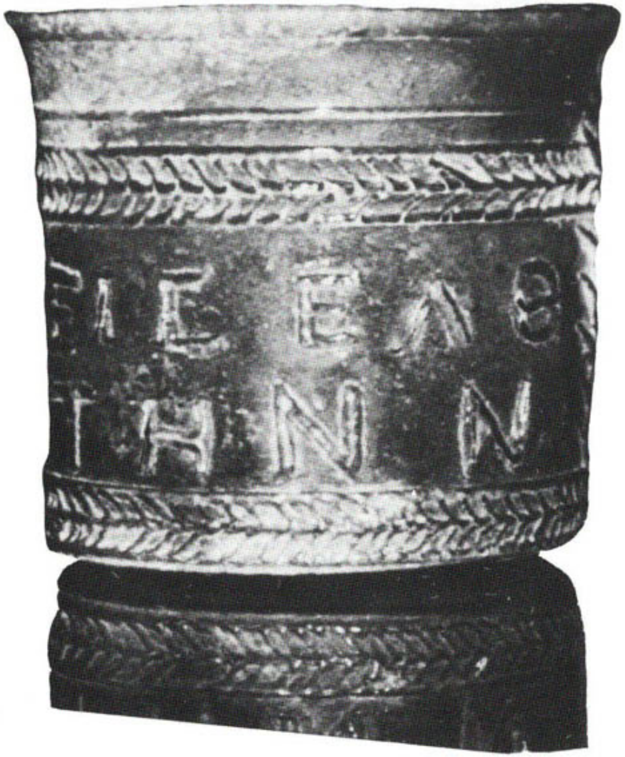
21. CAGLIARI: Statue of Dionysus



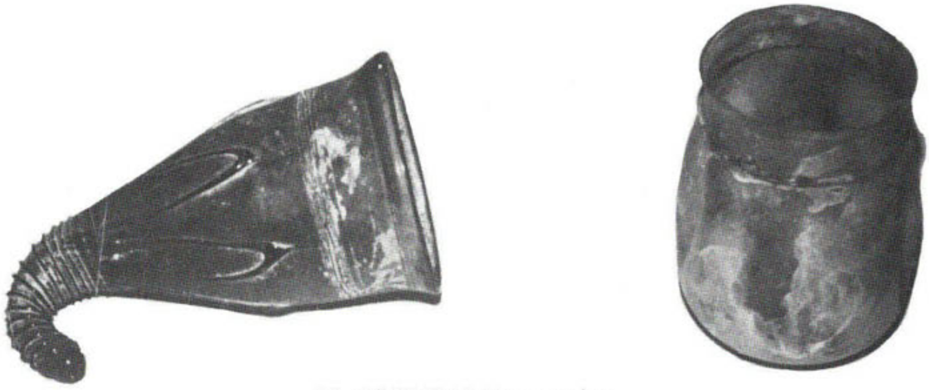
22.CAPOFRASCA: Relief representing Europa and the bull, now in the Cagliari Museum



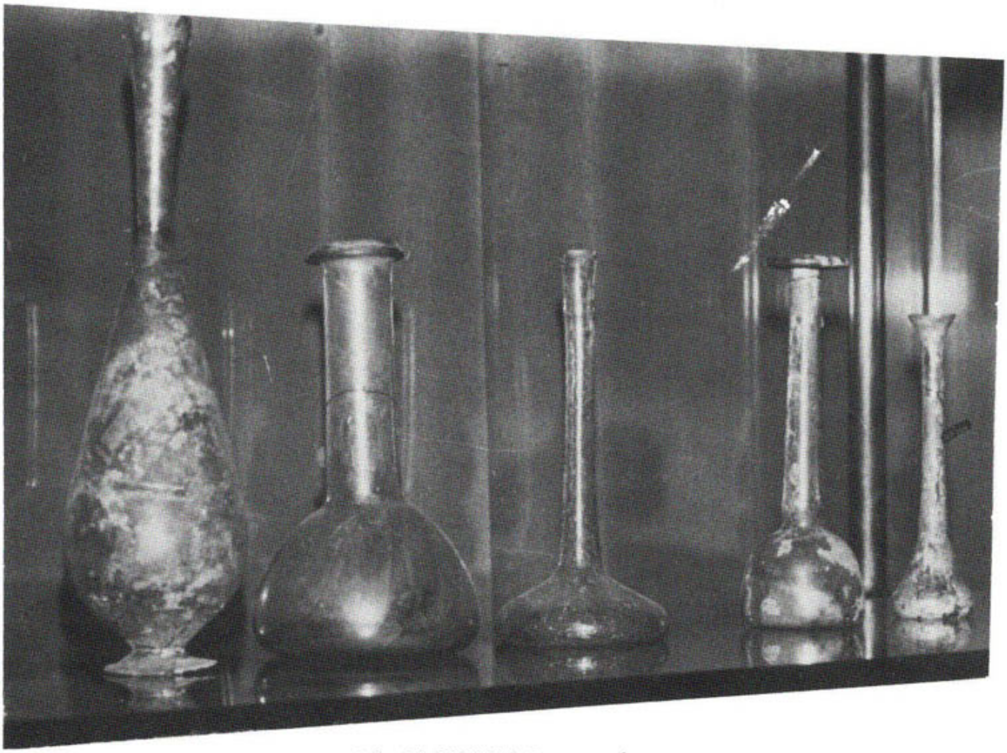
23. PULA: Ceres figurine



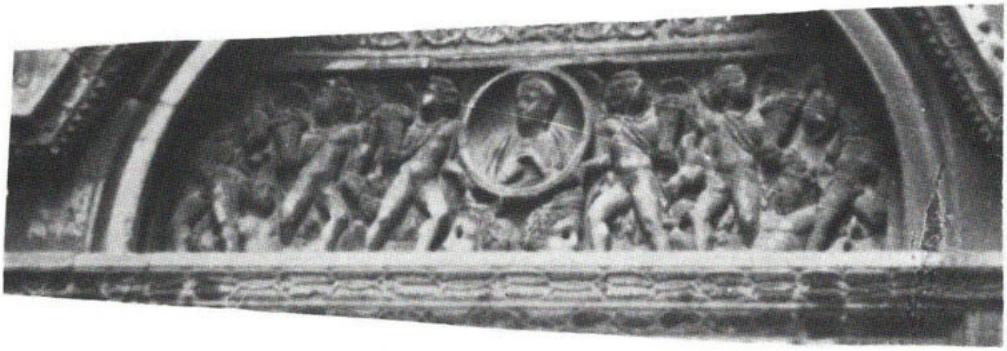
24. CAGLIARI: Roman glass, with the inscription
ΕΙϹΕΛΘΩΝ ΛΑΒΕ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ



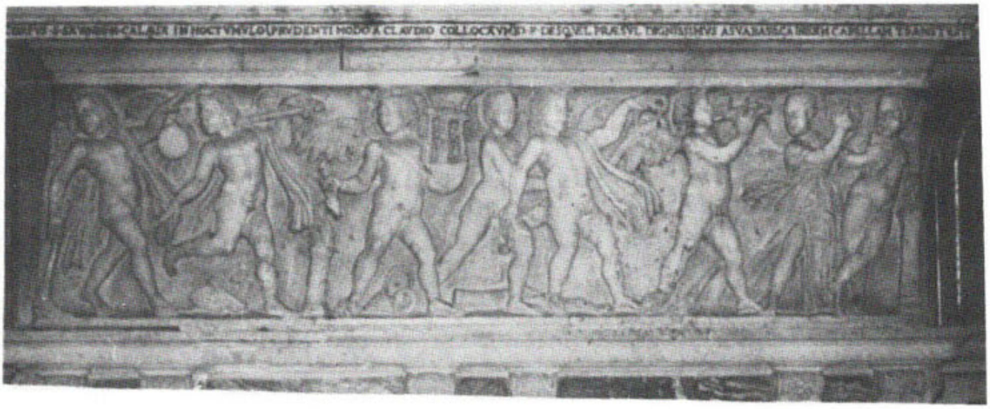
25. CAGLIARI: Roman glass



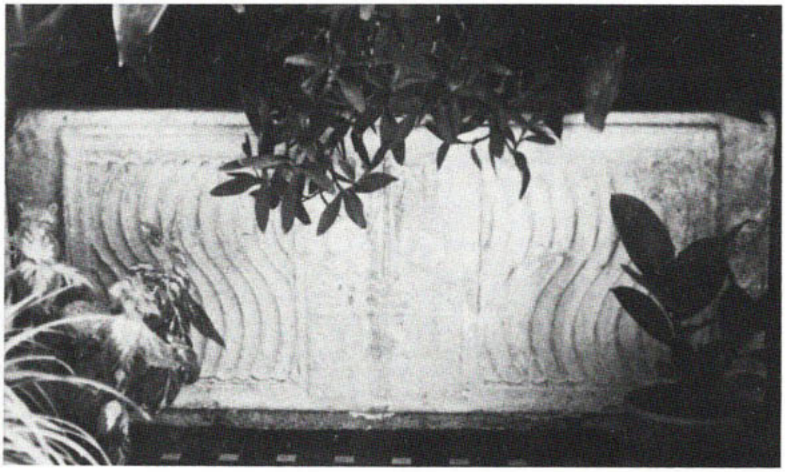
26. CAGLIARI: Roman glass



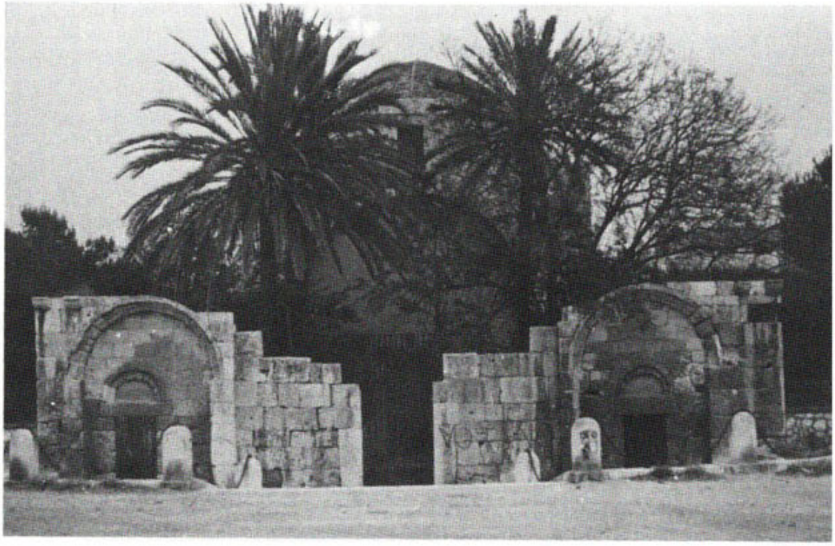
27. CAGLIARI: Sarcophagus, incorporated in the structure over a doorway at the Duomo



28. CAGLIARI: Sarcophagus, incorporated in an altar in the Duomo



29. CAGLIARI: Sarcophagus, now used as a planter in the Convento dei Cappuccini, Via Fra Ignazio, 94



30. CAGLIARI: Church of San Saturno

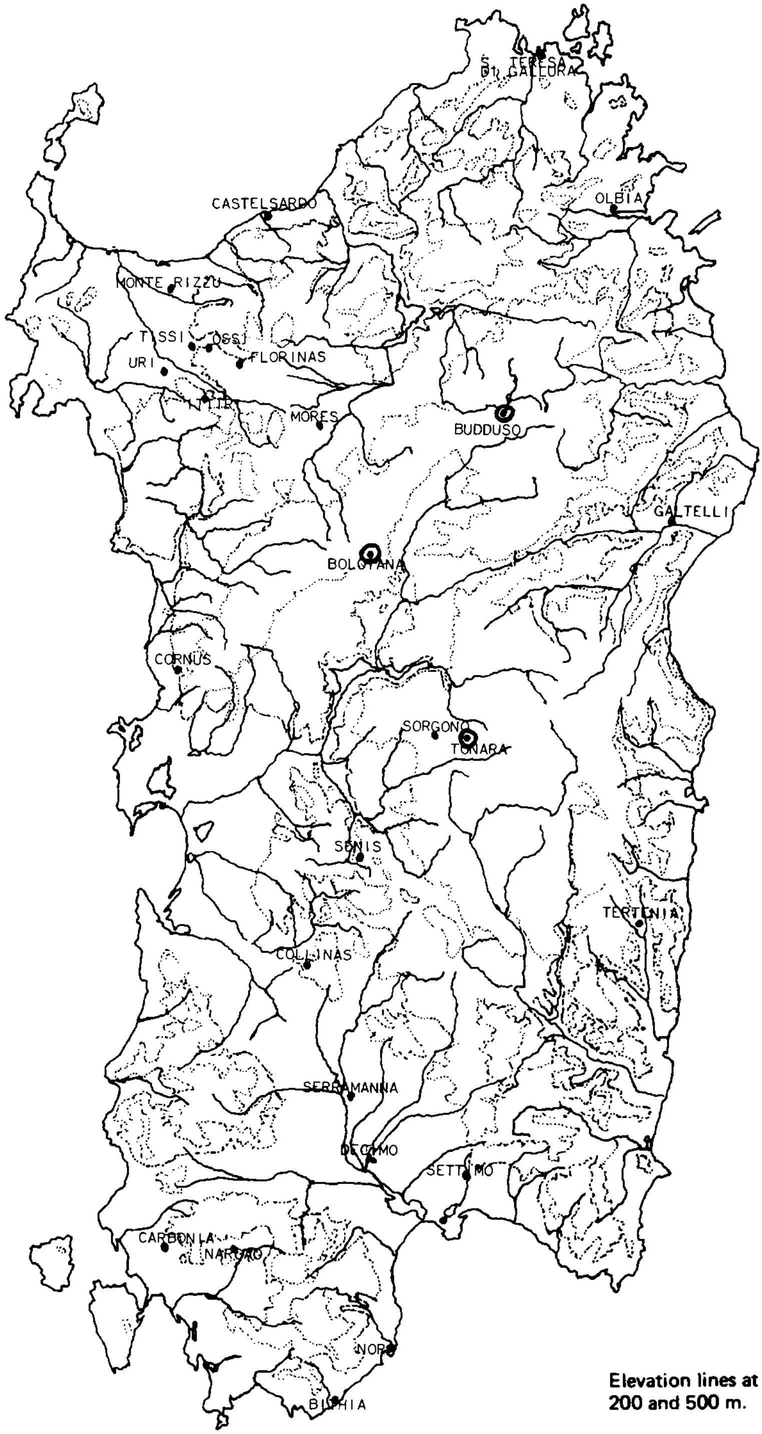

S. TERESA DI GALLURA
CASTELSARDO
OLBIA
MONTE RIZZU
TISSI
OSSI
URI
FLORINAS
ITTIRI
MORES
BUDDUSO
GALTELLI
BOLOTANA
CORNUS
SORGONO
TONARA
SENIS
TERTENIA
COLLINAS
SERRAMANNA
DECIMO
SETTIMO
CARBONIA
NARCAO
NORA
BITHIA
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 32. Distribution map: Burials *ad enkytrismos* (⊚ = possible examples)

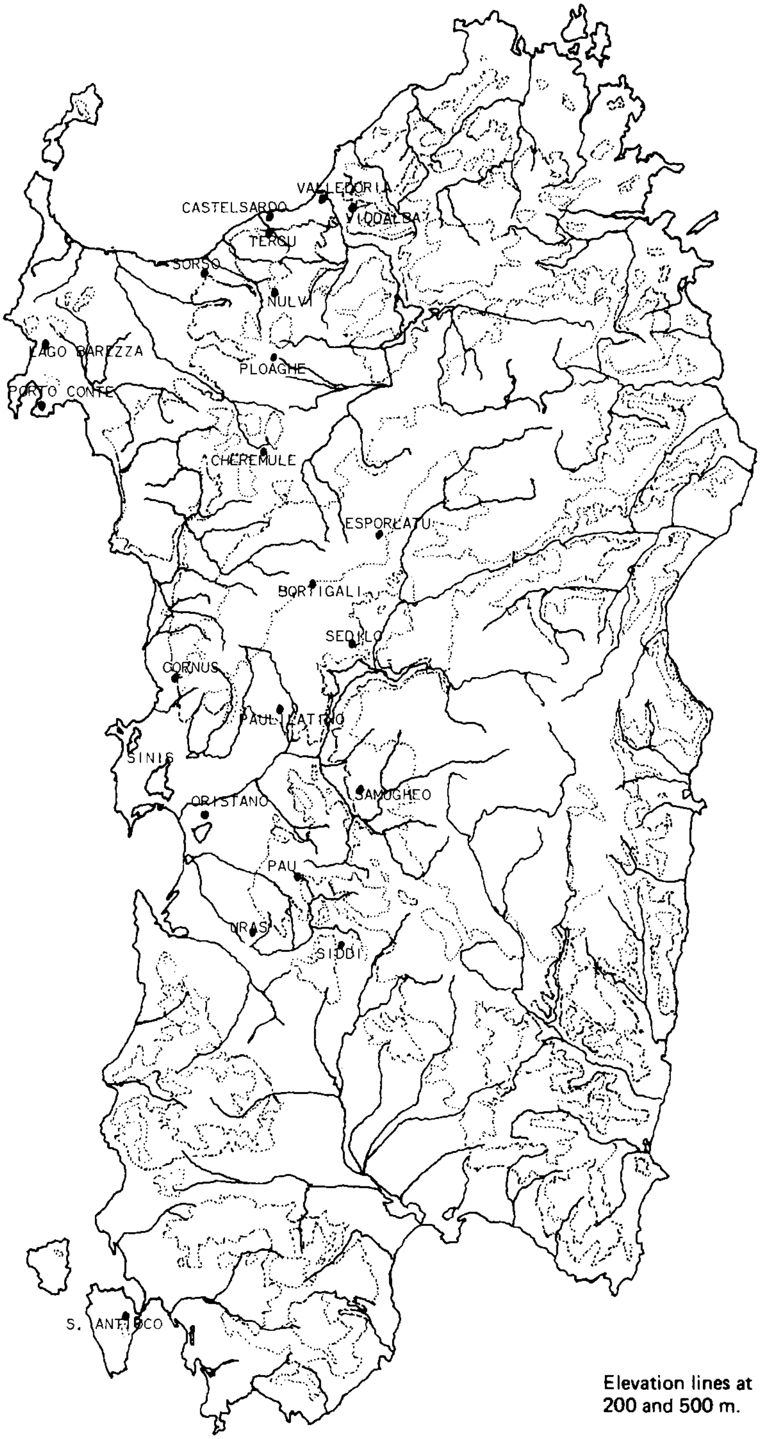
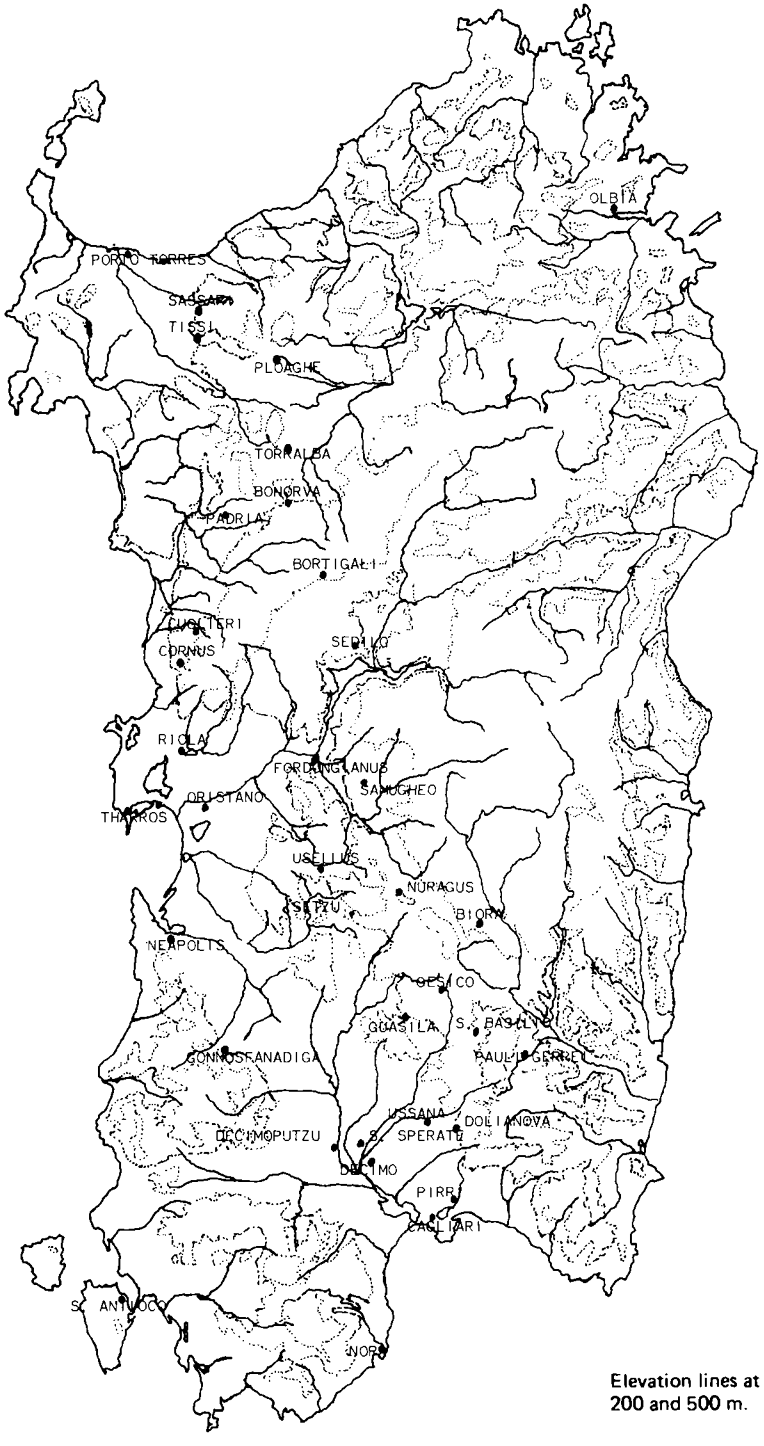

VALLEDORIA
CASTELSARDO
VIDDALBA
TERGU
SORSO
NULVI
LAGO BAREZZA
PLOAGHE
PORTO CONTE
CHEREMULE
ESPORLATU
BORTIGALI
SEDILO
CORNUS
PAULILATINO
SINIS
ORISTANO
SAMUGHEO
PAU
URAS
SIDDI
S. ANTIOCO
Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 33. Distribution map: Crude stele


OLBIA
PORTO TORRES
SASSARI
TISSI
PLOAGHE
TORRALBA
BONORVA
PADRIA
BORTIGALI
CUGLIERI
CORNUS
SEDILO
RIOLA
FORDONGIANUS
SAMUGHEO
ORISTANO
THARROS
USELLUS
NURAGUS
SITZU
BIORA
NEAPOLIS
GESICO
GUASILA
S. BASILIO
PAULI GERREI
GONNOSFANADIGA
USSANA
DOLIANOVA
DECIMOPUTZU
S. SPERATE
DECIMO
PIRRI
CAGLIARI
S. ANTIOCO
NORA

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 34. Distribution map: Sarcophagi

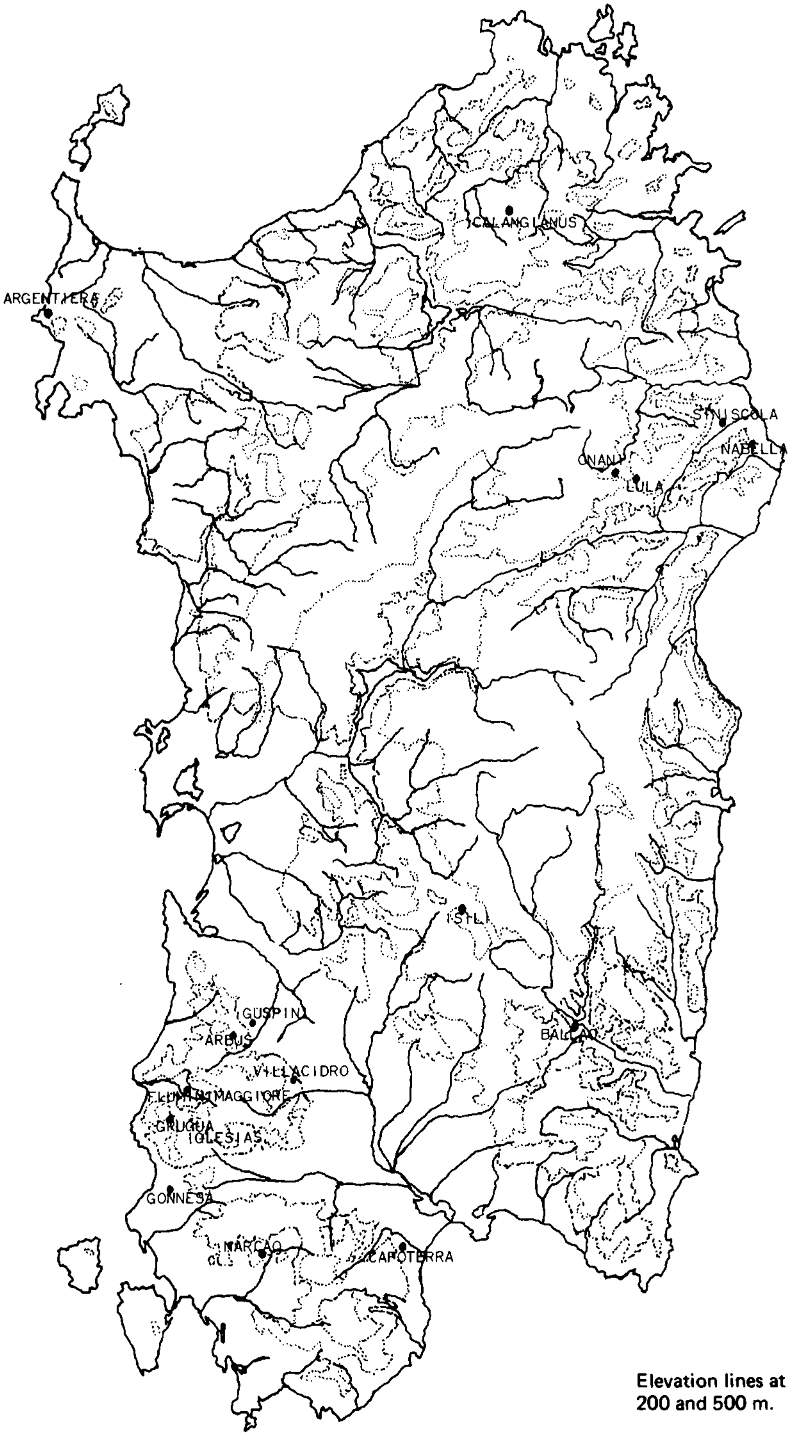

CALANGIANUS
ARGENTIERA
SINISCOLA
NABELLA
ONANI
LULA
ISILI
GUSPINI
ARBUS
VILLACIDRO
FLUMINIMAGGIORE
BALLAO
GRUGUA
IGLESIAS
GONNESA
NARCAO
CAPOTERRA
Elevation lines at 200 and 500 m.

Fig. 35. Distribution map: Mines

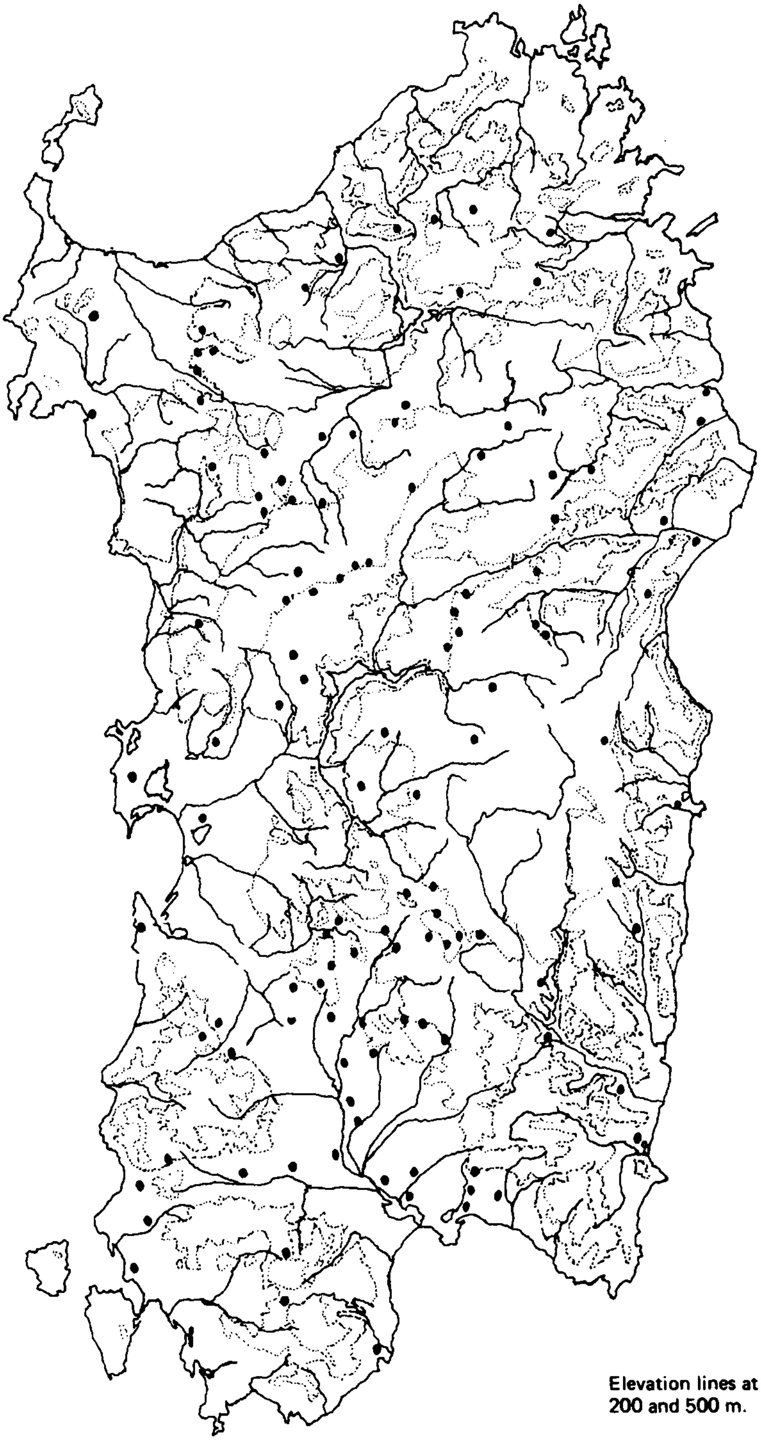

Elevation lines at
200 and 500 m.

Fig. 36. Distribution map: Rural settlements

List of Illustrations

I. Figures:

1. (p. 745) Baths at Bonaria, CAGLIARI.
2. (p. 750) OLBIA: Baths.
3. (p. 752) PORTO TORRES: Baths as seen in 1820.
4. (p. 754) SARDARA: Baths.
5. (p. 755) SILIGO: Baths.
6. (p. 756) SORSO: Baths.
7. (p. 791) PLOAGHE: Terracotta warrior.
8a. (p. 798) DOLIANOVA: Gold ear-ring.
8b. (p. 798) CAGLIARI: Gold ear-ring of uncertain provenance.
9. (p. 804) BALLAO: Bronze lamp.
10. (p. 814) TEULADA: *Fibula*, a) front view; b) side view.
11. (p. 816) ZERFALIU: Bronze disc.
12. (p. 820) ITTIRI: Glass plate.
13. (p. 827) CASTELSARDO: Burial *ad enkytrismos.*
14. (p. 828) FLORINAS: Burials *ad enkytrismos.*
15. (p. 829) FLORINAS: Necropolis *ad enkytrismos.*
15a. (p. 839) BARUMINI: *'Casetta'.*
15b. (p. 840) BIORA: Remains of two buildings.
16. (p. 855) Distribution map: Baths.
17. (p. 856) Distribution map: Mosaics.
18. (after p. 856) Distribution map: Prehistoric structures;
    Insert a to fig. 18;
    Insert b to fig. 18.
19. (p. 857) Distribution map: Statues.
20. (p. 858) Distribution map: *Timiateria.*
21. (p. 859) Distribution map: Gold and silver objects.
22. (p. 860) Distribution map: Bronze and other jewelry.
23. (after p. 860) Distribution map: Glass;
    Insert to fig. 23.
24. (p. 861) Distribution map: Domus de janas, giants' tombs.
25. (p. 862) Distribution map: Tombs *'a fossa'.*
26. (p. 863) Distribution map: Tombs *'a cassa'* or *'a cassone'.*
27. (p. 864) Distribution map: Tombs *'a cappuccina'.*
28. (p. 865) Distribution map: Tombs *'a camera'.*
29. (p. 866) Distribution map: Tombs *'a tettuccio'* and *'a tettoia'.*
30. (p. 867) Distribution map: Burials *'a pozzetto'.*
31. (p. 868) Distribution map: Incineration burials.
32. (p. 869) Distribution map: Burials *ad enkytrismos.*
33. (p. 870) Distribution map: Crude stele.
34. (p. 871) Distribution map: Sarcophagi.
35. (p. 872) Distribution map: Mines.
36. (p. 873) Distribution map: Rural settlements.

II. Plates:

I. 1. FORDONGIANUS: Baths.
   2. NORA: Panorama from the east.
II. 3. NORA: Central baths and mosaic floor of the *frigidarium.*
   4. NORA: Theater.

III. 5. PORTO TORRES: Roman bridge.

5a. CAMPEDA: Roman bridge.

IV. 6. SILIGO: Church of Nostra Signora di Mesumundu.

7. THARROS: Terme Convento Vecchio.

V. 8. THARROS: Roman street.

9. ANTAS: Temple of Sardus Pater.

VI. 10. CAGLIARI: Central part of Orpheus mosaic, now in Turin.

VII. 11. CAGLIARI: Punico-Roman mosaic.

12. CAGLIARI: Mosaic, on display in the entranceway at the old University building.

VIII. 13. NORA: Mosaic floor, in the house with the tetrastyle atrium.

14. NORA: Glass furnace; in the background, right, a '*cocciopisto*' floor, on the left, a floor in *opus figlinum*.

IX. 15. PORTO TORRES: Mosaic floor, now in the Sassari Museum.

16. Giants' tomb, near LI MURI.

X. 17. Domus de janas, near SILANUS.

18. ISILI: Nuraghe Is Paras.

XI. 19. PAULILATINO: Nuraghe Lugherras.

20. CAGLIARI: Unidentified male.

XII. 21. CAGLIARI: Statue of Dionysus.

22. CAPOFRASCA: Relief representing Europa and the bull, now in the Cagliari Museum.

XIII. 23. PULA: Ceres figurine.

24. CAGLIARI: Roman glass, with the inscription ΕΙCΕΛΘΩΝ ΛΑΒΕ ΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΗΝ.

XIV. 25. CAGLIARI: Roman glass.

26. CAGLIARI: Roman glass.

XV. 27. CAGLIARI: Sarcophagus, incorporated in the structure over a doorway at the Duomo.

28. CAGLIARI: Sarcophagus, incorporated in an altar in the Duomo.

XVI. 29. CAGLIARI: Sarcophagus, now used as a planter in the Convento dei Cappuccini, Via Fra Ignazio, 94.

30. CAGLIARI: Church of San Saturno.

Aristotelis Opera

Ex recensione I. Bekkeri
Editio altera quam curavit Olof Gigon

5 VOLUMINA

Volumen Tertium:
Librorum Deperditorum Fragmenta

Quart. X, 875 Seiten. 1987.
Ganzleinen DM 780,– ISBN 3 11 002332 6

Versucht wird, die Masse der Hinweise auf die Lehre des Aristoteles, die sich nicht auf das uns erhaltene Œuvre (eine im 1. Jh. v. Chr. hergestellte Auswahl) beziehen lassen, auf die Titel des älteren Schriftenverzeichnisses aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. zu verteilen, um so einen differenzierteren Einblick in die enzyklopädische Leistung des Philosophen zu gewinnen.

Bereits erschienen:

Vol. I: Opera I

XXIV, 789 Seiten. 1831. Nachdruck 1960. Ganzleinen DM 170,– ISBN 3 11 005633 X

Vol. II: Opera II

XVIII, Seiten 791–1462. 1831. Nachdruck 1960. Ganzleinen DM 145,–
ISBN 3 11 005634 8

Vol. IV: Scholia in Aristotelem

Collegit Christianus A. Brandis
Supplementum Scholiorum
Syriani in Metaphysica Commentaria
Edidit Hermannus Usener. Accedit Vita Marciana
LII, 995 Seiten. 1836. Nachdruck 1961. Ganzleinen DM 212,– ISBN 3 11 005635 6

Vol. V: Index Aristotelicus

Edidit Hermannus Bonitz
II, 878 Seiten. 1870. Nachdruck 1961. Ganzleinen DM 186,– ISBN 3 11 005636 4

Preisänderungen vorbehalten

Walter de Gruyter Berlin · New York